

**ACHAEMENID HISTORY XIV**

**THE OTHER GODS WHO ARE  
STUDIES IN ELAMITE-IRANIAN  
ACCULTURATION BASED ON THE  
PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION TEXTS**

BY

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## CHAPTER 1 ŪJIYĀ AND PARSIP

(...) *une influence élamite sur  
l'Iran est, a priori, probable.  
Mais elle est difficile à prouver.*  
[Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 147]

### 1.0. *Introduction*

In a paper published a few years ago, I wrote that “a comprehensive history of the Iranians and Elamites still remains to be written” (2003a: 181). That statement evidently will remain true after the publication of the present work. What I offer with this volume is just a single piece in a much larger and very complex puzzle, that of Elamite-Iranian acculturation and the emergence of Persia and the Persians. The focus of my attention will be the Elamite element in the pantheon documented by the Persepolis Fortification Archive, a corpus of primary evidence that, I believe, is of the greatest importance for understanding the depth and the scope of the process of acculturation in the period prior to the rise of the Achaemenid Empire. One of the results of this process was a religious landscape inhabited by gods of both Iranian and Elamite descent, a divine world that had become truly ‘Persian.’ As such the divine may, as so often, serve as a guide on the human level and thus elucidate parts of one of the most fascinating, yet also complex, problems of the history of Iran.

Since the scope of the present volume is largely limited to religious acculturation, a comprehensive discussion of the sources and problems that define the subject of Elamite-Iranian acculturation will not be attempted here. Instead, the sections below offer a survey of major topics and debates. The views expressed in them are partly retaken from two earlier publications.<sup>1</sup> Whereas the present chapter on “Elamites and Persians” thus offers a sketch of the larger background, the Fortification archive, on which this study is based, will be introduced in full in chapter 2.

<sup>1</sup> Henkelman 2003a and *idem* 2003d. See also Waters’ reflections (2005 [2007]: 528-33) on Henkelman 2003a.

### 1.1. *A place of desolation*

In his *History of Early Iran*, George G. Cameron described the reign of Šilhak-Inšušinak I (ca. 1155-25 BC) as the acme of Elamite civilisation, “The Glory of an Elamite Empire.” Yet, as Cameron puts it, “history affords frequent examples of empires which reach their prime only to pass into immediate decline, and Elam was no exception” (1936: 130). In this scheme of rise, glory, and fall, the last centuries of Elamite history could not be but a period of withering and decay. The chapter devoted to this period is entitled “The Eclipse of Elam” and ends with the violent destructions by the Assyrian army of Susa and other royal cities in the 640s BC.<sup>2</sup>

When recounting Neo-Elamite history, it is hard not to be overwhelmed by the monumental prose of the Assyrian royal inscriptions. If one were to concentrate on these sources alone, it would be impossible not to see the military conflict with the Neo-Assyrian Empire as the decisive factor of the Neo-Elamite era, a period roughly defined by the end (or disappearance from our sources) of the Middle Elamite kingdom in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the rise of the Persian dynasties of the Teispids and the Achaemenids in the second half of the sixth century BC. Perhaps most impressive, even more than the apocalyptic vision of Susa’s destruction, is the doom of Huban-haltaš III (648-45 BC), one of those ill-fated Neo-Elamite kings, who brought down the wrath “of Assur and Ištar” upon himself and his kingdom. Having fled, “in his nakedness” into the mountains, Huban-haltaš III only returned after his country had been laid waste by the troops of Assurbanipal.<sup>3</sup>

Ummanaldasi, king of Elam, who had seen the fury of the mighty weapons of Assur and Ishtar, returned from the mountains, the place of his refuge, and into Madaktu, the city which I had destroyed, devastated, and plundered at the command of Ishtar, he entered and took up his mournful abode (in that) place of desolation.

Though Cyrus’ Empire emerged only slightly more than a century later, there seems to be an enormous distance between this new beginning and the smouldering ashes of Huban-haltaš’s kingdom. Elam and Persia seem worlds apart, not just because there is a gap in state history, but also because Elam had been a power in eclipse, a ‘shadow of magnitude,’ whereas Persia was young and vigorous.

<sup>2</sup> Earlier still, M. Streck (1916 I: cccviii-cccl) had developed a similar perspective on Neo-Elamite history (see esp. *ibid.* ccclii, on Assurbanipal’s final campaign: “[der Krieg] der tatsächlich dem elamitischen Reiche den Todesstoß versetzte”).

<sup>3</sup> Prism A VII.9-15; translation by D.D. Luckenbill (1926: 312). For the text and a more recent translation see Borger 1996: 59, 242.

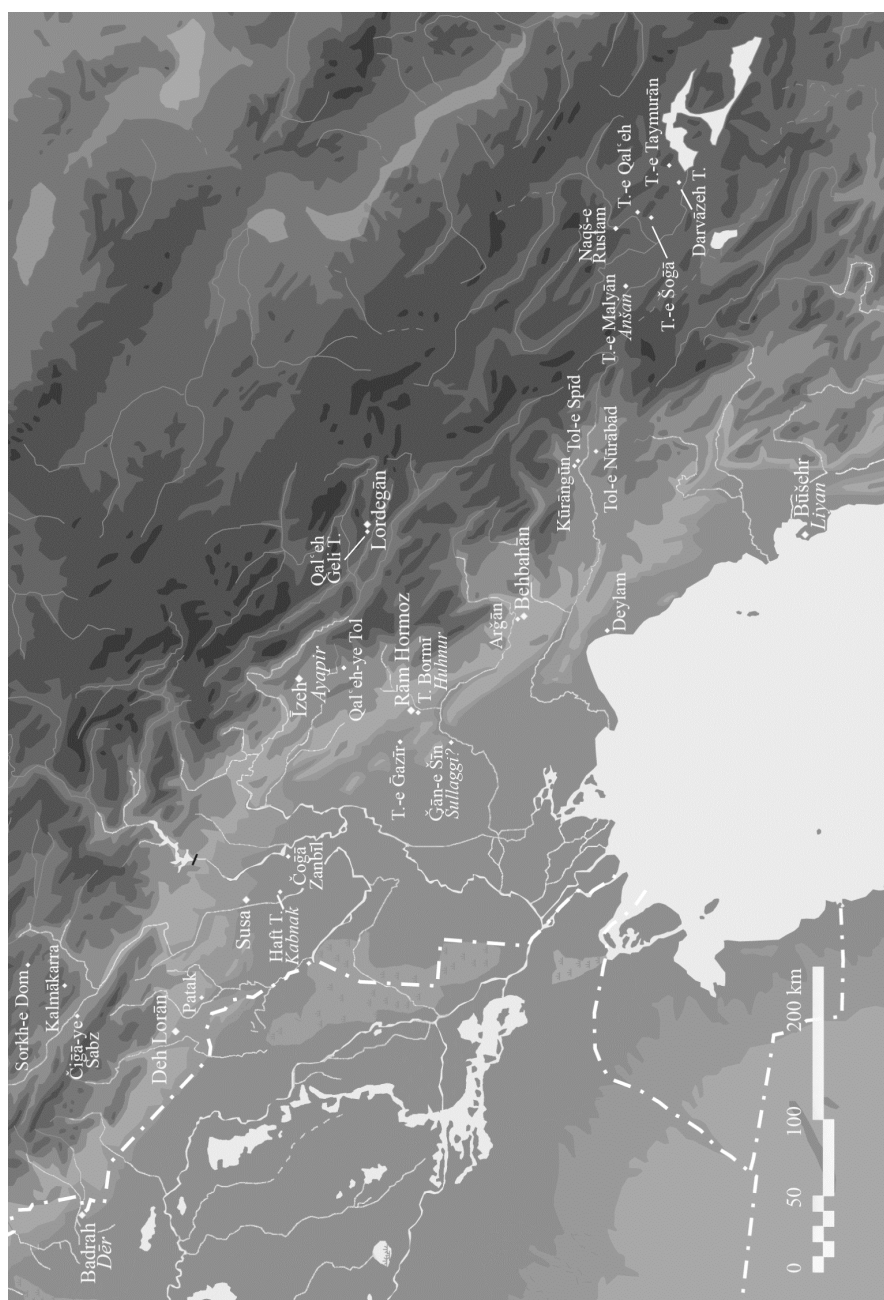


fig. 1.1: map of southwestern Iran showing (pre-Achaemenid) sites mentioned in Ch. 1  
(dummy map courtesy M. Sauvage, EPHE Paris)

The above perspective excludes the possibility of a meaningful contribution by Elam to Persia, or any larger-scale process of acculturation between the Elamites and the Indo-Iranian newcomers. Though not always explicitly stated as such, it has influenced the perception of ancient Iranian history profoundly and enduringly. Perhaps the most telling result is that surveys of pre-Islamic Iranian religion, though numerous, hardly ever include a section on Elamite religion. In Geo Widengren's 1965 monograph *Die Religionen Irans* (note the plural!), the proper name 'Elam' is not mentioned once. Such approaches create the impression that the Indo-Iranian ancestors of the Persians, when arriving in southwestern Iran, entered an empty stage, a land devoid of memories and missing any historical depth. In this sense, Cameron's above-mentioned synthesis stands out as a lonely exception since it at least treats Elamite and early Persian history in one volume.

### 1.2. *Elam in post-Assyrian times*

During the past three decades revised insights from archaeology and epigraphy have provoked a growing consensus on the notion that Elam did not face a total eclipse as described in the Assyrian sources, but re-emerged both as a culture and as a state that may have existed until the reign of Cyrus II or even until that of Darius I. In other words, the gap between the Neo-Elamite kingdom and the Persian Empire is rapidly disappearing. The consequences for the subject of Elamite-Iranian acculturation are, needless to say, tremendous.

The impetus for the recent, revolutionised view of Neo-Elamite history came in the first place from the publications of two French scholars, Pierre de Miroschedji and François Vallat.<sup>4</sup> Based on a Ville Royale II sounding (in 1975-77) and a Ville Royale/Apadana sounding (1978), the former was able to shed new light on the Neo-Elamite stratigraphy at Susa. In the Ville Royale II sounding, four Neo-Elamite layers could be identified, from which 9-8 and 7-6 belong to material cultures labelled 'Neo-Elamite I' and 'Neo-Elamite II' respectively.<sup>5</sup> Based on

<sup>4</sup> The idea of a post-Assyrian revival was already launched in 1967 by both Amiet (1967: 45) and M. Lambert (1967), but had not received an elaborate treatment since.

<sup>5</sup> Neo-Elamite I: Ville Royale II 9-8 ~ Ville Royale/Apadana 7c; Neo-Elamite II: Ville Royale II 7-6 ~ Ville Royale/Apadana 7b-a ~ Village perse-achéménide 1 (de Miroschedji 1981b: 146-50). In many publications on the Neo-Elamite period, a tripartite periodisation (1000-743, 743-653/643, 653/643-539/20 BC) is advocated. This division is based on historical grounds, but the evidence used is susceptible to very different interpretations (Henkelman 2003a: 182 fn. 3 and *idem* 2003d: 253). The bipartite division, on the other hand, is firmly based on noticeable changes in the

ceramic and other parallels with Neo-Babylonian Mesopotamia and with Lorestān, de Miroschedji was able to date the Neo-Elamite II period to *ca.* 725 – *ca.* 520.<sup>6</sup> This means, first, that the destruction of Susa in the 640s does not reflect a sharp break in the assemblage discussed by de Miroschedji and, secondly, that the site was occupied in the post-Assyrian period all the way down to the beginning of Achaemenid period. Paralleling this, a survey of the Susiana plain at large yielded no clear evidence of an abrupt destruction in the 640s (de Miroschedji 1981c: 172; cf. Boucharlat 1990: 160-2).

Belonging to the material culture defined as ‘Neo-Elamite II’ is a group of tablets found by de Morgan on the Acropole mound at Susa. This corpus, the so-called Acropole texts, is an archive documenting the receipt and distribution of goods (tools, weapons and textiles) by the local palace. 299 tablets, some still attached to their original envelopes, were edited by Scheil; an unknown number of tablets (mostly fragments) remains unpublished in the Louvre reserves.<sup>7</sup> One of the texts mentions a “king Ummanunu” (S 165:4-5), probably the reigning monarch at Susa at the time of the archive. Given the fact that a single officer, Kuddakaka, appears as the one responsible for the royal stores, and also because year dates are consistently omitted, it can be assumed that the life-span of the archive (as we have it) is very short, i.e. certainly not longer than one generation and probably much shorter.<sup>8</sup> Scheil believed that the tablets should be situated in the period directly prior to the Assyrian destructions (1907: iii). Erica Reiner, in 1960, proposed a later date, after the seventh century.<sup>9</sup> Nowadays most scholars agree, on the basis

material culture and should therefore *a priori* be preferred as de Miroschedji himself has firmly reiterated in a recent paper (2003: 37). See also Carter 1999 and Nasrabadi 2003/04b, following de Miroschedji’s bipartite division.

<sup>6</sup> De Miroschedji 1981a: esp. 38-9 (revising the dating of *idem* 1978); see also *idem* 1981b on the Ville Royale/Apadana sounding.

<sup>7</sup> Edition: Scheil 1907 (S 1-298) and 1911: 101 (S 309); updated transcription, with translation and commentary: Jusifov 1963a-b. Iranian onomasticon: Tavernier [forthc. 2] (also including other Neo-Elamite texts). Compare also the seven tablets found on the Apadana mound (MDP 11 301-7 = Scheil 1911: 93-100) and ‘tablette n° 1’ found in the Ville Royale (Paper *apud* Ghirshman 1954: 79-80, pl. 24.1a-c); both finds may be dated slightly later than the Acropole texts. For a recent assessment of the glyptic evidence from the Acropole and Apadana corpora see Garrison 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Stolper 1992a. The absence of year dates may indicate either that tablets belonging to the same year were stored together (on shelves, in baskets, etc.) or that the tablet room was cleaned after each administrative year.

<sup>9</sup> Reiner 1960: 224. Reiner’s argument is based on the apparent influences of Old Persian in the Elamite of the Acropole texts (notably the attributive construction with *-na*). Cameron (1948: 24 fn. 2) also proposed a lower date, as late as the reigns of Cyrus II

of both palaeographic and glyptic evidence, that the Acropole tablets should not be dated before the last quarter of the seventh century and probably later, in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>10</sup> This means that we have a rich and as yet not fully exploited post-Assyrian corpus attesting to the continuity of royal power in Susa, to the palace as an economic institution, to a considerable material wealth (even more so if the tablets date to a short time-span),<sup>11</sup> and to contacts between Susa and a whole range of places in the Susiana and beyond (Hidali, Ayapir, Huhnur, Anšan, Rakkan; cf. §2.3.1 fn. 145 below) as well as with various groups, such as the “people of Zari,” who may have been an Aramaean polity in southwestern Khūzestān (cf. Henkelman 2003d: 257). Not without foresight, Père Scheil commented that such an archive “nous instruit mieux de l’état réel d’un peuple (...) que les annales de guerre de ses plus grands rois” (Scheil 1907: i).

The Acropole archive pre-dates the Persepolis Fortification archive (509-493 BC) by a mere 50 to 80 years. As such it provides an unexpectedly close body of administrative documents. The same is true for a whole series of Neo-Elamite inscriptions, as we know since Vallat’s re-analysis of this corpus.<sup>12</sup> Vallat started with questioning some of the traditional equations between Elamite royal names in Neo-Assyrian sources (e.g., Te’umman, Attametu) and those known from Elam itself (Tepti-Huban-Insušnak, Atta-hamiti-Insušnak) on historical grounds. Palaeographic analysis and comparison of syntactical constructions, orthography, etc. subsequently confirmed his suspicion that a number of Neo-Elamite inscriptions should be dated late in the Neo-Elamite period, i.e. after the Assyrian raids.

and Cambyses II. His main argument is the occurrence of Iranian names in the archive (on which see Tavernier [forthc. 2]).

<sup>10</sup> See Amiet 1973: 3-6, 24-5; de Miroschedji 1982: 60 (ca. 650-550); *idem* 1990: 79-81; Vallat 1984: 7 (640-539/520); *idem* 1996a: 393 (585-539); *idem* 1998: 311; Carter & Stolper 1984: 54; Stolper 1992a (end 7<sup>th</sup>/beginning 6<sup>th</sup> century); Steve 1986: 20-1 (605-539); *idem* 1992: 22; Potts 1999a: 297-301 (645-539); Tavernier 2004: 30-2 (590/580-565/555); *idem* 2006c (585-565 [implied]); Garrison 2002: 92 (560/50-520). Hinz (1987: 125-7) is the only more recent dissident in dating the archive to 688-681. His (mainly historical) arguments seem inconclusive (Henkelman 2003a: 200 fn. 65), and certainly do not outweigh the palaeographic and glyptic evidence.

<sup>11</sup> As Scheil (1907: ii) writes, “L’on est étonné à bon droit de la variété inouïe des produits de l’industrie de tissage, de la teinturerie, de la métallurgie, de la charpenterie, etc. Les documents de même espèce trouvés en Babylonie ne témoignent pas d’un plus grand essor des arts et métiers, dans un pays qu’on croyait à tous égards sans rival.”

<sup>12</sup> Vallat 1996a; cf. *idem* 1998a: 309-10; *idem* 1998d; *idem* 2002a; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 470-85.



<i>Huban-tahra I</i>	<i>ca. 775</i>	<i>Huban-tahra I</i>	<i>ca. 775</i>
<i>Huban-mena II</i>	<i>ca. 760-743</i>	<i>Huban-mena II</i>	<i>ca. 760-743</i>
<i>Huban-nikaš I</i>	<i>743-717</i>	<i>Huban-nikaš I</i>	<i>743-717</i>
<i>Šutruk-Nahhunte II</i>	<i>717-699</i>	<i>Šutruk-Nahhunte II</i>	<i>717-699</i>
<i>Ḫallušu</i>	<i>699-693</i>	<i>Ḫallušu</i>	<i>699-693</i>
<i>Kutir-Nahhunte II</i>	<i>693-692</i>	<i>Kutir-Nahhunte II</i>	<i>693-692</i>
<i>Huban-menana</i>	<i>692-689</i>	<i>Huban-menana</i>	<i>692-689</i>
<i>Huban-haltaš I</i>	<i>689-681</i>	<i>Huban-haltaš I</i>	<i>689-681</i>
<i>Huban-haltaš II</i>	<i>681-675</i>	<i>Huban-haltaš II</i>	<i>681-675</i>
<i>Urtak</i>	<i>675-664</i>	<i>Urtak</i>	<i>675-664</i>
<i>Te'umman</i>	<i>664-653</i>	<i>Te'umman</i>	<i>664-653</i>
<i>Huban-nikaš II</i>	<i>653-652</i>	<i>Huban-nikaš II</i>	<i>653-652/51</i>
<i>Tammaritu</i>	<i>652-649</i>	<i>Tammaritu</i>	<i>652/51-650/49</i>
<i>Indabibi</i>	<i>649-648</i>	<i>Indabibi</i>	<i>650/49-648</i>
<i>Tammaritu</i>	<i>647</i>	<i>Huban-haltaš III</i>	<i>648-647</i>
<i>Huban-haltaš III</i>	<i>646-645</i>	<i>Tammaritu</i>	<i>648-647</i>
<i>Šutur-Nahhunte</i>		<i>Huban-haltaš III</i>	<i>647-645</i>
<i>Hallutaš-Inšušinak</i>	<i>645-585</i>	<i>Šutur-Nahhunte</i>	<i>ca. 630-ca. 610</i>
<i>Atta-hamiti-Insušnak</i>		<i>Hallutaš-Inšušinak</i>	<i>ca. 620-ca. 585</i>
<i>Ummanunu</i>		<i>Ummanunu</i>	<i>ca. 585-ca. 565</i>
<i>Šilhak-Inšušinak II</i>		<i>Bahuri (Zamin)</i>	<i>ca. 585-ca. 539</i>
<i>Tepti-Huban-Insušnak</i>	<i>ca. 585-ca. 539</i>	<i>Šilhak-Inšušinak II</i>	<i>ca. 565-ca. 550</i>
<i>Indada and Šutur-Nahhunte</i>		<i>Tepti-Huban-Insušnak</i>	<i>ca. 550-ca. 530</i>
<i>(Ayapir)</i>			
<i>Bahuri (Zamin)</i>		<i>Atta-hamiti-Insušnak</i>	<i>ca. 530-520</i>

table 1.1: Neo-Elamite kings according to  
Vallat 1996a: 393 (left) and Tavernier 2006c (right)

More recently, Jan Tavernier has provided an elaborate re-assessment of Vallat's arguments (2004; revised in *idem* 2006c). His findings have the additional advantage of being based on the chronological development in the use of (forced) broken writings in Neo-Elamite. They modify some of Vallat's views, but on the whole they confirm the new dating (see table 1.1 above).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The weight of the evidence from broken writings seems underestimated by Waters, who, though with due caution, has revived some of the traditional equations (2006a: 65-8). While the chronological development of these writings admittedly need not always have been linear, the basic trend in the development of scribal practices, in particular the broken writings, is undeniable. Without disregarding the problems with which Neo-Elamite dynastic history is beset (cf. Waters 2005: 529 fn. 45), I do not, at present, see a convincing counter-argument that would push Šilhak-Inšušinak II and Tepti-Huban-Insušnak back into the seventh century again. As Waters has indeed recently demonstrated (2006b), the identity of the father(s) of Te'umman and Tepti-

The Elamite state re-emerged and continued to exist and, apparently, prosper, until the rise of the Persian Empire. This means that throughout the pre-history of that Empire, Elam was a tangible entity, not a name from the past. The Teispids and Achaemenids did not emerge from a cultural void, but must have been influenced by the continuing cultural and political radiation of Elam. Various factors come into the equation at this point: the political and social structure of the Neo-Elamite state (§1.4), the transitional, ‘dimorphic’ zone between Fārs and Khūzestān (§1.5.1), the changed way of life in the highlands (§1.5.2), and the Elamite contributions to Persian culture (§1.5.3). As we shall see, this complex of factors may not only have been responsible for an Elamite legacy in Persian culture, but may in fact have stood at the base of a process that has been called the ‘ethnogenesis of the Persians.’ Before we proceed to review the evidence supporting this model, it may be useful to illustrate the effect the re-dating of the Neo-Elamite inscriptions has on the study of Persian culture and Persian religion in particular (§1.3).

### 1.3. *Intermezzo: from Hanni to Xerxes*

As stated above, the new dating of the inscriptions of the Neo-Elamite kings not only provides us with a powerful testimony of an Elam that survived the Assyrian raids, but it also shifts an important body of evidence to a position on the time-line that is surprisingly close to the dawn of the Persian Empire. The important rock inscriptions of Hanni of Ayapir (EKI 75-76), which contain various concepts that recur in Achaemenid inscriptions, are now dated to 630-10 (Tavernier) or 585-39 BC (Vallat). A list of cultic personnel receiving sacrificial animals in an inscription by Tepti-Huban-Insušnak (EKI 85), highly relevant for the subject of Persian religion, dates to 585-539 or even 550-530 BC, as does the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* (unpublished), which mentions offerings at a sanctuary in Gisat that was still in use in the Persian period (cf. §4.1.4 below). The stele of Atta-hamiti-Insušnak (EKI 86-87) may, if the proposals by Matthew Waters and Jan Tavernier are right, predate the great Bīstūtūn inscription by only a few years.<sup>14</sup> In other words: in the new dating, there is no documentary corpus that is chronologically

Huban-Insušnak is no longer an objection against their identification; Huban-haltaš I is in fact a brother, not the father, of Huban-haltaš II and, by consequence, also a brother of Te’umman. Significant as this discovery is, it does not produce a positive argument for the said identification. Assuming two distinct individuals remains more attractive on orthographic grounds and this choice can easily be defended given “the profusion of homonymous Elamite names” in Neo-Elamite political history (Waters 2006a: 63).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Waters 2000: 85-7; Tavernier 2004: 22-9 (*contra*: Vallat 2006); see §5.2 below.

(and geographically) closer to the Achaemenid documentation than the Neo-Elamite inscriptions (and administrative texts).

The above may be illustrated by reviewing two passages from XPh, the so-called *Daivā Inscription* of Xerxes. In the Elamite version of the text, Xerxes states that he has placed his *kiten* upon the worship of the evil gods, the *daivā*. This *kiten* (or *kitin*), “divine protection, god-given royal power,” is a concept crucial to Elamite theology and royal ideology. It is of particular importance in one of the above-mentioned rock inscriptions of Hanni of Ayapir, located in a region close to the Persian heartland and already recognised by the great Hüsing as foreshadowing the Achaemenid inscriptions (1908c: 48). Whereas *kitin* is connected in particular with Humban, the supreme male god and protector of kings in the Neo-Elamite period, it is associated with Auramazdā, the new royal god, in XPh<sub>e</sub>. There, the way in which the relation between king and god is defined, and the conception of divine power emanating onto the human level can be elucidated by the Neo-Elamite sources. This is not to say that XPh is a copy of the inscriptions of Hanni of Ayapir, but the latter should be included in discussions of the former (cf. §5.3 below).<sup>15</sup>

Still more significant as background for XPh is a short inscription by Tepti-Huban-Insušnak (EKI 80:2-3 = IRS 62; cf. EKI 79:6-7). In it, the Neo-Elamite monarch claims to have destroyed the land(s) of the *balahuteppe* and the land(s) of the *lallarippe*, to have received their tribute<sup>7</sup> and to have built a temple for the goddess Pinigir. The designations of the enemies seem to be descriptive nouns rather than proper names and since they denote inhabitants of territories destroyed by the king, they seem to have a negative meaning such as “evil-doers” and “enemies” (*vel sim.*).<sup>16</sup> If that supposition is correct, the inscription offers a striking parallel to Xerxes’ claim to have smitten a rebellion in ‘a’ country and to have devastated ‘a’ place where the *daivā* were venerated (cf. Henkelman 2003a: 188 fn.

<sup>15</sup> The relevance of Ayapiran culture for Persia was repeatedly stressed by the late Peter Calmeyer, pointing out that the reliefs of Īzeh (Ayapir) herald the iconographic programme of royal Achaemenid art in a striking way (Calmeyer 1973; *idem* 1975; *idem* 1980c: 110-1). See also ★§7.3. Michael Roaf recently compared the motif of the adorants on staircases on the Neo-Elamite panels of the Kūrāngūn sanctuary to the guards lining the staircases at Persepolis (Roaf 2000; *idem* 2003: 15).

<sup>16</sup> Pace Vallat 1993a: 33, 155 (with bibliography; add Hüsing 1908c: 20-2, already expressing a similar opinion), who advocated a localisation in Iranian Kordestān. Though followed by Waters (2000: 48), this position is rightly refuted as historically implausible by Fuchs (2003: 132). On the interpretation of the two terms see EW s.vv. *ba-la.hu-te-ib-be*, *ba-la.hu-te-ip* (“Bös-Weg-Leute, Bösewichter”) and *la-al-la.ri-ib-be* (“Friedensbrecher?”); Malbran-Labat 1995: 140 (“Méchants?” and “Ennemis”). Note that the designations *balahuteppe* and *lallarippe* are not preceded by a determinative. On EKI 80 see also Grilot 1987: 63.

24). Xerxes' inscription is an ideological manifesto dealing with the eternal order, the *pax Achaemenidica* guaranteed by Auramazdā and his representative, the King of Kings (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 1-47; 1993b; 1999). Its lack of historical detail is therefore wholly intentional, as is the parallelism between rebellion and *daivā* worship and the contrast with the king's piety towards Auramazdā. A similar contrast and timeless, non-specific formulation is found in Tepti-Huban-Insušnak's inscription, a text that pre-dates XPh by only some seventy to ninety years and that was composed in the formative years of Persian kingship (and its ideology). Though the subject cannot be treated *in extenso* here, it should be clear that the Neo-Elamite text can be essential in identifying the building blocks of Achaemenid royal ideology. Thus, it becomes evident that an exclusive focus on the (Indo-) Iranian background of XPh, i.e. on parallels with the *Avesta* or other Zoroastrian sources, runs the risk of telling only half the story, if not less. This is all the more true in view of the fact that the Zoroastrian sources are at a far greater distance from XPh in both time and space than the re-dated Neo-Elamite inscriptions.

#### 1.4. *The State of Elam*

In a recent congress volume on Media and the Medes, with particular attention paid to the purported role of 'Media' or the 'Median Empire' as a link between Assyria and Persia, Mario Liverani emphatically states (2003: 10):

Persia is the heir of Elam, not of Media. Elam had a long tradition in statehood, in centralized administration, in written records kept in formal archives. Elam had also a long tradition as a centre of large coalitions of peoples and states on the Iranian plateau, as centre of a network of relationships with the surrounding areas, not only with Susiana (these relationships being the best known because of the archaeological selection of our information) but also with regions in central, northern, and eastern Iran. Persia inherited the Elamite state organization and administration, and inherited the Elamite network of relationships, not a quite improbable network centred on the poor and illiterate pastoral tribes of the central Zagros.

The above is probably the clearest description of the challenge scholars of Elamite history are currently facing. Having established, beyond reasonable doubt, that Elam continued to exist as a political entity and as a culture after the period of Assyrian raids, the question that looms largely is *what kind of state* we are dealing with. Liverani's qualification is optimistic in that it focuses on the *longue durée* of Elamite statehood and political culture, in that it points out that literacy had been ingrained in Elamite culture for millennia before the rise of the Persians, and in that it identifies Elam as the ancient and natural regional power with a set of traits that foreshadow the *empire* of the Achaemenids. I am convinced that this perspective is

a productive one and provides the right guidelines for future research on the subject. Liverani's programmatic approach is not, however, generally accepted among scholars of the period. Rather, a negative outlook on the last century of the Elamite state seems to prevail even in more recent studies. Whereas older publications used to stress the eclipse of Elam in the period concluded by the brutal destructions under Assurbanipal (cf. §1.1 above), subsequent studies tend to characterise the post-Assyrian period as that of Elam's downfall. Vallat, for example, characterises the period of 585-39 BC as "l'éclatement du vieil empire élamite" (1996a: 392; cf. 1998a: 311; 1998d: 95). In their recent and lavishly documented entry 'Suse' for the *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Steve, Vallat and Gasche speak of "une survie éphémère" (2002/03: 477) and describe the Elamite state in its later years as "l'empire désagrégé" (*ibid.* 479). Fragmentation of the old kingdom into more or less independent polities is also what Waters sees as the hallmark of the end of Elam (2000: 101, 104-7).<sup>17</sup> Seen from this perspective, the re-emergence of the Elamite kingdom after the 640s would seem not a real renaissance, but just a stay of execution. Only the name of the final executioner has changed, from Assurbanipal to Cyrus.

It is not claimed here that the Neo-Elamite state can at present be defined in clear and unequivocal terms. At the same time, however, the negative qualifications of the last period of its existence undeniably derive from an exclusive focus on dynastic history. Besides, the arguments for a fragmented Elam, either in the Assyrian or the post-Assyrian period, do not present a particularly strong case. Even if they did, however, this would not automatically imply that the last phase of Neo-Elamite history could be characterised as a downfall *tout court*, i.e. not only in dynastic or political, but also in socio-economic and cultural terms.

<sup>17</sup> See also De Vaan 1995: 20, "die Großmacht Elam hörte auf zu existieren" [after the Assyrian raids]. In his most recent publication on the subject, P. de Miroschedji joins the fragmentation school (2003: 35): "Elamite political disintegration marked by the resurgence of several principalities, which had formed the fabric of the Elamite confederacy in the preceding period." See also Fuchs (2003: 129, followed by Potts [forthc. 5]), "Erst im Anschluß an diese Katastrophe [i.e. 653 BC; WH] sanken die Herrscher Elams zu bloßen 'Warlords' herab, deren Aktivitäten hauptsächlich nach innen, auf die Bekämpfung elamischer Rivalen gerichtet waren."

1.4.1. *Fragmentation revisited* – The arguments usually advanced to support the idea of a weakened and fragmented Elam pertain to changes in royal titlature and purported indications of rival kings reigning over part of the formerly unified territory. As I have reviewed the main arguments elsewhere, two examples will suffice here.<sup>18</sup>

The most telling case is that of the ‘king of Hidali,’ a description that occurs twice in the sources on Assurbanipal’s campaigns. First, we hear of an Išarnandi, ‘king of Hidali’ in the context of the victory over Te’umman, ‘king of Elam’ (653 BC).<sup>19</sup> Was the former an independent king who had seized control over the important city of Hidali and its environs? Assurbanipal’s subsequent actions seem to suggest the contrary: a new king, Huban-nikaš II, was installed in Susa and Madaktu; his brother, Tammaritu, was put on the throne of Hidali. In doing so, Assurbanipal may well have followed the older precedent of Te’umman and Išarnandi. In fact, the governorship of Hidali, a city that was of great military and economic importance because of its location at the border of the highlands, must have been highly prestigious. The fact that its new ruler, Tammaritu, is introduced as ‘king,’ is not really surprising, since ‘king’ does not have to point to an independent status. Far more interesting is the fact that he is the brother of the king at Susa. That the king of Elam would grant control over Hidali to a trusted person, preferably a family-member, does not indicate fragmentation, but sound political insight.<sup>20</sup> Compare the case of Bīt Imbī, also a town of great strategic importance,

<sup>18</sup> See Henkelman 2003d: 253-9; cf. Tavernier 2004: 37-8. Compare also the Neo-Elamite relief from Qal’eh-ye Tol, south of Īzeh, which depicts two rulers concluding a treaty (cf. §1.5.2 fn. 121 below). Though we can only guess at the historical context, the image speaks of allegiance and the formation or conservation of a political network, not of fragmentation and factional strife. Since one of the rulers (the one on the right of the relief) is dressed in a somewhat more elaborate garment, he may be the other’s overlord. This suggests a parallel with Hanni the *kutur* of Ayapir who, in his own inscription, did not fail to mention his overlord Šutur-Nahhunte. On Hanni see Henkelman *o.c.* 258 and §1.4.4 sub B (with fn. 34) below.

<sup>19</sup> Borger 1996: 299 (3 i 7; cf. 106, 227) and Waters 2000: 54.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Henkelman 2003d: 254-5. Fuchs (2003: 135; cf. 132) independently reached a similar conclusion and tentatively suggested that “der König von Hidalu vielleicht als eine Art Markgraf fungierte, dem die Verteidigung der elamischen Ostgrenze oblag. Eine solche Aufgabe würde die ständige Anwesenheit eines engen Verwandten des regierenden Königs und seine Ausstattung mit besonderen Vollmachten, einem Königtum, immerhin gerechtfertigt haben.” I very much agree with Fuchs that, since Tammaritu son of Urtak reigned only as king of Hidali, he should not be counted as ‘Tammaritu I’ in lists of Elamite kings. There was only one Tammaritu who ruled the Elamite kingdom and he was, in Fuch’s proposal, son of an Ummanigaš (Huban-nikaš)

that was under the command of Imbappi, the son-in-law of the king of Elam (cf. §§1.4.4 sub K, 5.2 fn. 839 below). Moreover, there is an Assyrian letter (ABL 1309) documenting the entrance of an Huban-nikaš, probably Huban-nikaš II (Waters 2000: 60), into Hidali. If that city had been beyond the king's political control, the visit would be rather hard to explain, but it would be a regular occasion if we assume that Huban-nikaš controlled all of Elam, including Hidali. Finally, in later years, the Assyrian documentation continues to refer to Elam as a unified whole, ruled by a single, paramount 'king of Elam.' In short, the 'king of Hidali' is not an argument for a weakened and fragmented Elam, but rather points to a coherent elite surrounding the ruling dynasty and holding the state's strategically important positions. A century later, the Achaemenids would apply the same principle – starting with Cambyses' rulership of Babylon during his father's reign – and in this context too would it generally lead to more stability, rather than fragmentation.

A second example is that of Atta-hamiti-Insušnak's titles. The king introduces himself in the inscription on his stele as "I am Atta-hamiti-Insušnak, son of Hutran-tepti, King of Anšan and Susa, Expander of the Realm, Holder of the Throne of Elam, Sovereign of the Land of Elam" (EKI 86:1-2).<sup>21</sup> As such Atta-hamiti-Insušnak presents himself as heir to his great Middle Elamite predecessors, in whose inscriptions the same titles can be found. Now, are the titles just a propagandistic tool, or do they reflect a political reality? Did Atta-hamiti-Insušnak in fact still rule the region of Anšan in the highlands? This is what Vallat thinks and he presents it as the main argument for assigning Atta-hamiti-Insušnak a date in the period 646-585, rather than 585-539 BC (1996a: 391). According to Vallat, the Neo-Elamite kings still had control over Anšan until *ca.* 585 BC, but lost it to the emergent Teispid dynasty. That Ummanunu, Šilhak-Inšušinak II and Tepti-Huban-Insušnak (cf. table 1.1 above) no longer used the title 'king of Anšan and Susa' means that they must be dated to the very last part of Neo-Elamite history, when, in the eyes of Vallat, the Elamite state was fragmented and weak. The question is, however, whether one should assign that much authority to royal titles, especially when the corpus is fairly limited. There is only one small inscription by Šilhak-Inšušinak II. No inscription of Ummanunu survives; the ruler is only mentioned in the Acropole texts, where, logically, no extensive titles are used.

and grandson of Huban-haltaš I (2003: 136-7), or, more likely, son of Ummanigaš and nephew of Huban-haltaš I (Waters 2006b). On the 'king of Hidali' see also Waters 2000: 53-60, 107 and Stolper 2004b: 308. De Miroschedji saw the position of king of Hidali as an argument for a tripartite *cursus honorum* in the rulership over Elam (1986). This idea has rightly been rejected by Waters (*ibid.* 32-3) and Quintana (1996). On the 653 campaign see Córdoba 1997.

<sup>21</sup> For the interpretation of the titles see Grillot 1984 (followed here).

Most of Tepti-Huban-Insušnak's inscriptions are short brick inscriptions; of the sole longer inscription (EKI 85) the first lines are broken off. Conversely, there are, for example, quite a number of inscriptions of the all-powerful Middle Elamite ruler Šilhak-Inšušinak I that do *not* mention the title 'king of Anšan and Susa.'<sup>22</sup> But apart from the doubtful historical reliability of Neo-Elamite royal titles, Vallat's argument is clearly circular: the title 'king of Anšan and Susa' must reflect an actual territorial control that was lost sometime in the sixth century, Atta-hamiti-Insušnak's reign should thus be placed earlier and this results in a neat division of rulers who were still 'king of Anšan and Susa' and rulers who could not make such claims anymore.<sup>23</sup> As we have seen (§§1.2-3 above), there are good arguments, both orthographic and historical, to place Atta-hamiti-Insušnak at the end of Neo-Elamite history, at the time of Darius' accession. If he contested the latter's rule in Khūzestān, his use of the Middle Elamite titles suddenly gains much ideological significance (cf. Tavernier 2004: 25). This scenario, which seems very realistic, shows how risky the reliance on titles can be when trying to establish whether Elam's last century was characterised by political weakness and fragmentation.

1.4.2. *The stability of the Elamite state* – On the positive side, there are some grounds to suggest that the state of Elam, in the Assyrian and the post-Assyrian period, was not that unstable after all.

The documentation regarding the Assyrian campaigns against Elam is relatively abundant and consists, apart from Assyrian royal inscriptions, of letters to and from the Assyrian court and of the precious Babylonian Chronicle series. From *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*, Matthew Waters' recent synthesis of this rich material (2000), one gains the impression that the Assyrian armies did not inflict much lasting damage on the Elamite state until 653 BC. Rather, Elam was a military power to be reckoned with, hence, for example, Merodach-baladan's continued efforts to win and keep the Elamite king's allegiance to his anti-Assyrian cause (Brinkman 1965). From the reign of Tiglath-pileser III onwards there were military successes on both sides such as the Assyrian retreat effected – at least according to one source (ABC 1 III.16-8) – by Huban-menana at Ḫalule in 692, and the assault on Sippar by Huban-haltaš II in 675 BC (ABC 2 IV.9-10). But there were

<sup>22</sup> Inscriptions of Šilhak-Inšušinak I without the 'King of Anšan and Susa' title: EKI 32 = IRS 40; EKI 33 = IRS 44; EKI 35 = IRS 43; EKI 36; EKI 38 = IRS 49; EKI 38A; EKI 41 = IRS 47; EKI 41A; EKI 44A-D; EKI 46; EKI 47 (partly = MDP 53 19 = IRS 48); EKI 48; EKI 48A; EKI 48B; EKI 54 (i.e. the majority of this ruler's inscriptions lacks the title).

<sup>23</sup> Recently, Vallat (2006) has adduced new 'evidence' on the reign of Atta-hamiti-Insušnak, but since the relevant text is not illustrated or cited in transliteration, it is impossible to evaluate his claims (cf. 5.2 with fn. 848 below).



also periods of peace. An *adē* treaty between Urtak and Esarhaddon was concluded on the basis of equality, involving the exchange of royal children as peace-securing hostages.<sup>24</sup> There is no clear indication that Elam was in steady decline during these early decades of the seventh century, but rather that it continued to be looked upon, by its allies and enemies, as a leading power in the opposition to the Assyrian expansion and as a formidable foe with whom the Assyrian king concluded a peace treaty on equal terms (cf. similarly Fuchs 2003: 129). This changed in the short period from 653 to 645 BC when Assurbanipal deployed his armies on a massive scale in a series of campaigns against Elam. For the first time Assyrian forces marched far into Elam and wrought large-scale devastations in the land and in the cities. It is clear that the severe military pressure had begun to destabilise Elam's political institutions. Yet, this should not automatically be taken as an indication that the instability was permanent or that the said institutions suffered from an irreversible political weakening or even from a complete collapse.

Elam's resilience throughout most of the period of military confrontation with Assyria should caution us: was this strength really null and void after the 653-645 period? Is it not *a priori* more likely that Elam recovered once the eight dramatic years were past, especially since, from the 630s onwards, Assyrian power was waning? It may be noted in this context that Assyrian sources, as far as they are available, never stop referring to Elam in a way that implies that the land was a territorial and political unity. This fact deserves emphasis, for the Assyrian sources show a certain awareness of the institutional status of foreign polities.<sup>25</sup> At the height of Assurbanipal's control over Elam there may have been an attempt to transform the land into an Assyrian province (cf. Mattila 1987; Waters 2000: 57-9), but, if so, this project was short-lived: both kings installed on the Elamite throne by the Assyrians (Huban-nikaš II and Tammartu) quickly defected from their overlord and continued their rule as independent monarchs.

The image of Elam as a state that effectively challenged Assyrian claims to regional hegemony and that, in the eyes of its prime opponent, maintained its

<sup>24</sup> See Parpola & Watanabe 1988: xvi-iii; I. Starr 1990: 84 n° 74; Waters 2000: 42-5; Luukko & Van Buylaere 2002: xxi-ii, 4 n° 1; Reynolds 2003: xxi, xxxiii, 7-9 n° 7 (mentioning a festival to celebrate the treaty), 168-70 n° 202; Álvarez-Mon [forthc. 2]).

<sup>25</sup> As Lanfranchi 2003: 87 states, "When it was obvious, or necessary, or convenient to designate a foreign polity as a truly established and fully structured state, worthy of being placed at the same *institutional* level as Assyria (...), the Assyrian chancery used a simple 'territorial' toponym, such as Urartu, Elam, or Īhubuškia. When the Assyrian chancery wished to stress that a foreign polity was at a lower *institutional* level than Assyria (...), it used 'toponyms' formed with *bīt* generally prefixed to a personal name (...), referring to the 'familial' (or even 'dynastic') model which was considered more primitive and less developed."

political unity, is also of great importance for the evaluation of the Elamite monarchy as such. The relatively short reigns of most Neo-Elamite rulers and the frequent changes in power may easily be taken as a sign of fundamental political instability. Yet, it should be noted that the majority of Neo-Elamite rulers seem to have been member of the same one or two royal families.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the very concept of usurpation should not simply be equated with *institutional* instability. Instead of viewing it as a mere intrusive and disruptive factor, usurpation may well be seen as a potential instrument to challenge a ruling king and acquire power *within* a stable monarchical system.<sup>27</sup> The particular constellation, found in our sources, of military strength, complex political and military hierarchy (cf. §1.4.4 below), dynastic exclusivity, apparent political unity *and* short reigns point to the latter rather than the former definition.

Even the apocalyptic destructions of the mid-640s did not erase Elamite kingship, not even temporarily. Immediately after the raids, the correspondence between Assurbanipal and Huban-haltaš III about the demand for extradition of the Sealand ‘rebel’ Nabû-bēl-šumāti resumed (see Malbran-Labat 1975: 34-6; Waters 2000: 77-9). And though Huban-haltaš III himself was shortly afterwards taken prisoner by the Assyrians, this again does not necessarily imply a break in Elamite kingship. The series of kings whose reigns can now be dated to the post-Assyrian period (cf. §1.2 above) may very well have started directly after Huban-haltaš III. Plausibly, they quickly regained a certain political stability and military power. This would explain a reference in a Babylonian chronicle (ABC 2:16-17) to the return of cult statues from Uruk, where they had been taken by the Assyrians, to Susa in the accession year of Nabopolassar. Evidently, the Neo-Babylonian king

<sup>26</sup> Cf., most recently, Waters 2006a and *idem* 2006b. Compare also Assurbanipal’s reference to the older and the younger royal families of Elam (prisms A VI.81-3 ~ F V.57-8; see Aynard 1957: 56-7 and Borger 1996: 56, 241).

<sup>27</sup> See Flaig (1992; cf. *idem* 1997: 19-20), whose analysis of usurpation in the Roman Empire leads to a conception of the phenomenon not as the ‘illegal’ appropriation of power, but as the successful and therefore acceptable challenge to the ruler in office by a rival. This challenge is understood as a political category, not as (un)constitutional behaviour: usurpation is the *possibility* of a change of rule within the (stable) framework of a monarchy. This model does not apply to monarchies in which legitimacy is strictly defined by an uncontroversial principle, such as primogeniture; in such contexts Flaig speaks of conspiracy (1992: 205-6). In the Neo-Elamite state we are, in my view, quite far from such a constitutional monarchy. Flaig himself points to the case of Parthian empire, in which a king could be challenged by another member of the Arsacid dynasty who would gather the support of part of the nobility and gain acceptance as a new ruler by his successful usurpation (*ibid.* fn. 91). It deserves recommendation to approach the Neo-Elamite monarchy from a similar perspective.

was seeking support for his insurrection against Assyria. His gesture does seem to imply that 1) a certain authority was present in Susa and able to receive the statues by 625 BC, i.e. less than one generation after the Assyrian raids, and 2) that this authority could command sufficient troops to be of interest to Nabopolassar.<sup>28</sup>

The Acropole texts yield a similar impression: that of a Susa-based monarchy that minimally controlled a network of towns in larger parts of Khūzestān and, apparently, some regions to the east, and that had bonds with (tribal) groups living in the same regions and beyond.<sup>29</sup> Continuity is also suggested by the few Neo-Elamite royal inscriptions from the post-Assyrian period. Kings still showed their piety by building and restoring temples (EKI 78; EKI 82-84; EKI 89). They campaigned against Elam's enemies (EKI 79-80) and had dealings with towns located east of the Susiana plain, in the Fahliyān region, such as Gisat and Bessitme (EKI 86). And they still organised grand sacrificial feasts, in which a host of cultic dignitaries and court officials participated (EKI 85).

1.4.3. *The Elders of Elam* – At this point it is worthwhile recalling a curious affair that occurred in the course of Assurbanipal's campaigns. A group of Elamites referred to as “the Elders of Elam” secretly wrote to Assurbanipal in an apparent attempt to stop the Assyrian aggression against Elam. In his reply (BM 132980), recently published by Matthew Waters (2002a), Assurbanipal addresses these

<sup>28</sup> See Stolper in Stolper & Carter 1984: 53; see also Diakonoff 1985: 23; Potts 1999a: 289-90; Waters 2000: 102. Fuchs has recently suggested that among the statues sent back to Elam, that of Nanna/Nanaya, taken to Mesopotamia by Assurbanipal, may have been the most prominent (2003: 134). On the statue of Nanaya in Susa cf. Vallat 2002b. Compare also the exchange of captured gods from Akkad and Elam conducted between Urtak and Esarhaddon in 674 BC (ABC 1 IV.17-8, 14 21-2; Bab. C VII.5-11 [Borger 1956: 25]); cf. Van der Spek 1983: 23; Waters 2000: 42-3. An Assyrian list of temple treasures to be sent to Elam may relate to this episode (Fales & Postgate 1992: xxiv-v, 78-80 n° 60; Frame 1992: 99-100; Waters *l.c.*). In a letter to the Elders of Elam, Assurbanipal promises to send back Elamite gods on the condition that Nabû-bêl-šumāti be extradited (BM 132980 rev.16' (text and commentary in Waters 2002a: 82-3).

<sup>29</sup> I think that the only viable interpretation of documents dated at towns other than Susa and found among the Acropole texts is that these towns were in the same administrative network as Susa. The town that is most often mentioned, after Susa, in the date formula is Huhnur (see Vallat 1993a: 101 for references), situated at Tepe Bormī in the Rām Hormoz plain (Nasrabadi 2005; cf. §§151, 2.3.1 fn. 245 below). Hidali is also mentioned in date formulae (s 65, s 69, s 238, s 261); this town is to be situated east of Huhnur (cf. App.7.2 below). Bupila (s 34, s 38, s 40, s 100, s 138, s 184, s 220) and Šulluggi (= Šullaggi, s 235) are located in central and eastern Khuzestān (see Stolper 2006b and §6.6.6. fn. 981 below).

Elders of Elam as such and emphatically states that his only interest is the extradition of the aforementioned Nabû-bêl-šumāti, the grandson of Merodach-baladan, who had found refuge in Elam. Three additional letters (ABL 281, ABL 792 and ABL 1286), also discussed by Waters, confirm that Nabû-bêl-šumāti was the prime concern of the Assyrians and that the matter of his extradition caused a split among Elam's elite.<sup>30</sup> Apparently, the rebel prince continued to find some support in the country, though king Huban-haltaš III himself was quite willing to hand him over to the Assyrians. From ABL 281 we even learn that Nabû-bêl-šumāti had managed to get hold of part of the annual grain revenue and used this capital to guarantee his protection. In these dire circumstances – parts of the population were suffering from acute famine – the Elders of Elam stepped in to avert further Assyrian aggression. At first sight this seems a sign of serious political disintegration: apparently the Elamite king did not have the authority to solve the Nabû-bêl-šumāti matter, and in response to this an *ad hoc* body of 'elders' emerged. While it cannot be denied that the severe Assyrian pressure led to the emergence of several competing factions at this time in Elam, it is also true that it was the Elamite king who eventually solved the matter by sending Nabû-bêl-šumāti's corpse to Assyria. More important, the Elders of Elam were not a novel body and thus indicative of a dissolution of traditional monarchical rule. The elders were in fact part of the traditional make-up of the Elamite state as shown by a Middle Elamite inscription of Šilhak-Inšušinak I that mentions the "Elders of Elam" (*urip ... hatamtip*) as first part of a triad that clearly describes the kingdom's elite (EKI 54 I.94; see §3.6.1.1 with fn. 563 below). This or a similar body apparently still existed at the time of the Assyrian raids, acted as a representative organ, and was recognised as such by Assurbanipal in BM 132980.

At the same time, the problems with the grain revenue give us a precious insight in Elam's economy. As ABL 281 describes, grain was normally collected centrally and then redistributed by the crown, *via* its provisioners, to people who were dependent on such rations ("they live on it") and who, in all likelihood, worked for the crown. The fact that Bêl-ibni, the author of the letter, knew that such people were called *šarnuppu*, i.e. Elamite \**šarnup* ("those who are entitled to apportionment," *vel sim.*), confirms his intimate knowledge of the system as it functioned under regular circumstances.<sup>31</sup> Problems arose because the king's chief

<sup>30</sup> For the three letters and their historical context see also Malbran-Labat 1975: 30-5; Stolper 1978a; De Vaan 1995: 29, 63-4, 243-8, 284-7, 307-10; Waters 2000: 75-80.

<sup>31</sup> See Stolper 1978a (cf. CAD Š/II 65 s.v. *šarnuppu*). The *šarnuppu* are not the provisioners themselves, as De Vaan 1995: 246-8 implies. Note that the people that rose up against Huban-haltaš III as a result of Nabû-bêl-šumāti's grain theft lived in the

collector and director of the redistribution system, Umḥulumā', was befriended by Nabû-bēl-šumāti, who eventually took a larger part of the revenue for himself. This action disrupted the whole system and caused a regional uprising. The injured parties did not protest against the king, or the redistribution system itself, however. Rather, they asked the king, as highest arbiter, to solve the matter. The subsequent imprisonment of Nabû-bēl-šumati probably resulted in a return to the normal run of things. In short, despite its narration of a disruption of the redistribution system and the ensuing famine, ABL 281 primarily underlines the fact that, in principle, Elam was a centrally-governed state even in the 640s and that the crown headed a large-scale redistribution economy.

There is good reason to assume that the centralised redistribution system survived, in some form, the Assyrian raids and was eventually inherited by the Persians. Several elements of the system as described by Bēl-ibni are recognisable in the Fortification archive from Persepolis. That corpus describes the collection of revenue in grain, livestock, fruit, wine and beer from a large region under the supervision of a central administration based at Persepolis and headed by Parnakka, who represented the Achaemenid crown and held a position much like that of Umḥulumā' in Elam. Part of the annual revenues were consigned to certain persons responsible for apportioning it to large groups of dependent workers (*kurtaš*), who are often described as *gal makip*, "consuming rations," just as the *šarnuppu* who "live on" the grain apportioned to them. The Fortification texts use a phrase, PN *šaramanna*, approximately "for PN to apportion" (cf. §2.4.1.3 below), a form of the same verb, *šara-* from which Neo-Elamite *\*šarnup* is derived. As Stolper (1978a) has brilliantly argued, *\*šarnup* and *šaramanna* (and its variants) reflect two perspectives on essentially the same system. Whereas *\*šarnup* represents a view from below – in ABL 281 the dependent workers injured by the disruption of redistribution – *šaramanna* reflects a vision from above, the perspective of the administrators of the Persepolis economy and of the Fortification archive as such.

To recapitulate, there is no doubt that the institutions that made up the state of Elam were affected by the circumstances of the years 653-45, but at the same time the mere survival of these institutions into this period pleads for their strength and thus for the stability of the Elamite state. As the institutions do not seem to have collapsed completely even in the period of its greatest crisis, there is every reason to expect that they resumed normal routine once the Assyrian pressure subsided. Moreover, the redistribution network, undoubtedly controlled by means of a refined administrative apparatus, clearly was inherited by the Persians, who applied it, on an even grander scale, in the central region of the Achaemenid Empire.

region of Šullaggi, which, at the time of the Fortification tablets, was administered from Persepolis (on the town of Šullaggi see §6.6.6 fn. 981 below).

1.4.4. *The Princes of Elam* – When the deposed Elamite king Tammaritu and his family fled to Assurbanipal’s court (649 BC?) *via* the southern marshes, they were accompanied by no less than 85 *rubê ša māt elamma*, “nobles (or magnates) of Elam.”<sup>32</sup> Neo-Assyrian historiography and official correspondence, as well as late Neo-Elamite administrative documents and royal inscriptions – notably those of Tepti-Huban-Insušnak and Hanni – offer some striking glimpses of what sort of ranks, titles and positions may have been held by these princes of Elam. The evidence on Elam’s military, civilian and cultic hierarchy could easily be the basis of a monograph of its own. The non-exhaustive survey below is merely intended to indicate its richness and significance.

A One of the highest positions within the Neo-Elamite state must have been that of “king of Hidali.” As argued above, Hidali was of such strategic importance that its governor was a member of the royal family who was allowed to use the title of king (cf. §1.4.1).

B Hanni was *kutur* of Ayapir (*ku-tur* <sup>AŠ</sup>*a-a-pir-ra/-ir-ra*), a term that means “caretaker, protector.”<sup>33</sup> Since Hanni acknowledges king Šutur-Nahhunte son of Indada as his overlord, *kutur* must imply some form of subordinated or delegated power, hence Hinz’s translation “Fürst.”<sup>34</sup> Arguably, Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada, was king of the Neo-Elamite state, not a regional ruler (cf. Henkelman 2003d: 258; Tavernier 2004: 20-1). It would seem that the population of Ayapir,

<sup>32</sup> Prisms B VII.63 ~ C VIII.53 (Borger 1996: 111, 230). The dramatic flight, by ship, to the marshes in the Sealand, is related in detail in a series of epitaphs on Assurbanipal’s reliefs; see Weidner 1932/3: 199 n° 68-70 ~ Borger *o.c.* 314-5 no. 68-70. Cf. CAD R 399-400 s.v. *rubû* 2c.

<sup>33</sup> See EKI 75:5, EKI 75A 3-4, EKI 76:1 (*ku-tur* <sup>AŠ</sup>*a-a-pir-ra*; the title is not followed by NIM-*ma*, “in Elam” [as in Hinz 1962b: 112; cf. EW s.v. NIM.lg], but by *lu-da-ma* [coll. Steve 1992: 158-9]), and EKI 76A 5.

<sup>34</sup> Hinz 1962b: 107; cf. EW s.v. *ku-tur*. Stolper 1988: 277 suggests “leader, chief,” and also stresses that Hanni had a “local, sub-regal authority.” Hanni’s explicit mention of his subordinate position *vis-à-vis* the Elamite king deserves emphasis (cf. Henkelman 2003d: 258): it does not strike me as the attitude of a ruler who exercises “considerable autonomy” (Potts [forthc. 5], commenting on post-Assyrian Elam), but rather as that of a local chief who owed his position as *kutur* to the paramount ruler, who apparently took pride in this title, and who, by expressing his dependence, acknowledged his place in a reciprocal network of (delegated) power and a hierarchy of loyalties *directed by the Elamite crown*. Moreover, regardless of the amount of autonomy Hanni exercised in Ayapir, it cannot be stressed enough that, as in the Achaemenid Empire, local autonomy is not automatically a sign of central weakness.

like that of early-modern Īzeh, was semi-pastoralist (cf. ★§7.3), even though the central settlement in the valley may have been of a significant size (cf. §1.5.2 fn. 121 below). Hanni's position, therefore, must have been different from that of the king of Hidali. He may well have been a powerful local chieftain, who swore allegiance to the Elamite king and thus was recognised or appointed as the *kutur* of Ayapir. That would not, however, make him any less a part of the fabric of the Neo-Elamite state.

- C In Neo-Assyrian sources several officials are introduced as *nāgīru* (NIMGIR). When referring to an Elamite official, this may not be a simple “herald,” but rather a representative commander (*legatus*) acting for the Elamite king or for the viceroy of Hidali. Thus, we find a “*nāgīru* of Elam” (also “of the king of Elam”), a “*nāgīru* of the palace,” and a “*nāgīru* of Hidali.”<sup>35</sup> Compare the reference to the “Governor of the land Elam” ([PN ... *bēl p]iḫati ša māt elamma*), perhaps the same or a similar position as the one held by the *nāgīru* of Elam.<sup>36</sup>
- D Another high official was known to the Assyrians as a *zillīru*; the title or designation is undoubtedly an Elamite loan. Undaddu the *zillīru* occurs alongside Ummanšībar, the *nāgīru* of the palace.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Esarhaddon: Luckenbill 1924: 45 v.82-3 (Humban-undaša *nāgīru* [<sup>lū</sup>*na-gi-ru*] of the king of Elam, chief commander of the armies of Elam); Assurbanipal: Borger 1996: 299 2.1.4-5 (Simburu *n.* of Elam); *ibid.* 3.1.6 (Umbakidinnu *n.* of the land/district of Hidali). Cf. Weidner 1932/33: 178-9, 187, 200-1 ( “Vogt”); Russel 1999: 158. Letters: ABL 281:10-1 (Ummanšībar the *n.*; cf. De Vaan 243-8); ABL 521 r.16 (revolt of the *n.* against the king), ABL 781 r.2 (the *n.* of the palace [of Elam]), ABL 576 and ABL 1114 (*n.* on a diplomatic mission). See also ABL 1063 l.13 (Fuch & Parpola 2001: 82), CT 53 110+ 11.9-10 (*ibid.* 88), ABL 1315 l.25 (*ibid.* 91), CT 53 359 r.4 (*ibid.* 145). On the title of *nāgīru* (in non-Elamite contexts mostly “herald”) see CAD N/1 117-8 s.v. *nāgīru* 2.

<sup>36</sup> Borger 1996: 306; cf. Weidner 1932/33: 187 (“der Statthalter von Elam”). Compare Elamite *hutlak* (sub F below).

<sup>37</sup> Undaddu the LÚ.*zi-il-li-ru* occurs in ABL 281: 11 (cf. De Vaan 1995: 243-8); the word is once more attested, in ABL 462 r.4 (*ibid.* 261-65), but the context is broken. The EW s.v. LÚ.*zi-il-li-ri* thinks of an Elamite toponym (“der aus Zilli(?)”), but that does not seem likely in this context. Zadok (1985: x) suggested that *zillīru* is an Elamite designation for a high professional, ending on the animate gender suffix *-r*: “an Elamite professional designation.” Zadok thought of *zilla-* (itself unexplained) as the base of *zillīri*, but the word may simply be a rendering of Neo-Elamite \**šilhira*, “the strong one” (for the base see EW s.v. *šil-hi-me*, *šil-hi-ni*).

E Zinêni the *ša pān ekalli*, “palace supervisor,” of Ištarnandi, king of Hidali, occurs in a Neo-Assyrian epigraph, together with Umbakidinnu, *nāgiru* of Hidali.<sup>38</sup> The title or designation may be compared to that of Šutruru, described by Hanni as “my *ragipal*” (EKI 76:12).<sup>39</sup> As Hinz suggested, *ragipal* may be the Elamite rendering of Akk. *rabi ekalli*, “master of the palace, *maior domus*.”<sup>40</sup> Šutruru the *ragipal* is once more referred to as such in an epigraph (EKI 75B<sup>o</sup>) on Hanni’s relief (KF I). This text is inscribed on the skirt of Šutruru, who is shown standing behind Hanni, carrying a bow, quiver and sword that probably belong to his master. Apart from *ragipal* and weapon-bearer, Šutruru was also *gilirra* (EKI 76:12), lit. “ruler, commander” (cf. §3.6.3.2 below on *gili*-).<sup>41</sup> He was, therefore, a high (military) official whose rank came with the court title of *ragipal*. The same may be true for Zinêni, given the military context in which this ‘palace supervisor’ appears. Finally, officials with the same title, written <sup>(BE)</sup>GAL.E(*sic!*). GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>, occur in the late Neo-Elamite Acropole archive as recipients of various goods. It would seem that, in late Neo-Elamite Susa, there were at least three officials with the title of *ragipal/rabi ekalli* at the same time.<sup>42</sup>

F One of the members of Hanni’s entourage at Kūl-e Farah, Šutruru, is identified by an epigraph as the “*nisikkir* (of) Hanni” (EKI 75C). The title may literally

<sup>38</sup> See Borger 1996: 299 3.1.8, 306; cf. Waters 2000: 38 with fn.33. Weidner 1932/33: 178-9, 187 (followed by Russell 1999: 158) reads *ša pān māti*, “Vorsther des Landes.”

<sup>39</sup> EKI 76:12 (*ra-gi-pal-ú-ri*). The title *ragipal* occurs three more times: EKI 75B, EKI 76:22, 33. Should one compare the DN Ragiba, mentioned by Assurbanipal (on which see Krebern timer 2007)?

<sup>40</sup> Hinz 1950a: 287 fn. 13; cf. EW s.v. *ra-gi-bal*. As *ragipal* may have been pronounced /rakpal/ (with the usual syncope of the second vowel), the form may result from *p/k* metathesis (*\*rapigal* > *ragipal*). On the Akk. designation see CAD E 61 s.v. *rabi ekalli*.

<sup>41</sup> Elsewhere, I have argued that the particular constellation of ceremonial functions and titles of Šutruru suggest that his function is not unlike the position Ašbazana and Parnakka had at Darius’ court and in the Persepolis administration (cf. §123-8).

<sup>42</sup> See S 9:1-3 (the people of Huban-haltaš the *r.*; cf. EW s.v. *hw.ráb.E.GAL.lg*), S 22:1 (*r.* [no PN]), S 39:7-8 (Huban-dunuš the *r.*), S 145: 8 (Harina the *r.*), S 163 (people of Huban-haltaš the *r.*), S 181: rev.5-6 (Huban-haltaš [the *r.*]<sup>1</sup>), S 232 (Huban-[haltaš?] the *r.*<sup>1</sup>). On the contemporaneity of Huban-haltaš, Harina and Huban-dunuš see Steve 1986: 13-4, who also draws attention to the fact that Harina has an Iranian name (cf. Hinz 1975a: 40 [with references]; Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.2.1.5 and §5). A *rabi ekalli* is also mentioned in two Nineveh letters (cf. EW s.v. *hw.ráb.E.GAL.lg*; Vallat 1998d: 99-100; Waters 2000: 92) and in the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* (Steve 1986: 14; on this document cf. §4.1.4 below). See also Potts [forthc. 5] on the function of the master of the palace at Neo-Elamite courts.



mean “he who preserves, protects,” and could therefore be rendered as “(captain of the) body guard.”<sup>43</sup>

- G The Elamite appellative *teppir* (also *tipira*), found throughout Elam’s history, was still in use in the Neo-Elamite period. In Hanni’s main Šekaft-e Salmān inscription a *tipira* is praying and reading the inscription.<sup>44</sup> The title or designation appears twice in EKI 85 (ll.5, 15), where it refers to one of the officials involved in a large sacrifice collectively referred to as *lap*, “officials” (cf. §6.7.6.3 below). A certain Tammaritu, *teppir* (of) the king of Elam, was reportedly mentioned in an inscription on a “bronze turner” sent as a gift to Ištar of Uruk, possibly by Te’umman.<sup>45</sup> Though a *teppir* may have had actual scribal duties, most pre-Achaemenid attestations of the term seem to point to its use as a (court) title for higher officials, who could perform certain rituals.<sup>46</sup>
- H Prominent among the leading officials of Te’umman was Itunî, his *ša rēši* (*šūt rēši*), whose despair, at the sight of his ruler’s severed head, is shown on two Assyrian reliefs and narrated in an epigraph.<sup>47</sup> *ša rēši* are also among the officials deported from Elam by Assurbanipal,<sup>48</sup> and a *rab ša rēši* apparently belonged to Te’umman’s court.<sup>49</sup> Finally, a *ša rēši* is mentioned in ABL 462: rev.4°, in a context that also mentions a *zilliru* (cf. D above) and a certain Umḫulumā’, probably the crop-revenue collector known from ABL 281 (cf. Q below).<sup>50</sup> As the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian evidence shows, *ša rēši* did not mean

<sup>43</sup> The word is presumably derived from the verbal base *niški-/nušgi-*, “to protect, preserve” (for the š/s change cf. Stolper 2004a: 71). Compare DN ... *un niškišni*, “may DN protect me” in A<sup>2</sup>Sa<sub>e</sub> 5. The interpretation given in EW s.v. *ni-si-ik-ki-ir* (“Leibwächter”) seems to be based on a similar etymology (cf. EW s.vv. *ni-iš-gi-iš-na*, *ni-iš-ki-iš-ni*).

<sup>44</sup> Praying: EKI 76:18, 29; reading: *ibid.* 23, 29. Cf. Hinz 1962b: 114-5; EW s.vv. *be-ra-an-man-qa*, *be-ra-an-ra*, *be-ra-man-ra*; Tavernier 2007e: 62; §3.6.2 below (on *kulla-*, “to pray”).

<sup>45</sup> So Waters 1999a, commenting on ABL 268, in which the gift and the inscription are mentioned.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Tavernier 2007e, who also discusses the occurrences in the colophon of the Neo-Elamite *Omen Text* (Scheil 1917: 34, 36, 53) and the *Šutruru Stele* (EKI 74 1.26-7, possibly a grant of estates to a *teppir*; on the stele see §§3.6.3.1 and 6.4 ad l.14 below).

<sup>47</sup> See Borger 1996: 302 16.ii.8 (cf. Weidner 1932/33: 182-3), Gerardi 1988: 22-3 and Russell 1999: 173-4 (fig. 57), 176 (fig. 59), 182-3.

<sup>48</sup> Prisms A VI.89 ~ F V.62 (Aynard 1957: 56-7; Borger 1996: 56, 241).

<sup>49</sup> CT 54 567, discussed by Waters 2000: 71.

<sup>50</sup> See De Vaan 1995: 261-5 for the text; cf. Waters 2000: 73-8.

“eunuch” in these periods, but was a court title for a certain, higher class of royal officials with a range of different functions, including military (so Jursa [forthc. 1] and Pirngruber [forthc.]).

- I Nēšu the “supreme commander (*ālik pāni*) of the troops of Elam” is mentioned by Assurbanipal together with Undasu, the son of Te’umman, Zazaz the city lord of Pillatu, Par(r)ū the city lord of Ḫilmu, and Attametu the chief archer.<sup>51</sup> Earlier, Sennacherib referred to Imbappa (Imbappi), the leading military official of the Elamites as *turtānu*, commander-in-chief, general (*vel sim.*).<sup>52</sup>
- J *šaknū*, “governors, commanders (in charge of troops, army units),” are among the magnates deported to Assyria by Assurbanipal.<sup>53</sup>
- K Four individuals with the designation *rab qašti*, “chief archer” are known, all in inscriptions from the reign of Assurbanipal. Two are mentioned in the copy of an epigraph describing the entourage of king Tammaritu: Utteḏi the chief archer and Te’umman the chief archer of Bīt Ḫallā [...].<sup>54</sup> A third chief archer is Attametu, who is mentioned among leading Elamite officials: Nēšu, Undasu, Zazaz and Par(r)ū.<sup>55</sup> The fourth chief archer presents the most interesting case: Imbappi (not the same as the I. mentioned sub I), the chief archer of Elam at Bīt Imbī, in the prism F edition of the annals,<sup>56</sup> appears as *qīpu* (“city administrator,” cf. sub P

<sup>51</sup> Prisms B VII.18, 26 ~ C VIII.7, 16 (Borger 1996: 109, 229); cf. Baker & Waters 2001.

<sup>52</sup> Luckenbill 1924: 49 8; cf. Brinkman 1965: 164-5. On the title see CAD T 489-90 s.v. *turtānu*; Waters 2000: 22 fn. 67 (with references); on Imbappa see Waters 1998. Ever since Hinz 1952: 240, Elamite *muktu* has been translated as “general” (*vel sim.*; cf. Hinz 1986: 232; EW s.v. *mu-uk-tu*<sub>4</sub>; Zadok 1984a: 29 [149, “bailiff, magistrate”]; Vallat 1998d: 102-3), and would therefore be comparable to *ālik pāni* or *turtānu*. The interpretation seems based on the assumption that <sup>GAM</sup>MU<sup>MES</sup> is an abbreviation of *muktu* (EW s.v. *GAM.mu.lg*) and that MU should be understood as *rabū* (Scheil 1917: 37-8). If I understand the argumentation (never made explicit by any of the commentators) correctly, this implies that MU is a pseudo-logogram, which was pronounced *muktu*. The connection between the two words is far from certain, however, and the contexts in which *muktu* appears are hardly helpful.

<sup>53</sup> Prisms A VI.86 ~ F V.61 (Aynard 1957: 56-7; Borger 1996: 56, 241); cf. CAD Š/I 185-6 s.v. *šaknu* 2a (see also *ibid.* 186-7 s.v. *šaknu* 2b).

<sup>54</sup> Weidner 1932/33: 198-9 n° 67; Borger 1996: 314 n° 67; cf. Waters 2000: 49.

<sup>55</sup> Assurbanipal, prisms B VII.17 ~ C VIII.6 (Borger 1996: 109, 229); cf. sub I above; on Attametu see Radner 1998; Waters 2000: 65, 69, 85.

<sup>56</sup> Prism F III.53-4 (Aynard 1957: 44-5; Borger 1996: 47, 237); cf. Borger *o.c.* 166, 237 G1E 35'-36'.

below) of Bīt Imbī and son-in-law of Huban-haltaš III in the parallel passage in the prism A edition.<sup>57</sup> Finally, a number of (anonymous) chief archers were also among the officials deported by Assurbanipal.<sup>58</sup>

- L *tašlīšu*, literally “third man (of a chariot crew),” is a title sometimes used for a high officer in the Assyrian army (cf. CAD T 291-3 s.v. *tašlīšu*). It is used in Sennacherib’s annals as the title for Tannānu, apparently second in command after Imbappa (Imbappi), the *turtānu* of Elam.<sup>59</sup> “Third men” were also among the officials carried off to Assyria by Assurbanipal (Prisms A VI.87 ~ F V.61; see Borger 1996: 56, 241). Remarkably, Elamite third men also appear in two texts published as ‘account from a ceremonial banquet’ at the Assyrian court,<sup>60</sup> but in this case we may be dealing with neither commanders, nor Orson Welles impersonators, but actual chariot drivers in the royal guard.
- M The “Elders of Elam,” addressed in a letter by Assurbanipal, seem to have been an important body in the Elamite state organisation. In a Middle Elamite royal inscription *urip*, “Elders,” appear as first part of a triad that clearly describes the kingdom’s elite (cf. §1.4.3 above).
- N Zazaz, city lord (*bēl āli*) of Pillatu, and Par(r)ū, city lord of Hilmu appear together with Undasu, the son of Te’umman, Nēšu the supreme commander of the troops of Elam, and Attametu the chief archer.<sup>61</sup>
- O Among the many magnates deported to Assyria by Assurbanipal are *ḫazannāti*, “mayors.”<sup>62</sup>
- P Also among the deportees are *qīpāni*, “(city-)administrators, delegates.”<sup>63</sup> In one edition of the annals, Imbappi, elsewhere introduced as chief archer, stationed at

<sup>57</sup> Prism A V.1; see Borger 1996: 46, 238; cf. Waters 1998 and Parpola 2007.

<sup>58</sup> Prisms A VI.86 ~ F V.60 (Aynard 1957: 56-7; Borger 1996: 56, 241).

<sup>59</sup> As is suggested by the order in which they appear. But note Brinkman 1965: 165 fn. 43, where the *tašlīšu* is considered as “the actual commander of the Elamite troops.”

<sup>60</sup> Fales & Postgate 1992: 155-6 n° 149 III.10'; *ibid.* 159 no. 152 rev. 1.1'.

<sup>61</sup> Prisms B VII.15-6 ~ C VIII.4-5 (Borger 1996: 109, 229); cf. sub I, K above.

<sup>62</sup> Prisms A VI.84 ~ F V.59 (Aynard 1957: 56-7; Borger 1996: 56, 241). See also the (Elamite?) *rab ḫalṣē*, “fortress commanders,” of fortresses erected by the Elamite king in Yadbūr (Lie 1929: 52-3; cf. Brinkman 1986: 202).

<sup>63</sup> Prisms A VI.86 ~ F V.60 (Aynard 1957: 56-7; Borger 1996: 56, 241); cf. CAD Q 265-6 s.v. *qīpu* 1d2'.

Bīt Imbī (cf. sub K above) is referred to as the *qīpu* of Bīt Imbī, son-in-law of Huban-haltaš III.<sup>64</sup>

- Q Umḫulumā' occurs in two Neo-Assyrian letters from the 640s, one of which describes him as the chief collector of the entire revenue-crop of Elam and director of a centralised redistribution system, a function comparable to that of Parnakka in the Fortification texts.<sup>65</sup>
- R The title of the leading official mentioned in the Acropole texts, Kuddakaka, was *araš-hutlak*, a designation that may literary mean “representative of the (royal) stores” (cf. §6.4 ad l.15 below), but that certainly implies a high administrative rank.<sup>66</sup> Besides the *araš-hutlak*, the Acropole archive reveals a whole variety of (administrative) designations, including *kapnuškira*, “treasurer,” *araš-nušgira*, “keeper of the (royal) stores,” and *kapnuški-hutlak*, “representative of the treasury.”<sup>67</sup> Incidentally, the Neo-Assyrian use of *nāgīru*, lit. “herald,” for high-ranking Elamite officials (cf. above, sub C), may relate to the Elamite use of *hutlak* in a similar developed sense.
- S *šangē*, “temple administrators,” are also among the people deported from Susa by the Assyrians.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Prism A V.1 (Borger 1996: 46, 238); cf. Waters 1998.

<sup>65</sup> ABL 281 (text: De Vaan 1995: 243-8); see also ABL 462: rev.3 (*ibid.* 261-5); cf. Stolper 1978a; Waters 2000: 73, 78 and §1.4.3 above.

<sup>66</sup> See also Hinz 1952; EW s.v. *a-raš.hu-ut-lak*; Waters 2000: 93-4; Potts [forthc. 5]; Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.3.2.1.1 with fn. 45.

<sup>67</sup> *kap-nu-iš-ki-ra*: S 3:6-7, S 244:6, S 285:3-4°; plural: *kap<sup>?</sup>-nu-iš-ki-ib-be* in S 6 rev.6 (cf. EW s.v. *kap.nu-iš-ki-ib-be*; Jusifov 1963b: 237, 246 takes the word as an adjective). *a-ráš-nu-iš-gi-ir-ra*: S 8:2-3 (cf. Hinz 1952: 241; EW q.v.). *kap-nu-iš-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>[-ra]* *hu-ut-lak*: S 281:5-6 (EW lists the designation under *kap.nu-iš-k[i].hu-ut-lak*). Compare also the enigmatic GAL.ki-man/GAL.ku-me<sup>MEŠ</sup> (see EW s.vv. *ki-man*, *ku-me.lg*, *ráb.lg*).

<sup>68</sup> Prisms A VI.46 ~ F V.33 (Aynard 1957: 54-5; Borger 1996: 54, 241). Most manuscripts read <sup>lú</sup>*ša-an-ge-e*, but there is a varia lectio <sup>lú</sup>*ša-an-gu-ge-e*. Borger (*l.c.*) thinks this is the *lectio difficilior* and thinks that the word should be considered an Elamite term for a certain class of cultic personnel like *buhlalē* (< Elam. \**puhu-lar*) in the same paragraph. Though not excluded, a scribal error seems more likely as explanation for <sup>lú</sup>*ša-an-gu-ge-e*. (cf. §3.6.5 with fn. 621).

- T A leading cultic official during the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte II was Šutruru the *bašišu* GAL, as appears from the *Šutruru Stele*, a document describing a land grant to Šutruru.<sup>69</sup> The title or designation of this Šutruru is a loan from Akk. *pašišu rabû*, “high priest,” and is used, in the same inscription, alongside the Elamite designation *šatin* (EKI 74 I.43). A “high priest (<sup>AS</sup>*ba-ši-šu* GAL) of the temple of Kamrum” occurs in EKI 85:22 (cf. §6.7.6.3 below). EKI 85:14 has a “high-priestess of the ‘aside’ temple of Humban (<sup>AS</sup>*en-te*.GAL É.DA<sup>rMES1</sup> [<sup>AN</sup>]*hu-ban-na*; cf. §6.7.6.3 below).<sup>70</sup>
- U The *šikšippe* in EKI 85:10 most probably are a certain class of priests; they were involved in sacrificial feasts known as *šup* or *šip*.<sup>71</sup>

The evidence cited here is from various sources and various periods and does not, therefore, present a coherent system. It does, however, suggest that the Neo-Elamite state entertained a large and complex military, civic and cultic hierarchy. This is not only true for the period up to the 640s, for which most documentation exists, but also for the post-Assyrian period. Perhaps the most telling post-Assyrian example is that of Hanni, who explicitly styles himself as a dependent and local ruler, yet proudly introduces his own entourage of court officials (B, E, F, G).<sup>72</sup>

The Neo-Assyrian sources are obviously to be treated with some caution, since they inevitably look at Elamite society from an Assyrian perspective and project familiar functions and titles on Elamite officials, whose status may only approximately have been the same. The argument may also be reversed, however, since the very apparent willingness of the Assyrians to recognise parts of their own state apparatus and (court) titles in Elam implies a recognition of the complexity of that state. Assyrian interest in and recognition of Elamite titles and designations is further underlined by the observation that some of the appellatives are loans from Elamite (*zilliru*: D)<sup>73</sup> and that others may suggest an understanding of Elamite titles (C, M, perhaps K). At the same time, it must be admitted that the Assyrian sources

<sup>69</sup> On the stele (EKI 74) cf. §§3.6.3.1 and 6.4 ad I.14 below. *bašišu* GAL occurs in II.1-2, 5-6, 7-8, 10-1, 16-7, 26.

<sup>70</sup> EW q.v. reads <sup>GAM</sup>*pa-ši-šum ra-Γbu*<sup>rMES</sup> MUNUS<sup>MES</sup>, “Oberpriesterin,” in *PBP* rev.9, but the reading seems uncertain.

<sup>71</sup> They also appear in s 117 (and s 274?); cf. Vallat 2002/03: 540; §6.7.6.3 fn. 1038 below; \*§7.1.4.

<sup>72</sup> Compare also \*§7.3 on the iconographic and textual expression of the Ayapiran social hierarchy.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Akk. *buhlalē* for \**puhu-lar* (see §3.6.5 with fn. 621 below) and *šarnuppu* for \**šarnup* (§1.4.3 with fn. 31 above).

are sometimes patently inadequate to answer our questions on the princes of Elam. This is, for example, the case when Sennacherib sneers at the Elamite noblemen at Ḫalule, who were “bedecked with golden ornaments, wore golden daggers, had their fingers covered with golden rings” (Luckenbill 1924: 45 v.84-8), but leaves us in the dark as to the possible (if not likely) function of such ornaments as insignia of rank and honour (cf. B. Jacobs 1996 for an Achaemenid parallel).

The Assyrian sources reveal a certain interest in, and an understanding of the upper layers of Elamite society, but a more or less reverse phenomenon is also attested. Elamite society had adopted a number of Akkadian titles, as appears from *ragipal* and *bašišu* GAL (E, T). Such evidence may simply be explained from the age-old cultural receptivity of (lowland) Elam *vis-à-vis* its western neighbours, but a more precise context may apply here as well: that of Elamite royals, like the later rulers Huban-nikaš II and Tammaritu of Hidali, who spent some time at the Assyrian court and may have brought back some of its features upon their return to Iran.<sup>74</sup> The circumstance that the Assyrian sources readily recognise some of the leading offices of the Neo-Assyrian state among the higher ranks of the Elamite monarchy may, in some cases, be related to such a particular cultural influence.

1.4.5. *Elam's prosperity* – A striking feature of the Neo-Elamite period, especially in the century after the Assyrian raids, is that its material culture indicates a certain (and unexpected) prosperity. Undoubtedly the most striking case is the Kalmākarra hoard, a group of silver plates, bowls, rhytons, zoomorphic vessels and other types of ceremonial tableware, some with Neo-Elamite inscriptions, that is reported to have been plundered from a cave in the Rūmišgān district in southern Lorestān. Only part of the hoard has been confiscated by the Iranian authorities; the remainder disappeared into the antiquities trade and has been auctioned all over the world.<sup>75</sup> Given these deplorable circumstances, it is hard to assess the composition

<sup>74</sup> Álvarez-Mon ([forthc. 2] §6) recently developed the thesis of the presence of Elamite princes at the Assyrian court as a window of opportunity for the transmission of Assyrian artistic traditions to Iran. Compare Lanfranchi's reflections (2003) on the *adē* treaties as a possible context explaining the adoption of Assyrian “models as regards the royal attire, the royal protocol, and generally the customs, and even the various luxury paraphernalia” (p. 117) by Zagros elites. Against that background, not only the *adē* treaty between Esarhaddon and Urtak or that between Assurbanipal and Huban-nikaš II are of importance, but also that between Esarhaddon and the local ruler Ḫumbareš, city lord of Naḫšimarti (cf. §5.2 fn. 835).

<sup>75</sup> See Henkelman 2003a: 214-27 for a preliminary survey and tentative interpretations of the inscriptions. Vallat's (2005) correction of my reading of Kal. 15, used to suggest an alternative interpretation, is not based on collation of the inscription, and is contradicted by photographs (cf. §5.3 fn. 853 below). Compare also Muhly's acute



fig. 1.2. Compound zoomorphic vessel reportedly from Kalmākarra, now in the Falak ol-Aflāk Museum, Khorramābād (photograph Ali-Reza Farzīn)

and nature of the original hoard. It can be assumed, however, that it comprised more than one hundred silver vessels, many works of exquisite craftsmanship (cf. fig. 1.2). These vessels seem to have belonged to a local dynasty or clan that ruled a polity called Samati, probably situated in the border region of Ellipi and Elam. “Inhabitants of Samati,” or perhaps better “Samatian tribesmen” or “men of the Samatian chiefdom” (*puhu samatip*) are mentioned in one of the Acropole texts

remarks (2004) on the role of H. Mahboubian in the Kalmākarra saga and the uncanny parallels with the Jiroft saga discussed by Muscarella (2005: 175, 180). Objects said to be from Kalmākarra cave, some inscribed, keep emerging in the market; often, these are (poor) fakes. Some vessels, now in private collections, have inscriptions not reported in Henkelman 2003a. A lotus-bud shaped vessel (“a pre-Achaemenid silver cup, circa 600-550 BC”) was sold by Bonhams at the 14/v/2003 auction in Knightsbridge (sale 10187, lot 242) for no less than £950,000 (see [www.bonhams.com](http://www.bonhams.com)). The vessel has an inscription reading “Ampiriš, king of Samati, son of Dabala” (i.e. Kal. 1a). If it is genuine, it is without the slightest doubt Iranian patrimony stolen from Kalmākarra cave. Muhly (*o.c.*) cites another case, of a griffin-shaped rhyton acquired, for \$950,000, by Paula Cussi, a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

from Susa (S 94 rev.11).<sup>76</sup> One of these Samatians is Anni-šilhak, probably the same individual as one of the ‘kings’ (chieftains) of Samati.<sup>77</sup> Based on this indications, the silver hoard can plausibly be dated to the same period as the Acropole texts, i.e. the first half of the sixth century BC (see §1.2 above).

It is not immediately clear what kind of links joined the kings of Elam and the kings of Samati. The latter polity may have been outside Elam’s direct political control, but it certainly lay within the Elamite cultural and economic zone, hence the Elamite anthroponyms (alongside a few Iranian names), the Neo-Elamite inscriptions and the contacts with the Elamite crown documented by the Acropole texts. Perhaps the Samatians were a semi-autonomous community, like the Kossaii and Ouxioi in the Achaemenid empire (cf. Briant 1982f: 57-112). If they lived in the Rūmišgān district, they may well have been agro-pastoralists who traded their surpluses in livestock, wool and other animal products, perhaps in exchanges with the agents of the Elamite state.<sup>78</sup> They were, apparently, quite well-to-do. In fact, the sheer size of the Kalmākarra hoard and the quality of many of the objects contrast sharply with the notion that the later Neo-Elamite period was characterised by general decay.

One question that arises at this point is whether Kalmākarra is an exception, or an indication of the overall level of prosperity in the period under discussion. Confirmation of the thesis that ‘Kalmākarra’ is not an exceptional case is the rich inventory of a stone burial chamber, discovered by chance in 1982 at Arġān near Behbahān in eastern Khūzestān. The funerary deposits, in and outside of a bronze coffin, included an elaborate bronze stand (or ‘candelabrum’), a large gold ceremonial object (‘ring’), a dagger decorated with precious stones and gold filigree, a silver rod, a bronze lion beaker and a large bowl with engraved scenes. Four of the objects have an Elamite inscription reading “Kidin-Hutran, son of Kurluš.” Apart from metal objects, the tomb also contained remains of em-

<sup>76</sup> Cf. §3.6.5 with fn. 625 for the meanings of *puhu* in comparison with Akk. *māru*.

<sup>77</sup> See Vallat 1996b and *idem* 2000b (see also the cautious remarks by Tavernier [forthc. 2]). Apart from Anni-šilhak, there are six or seven other Kalmākarra names that also appear in the Acropole texts, most of which do not appear anywhere else. These shared anthroponyms (even if perhaps not all of them refer to the same individual), the occurrence of Samatians in the Acropole archive, and especially the mention of a Samatian named Anni-šilhak in S 94 convinces me that there is indeed an “undeniable connection” (Henkelman 2003a: 222). Its precise implications can be debated, naturally, but I maintain that the link between the two sources as such is or should be consequential for our view on the Elamite state. I do not believe that it is “of questionable historical value” (Waters 2005: 532-3), despite the evident problems regarding ‘Kalmākarra’ or the difficulties in understanding some of the Acropole texts.

<sup>78</sup> Some Acropole texts, e.g., S 5, record the distribution of objects made from silver.



broidered garments. The 98 gold bracteates, also found in the coffin, may have been sewn to one or several of these garments. There is now a *communis opinio* on the tomb's date: the later seventh or early sixth century BC (i.e. contemporaneous with the Kalmākarra hoard and the Acropole texts).<sup>79</sup>



fig. 1.3: Sb 6711, bull knob from Neo-Elamite Susa  
(from: Harper, Aruz & Tallon eds. 1992: 210)

The Arġān find is of major importance for its international context. The tomb inventory displays a range of different styles and iconographic themes (Phoenician, Syrian, Elamite, Assyrian) and some objects probably reached Kidin-Hutran *via* long-distance trade. This is particularly true for the textiles found in the tomb, at least three of which are made of cotton – these are, in fact, among the earliest Near Eastern examples of cotton garments. As Javier Álvarez-Mon argues, maritime trade between Elam and Dilmun, where cotton was grown in

this period, is the most likely source of the fabric or the raw material (Álvarez-Mon [forthc. 1]). The same author has devoted a study to a large bronze bowl from the tomb that continues the tradition of similar Phoenician bowls and echoes certain themes from Assyrian iconography. The rich engraved decoration of the bowl also attests, however, to explicit adaptation to a local cultural context (*idem* 2004; cf. Stronach 2004 and *idem* 2005: 185-8, 190-4). The depicted scenes (a drinking ceremony, hunting, life in the marshes, a tribute procession bringing horses, lions

<sup>79</sup> Publications on the tomb include Vallat 1984; Alizadeh 1985 (with older literature); Majidzadeh 1992; Carter 1994: 72-3; Jamzadeh 1996: 15; Potts 1999a: 303-6; Bleibtreu 2000; Stronach 1997: 41-2; *idem* 2003; *idem* 2004; *idem* 2005; Daems 2001: 40-1; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 481-2; Henkelman 2003a: 185-6; Álvarez-Mon 2004; *idem* 2008; *idem* [forthc. 1]; *idem* [forthc. 2]; *idem* [forthc. 3]. Javier Álvarez-Mon is currently preparing a doctoral thesis on the Arġān tomb. The Kurluṣ mentioned in the Arġān inscriptions could be the same as the Kurluṣ who appears in some of the Acropole texts (see Vallat 1984: 3-4).

and other animals to the ruler, a mock battle, a music scene) are the expression of a world-view or, in Álvarez's words, an *imago mundi* that is at least partially Elamite, but that in its choice of themes (such as the tribute procession) also heralds later Achaemenid iconography in a striking way.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, the theme and style of the couchant bulls supporting the Arġān stand or 'candelabrum' represent a tradition known from Neo-Elamite Susa (cf. fig. 1.3) and continued in the monumental bull capitals supporting the roof of the throne halls of Susa and Persepolis (Álvarez-Mon [forthc. 3]),<sup>81</sup> By contrast, the lion beaker incorporates strong echoes of Neo-Assyrian court art (*idem* 2008). In a fifth study, Álvarez discusses the Assyrian and Elamite antecedents of the Arġān 'ring' and the lion-griffins depicted on it, as well as, once more, its relevance for Achaemenid culture (Álvarez-Mon [forthc. 2]). From all this it appears that, 'Arġān' is best seen as an astonishing cultural crossroads, as a manifestation of the foreign and indigenous materials, styles and iconography present in the later Neo-Elamite period, and as a prefiguration of Persian culture.<sup>82</sup>

Elam's wealth is also referred to in the Assyrian sources. Assurbanipal has left us an elaborate description of the riches piled up in Susa and plundered from that city: silver, gold, precious stones, costly equipment, weapons, furniture, statues of former kings...<sup>83</sup> Glimpses of this splendour can still be gleaned from, among other objects, the beautiful glazed plaques and other ornaments that adorned the

<sup>80</sup> As do various objects from the tomb; cf. Stronach 1997: 41; *idem* 1999: 180-1; *idem* 2005: 181-5, 88-90.

<sup>81</sup> The 'candelabrum' has also supporting atlas-figures wearing an Elamite-type helmet and the Elamite 'court robe' or 'Fransenmantel,' a garment with long fringes and borders with rosettes also worn by the four-winged genius at Pasargadae (see references in Henkelman 2003a: 192-3; add Canal 1976 [introducing a Neo-Elamite limestone plaque with a winged scorpion-man and a four-winged genius wearing the Elamite court robe], Potts [forthc. 5] fn. 74 and Root [forthc.]). See also figs. 1.7-8 below. Álvarez-Mon places the elements mentioned in an Elamite-Iranian tradition.

<sup>82</sup> Another burial chamber was recently discovered during construction works near Rām Hormoz. It included two u-shaped coffins, comparable to the one found at Arġān, with the remains of two women. Associated with these burials, a large number of gold, silver and bronze objects, including objects described as 'armlets,' some with Elamite inscriptions were found. The inscriptions (of the PN<sub>1</sub> DUMU PN<sub>2</sub>-na type) suggest a Neo-Elamite date (pers.comm. Sh. Razmjou 26/x/2007; cf. <http://www.payvand.com/news/07/jun/1248.html>; [http://www.tehrantimes.com/index\\_View.asp?code=169151](http://www.tehrantimes.com/index_View.asp?code=169151)). When properly published, the Rām Hormoz find, now in the National Museum of Iran, may prove to be yet another important indicator of Elam's cultural and material prosperity during the Neo-Elamite period.

<sup>83</sup> Prisms A V.126-VI.76 ~ F IV.67-V.54 (Aynard 1957: 53-7; Borger 1996: 52-5; 240-1).

Neo-Elamite temples at the time of the destructions (fig. 1.4). Earlier still, Sennacherib recalled that the Elamite noblemen at Ḫalule (692 BC) stood “on silver chariots, were bedecked with golden ornaments, wore golden daggers, had their fingers covered with golden rings.”<sup>84</sup> In both cases a certain literary hyperbole may be assumed, but it is clear that, in Assyrian eyes, Elam was a land of great resources and fine craftsmanship. From the transactions of valuable goods recorded in the Acropole texts one gets the impression that some of this wealth was still to be found in Elam after the 640s. Also, some of its original splendour seems to have been restored to Susa in this age, as late Neo-Elamite building inscriptions testify. Reference should be made to inscriptions on two alabaster horns, over one meter in size, dedicated by Šutur-Nahhunte in a newly-constructed temple for Pinigir built of glazed bricks (EKI 71a-b; cf. Vallat 1990d; *idem* 1995) and to a building inscription of the temple for Inšušinak constructed by Hallutaš-Inšušinak (EKI 77 = IRS 58).<sup>85</sup> The palace complex may also have been restored in post-Assyrian times, only to be demolished by Darius’ architects who re-used the space

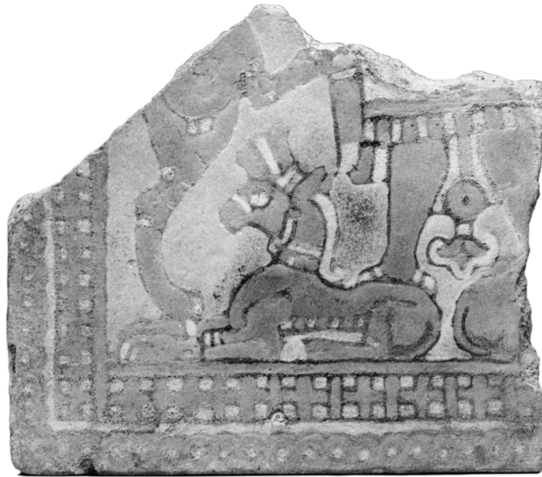


fig. 1.4: Sb 3352, glazed plaque from Neo-Elamite Susa  
(from: Harper, Aruz & Tallon eds. 1992: 206)

<sup>84</sup> Luckenbill 1924: 45 v.84-8, 89, 92 (cf. the comments of Liverani 2003: 10-1). See also *ibid.* 133 l.88 (wagons and chariots of the Elamite king in Sennacherib’s palace).

<sup>85</sup> See also the inscriptions mentioned above (§1.4.2). Scholarly activity in post-Assyrian Susa is possibly shown by an Elamite omen text (Scheil 1917; cf. Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 477) and an Elamite hemerology (Scheil 1925: 157). Both texts are dated to the period 750-653 by Steve 1992: 22, but a later date should be considered according to Vallat 1984: 14 n. 55 and Tavernier 2004: 35-7, 40. A Lamaštu plaque, reportedly from Susa, may be mentioned here as well (see Nougayrol 1965; *idem* 1966; Gubel & Jean 2007). Note also the fragments of Assyrian annals (Esarhaddon?) found in Susa, perhaps reflecting a local historiographical interest (Scheil & Legrain 1913: 36-45). Or were these texts taken as booty from Assyria during the sack of Nineveh in which Elamites may have been involved (cf. Henkelman 2003a: 198-9)?



fig. 1.5: Sb 6597, silver portrait head from late Neo-Elamite Susa  
(from Amiet 1966: 471)



fig. 1.6: Sb 457, glazed portrait head from late Neo-Elamite Susa (from: Harper, Aruz & Tallon eds. 1992: 209)

for the Achaemenid palace.<sup>86</sup> Large-scale projects like this latter palace, combined with poor archaeological documentation, explain why finds from the later Neo-Elamite period at Susa are scarce and often difficult to date. Among the objects that seem to post-date the Assyrian destructions is a hoard of precious objects, such as a delicate silver portrait (fig. 1.5)<sup>87</sup> and a series of small glazed objects, including a few eye-catching small portrait heads (fig. 1.6).<sup>88</sup>

<sup>86</sup> So Vallat 1999a; see also Potts [forthc. 5]. Compare Boucharlat 1994: 225 on the foundation technique, at home in Neo-Elamite Susiana, deployed once more for the Achaemenid palace at Susa. Apart from replacing the old palace, Darius also seems to have restored some Neo-Elamite constructions, such as the fortification mentioned in DSe (most explicitly in text copy DSe<sub>a</sub> 001 ll.33-6, where the king states that these fortifications were different from the ones he himself made; cf. Steve 1974a: 20 with fn. 25, 23-4). Note also the interesting detail of the Hammurabi law code found at Susa: following a recent reconstruction by Charpin, the stele must have been intact and visible after the Assyrian destruction of the city (see Charpin 2003). Similarly, a reference from the Achaemenid period to the goddess Nanaya at Susa (Sb 9385 in Joannès 1990: 173-5) suggests continuity of her cult even after Assurbanipal had removed her cult image (cf. §1.4.2 fn. 28 above on the possible return of the statue).

<sup>87</sup> The find includes, apart from the silver portrait, a pair of hands (from the same statue?), a snake-shaped sceptre, several faience wigs with gold applications and a blue faience

1.4.6. *Elam's regional network and trade relations* – The observation that the material culture of Elam and that of culturally affluent border regions attest to a certain level of prosperity leads to the question how this wealth was generated. Regional and long-distance trade may have been the dominant factor.

First, there is the trade or exchange network documented by the Acropole texts. Apparently not only towns (Susa, Hidali, Huhnur, Bupila) and their inhabitants were involved in the transactions, including places with Iranian names (Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.2.2.1-3), but also some groups named after individuals, such as the *lalintašbe* (S 135), who may be named after the Lalintaš of one of the Kalmākarra inscriptions (Kal. 14; see Vallat 2000b). As such, the *lalintašbe*, “Lalintaš-people,” are probably members of a tribal group. Various other names mentioned in the archive may well refer to similar groups or polities.<sup>89</sup>

The contacts between the Neo-Elamite crown and tribal groups, whose main activity was probably sheep-based (agro-)pastoralism, are interesting for two reasons. First, they underline the fact that some sort of bond existed between the Elamite king and the tribal polities. Exchanges of goods are hardly ‘neutral’ in this sort of situation and imply at least some bond of mutual obligation and non-aggression. Though the tribes need not have been direct subjects of the king, a formal recognition of his position may well be implied in the exchanges. As I have suggested elsewhere, the Acropole texts may reflect arrangements similar to the way the Achaemenid kings and the chiefdoms of the Ouxioi and Kossaii fostered their mutually dependent relationships (see Henkelman 2003d: 258-9). Viewed in this light, the number of non-Susian groups mentioned in the texts is, once again, not a sign of weakness or disintegration, but rather a testimony to a complex and extensive tapestry of relationships in which the dominant part is reserved for the Neo-Elamite king. The other important inference from the Acropole texts is that Susa was apparently the nucleus of the regional network of trade or exchanges.

dove. The objects had, apparently, been stored (or hidden) together. On this find see Amiet 1966: 469-71, 526-9, 534; *idem* 1988: 119 (dating the find to the post-Assyrian period); Daems 2001: 36, fig. 145.

<sup>88</sup> The series of glazed objects seems to continue throughout most of the Neo-Elamite period; some objects are plausibly to be assigned to the latest period, but proper archaeological data that could confirm this are often lacking. See Amiet 1966: 486-523; *idem* 1967; *idem* 1976: 13; Heim 1992. On Neo-Elamite II female portraits and other depictions of women see Daems 2001: 34-6, 38 (Naqš-e Rostam), 39-40, figs. 134, 142, 145-6, 152-4. Compare Martinez-Sève 2002: 36-73 on Neo-Elamite figurines (in general). On the art of the Neo-Elamite II period in general see Carter 1999: 286-9.

<sup>89</sup> See Vallat 1992/02 and Henkelman 2003a: 212-3. Cf. Perrot 1986 on pastoralism in the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid Susiana. The individuals after which the groups are, as Tavernier ([forthc. 2]) stresses, named are living persons, not eponymous ancestors.

That textile products seem to be included in many of the transactions makes this inference even more interesting,<sup>90</sup> for this is probably the key to understanding the wealth of groups such as the Samatians, whose chieftains managed to collect over one hundred silver objects in what is now the Kalmākarra hoard and deemed themselves worthy of the title ‘king.’ Plausibly, such pastoralist groups or polities traded their wool surplus in the form of garments *via* the Neo-Elamite palace.

The range of contacts fostered by the Neo-Elamite kings seems to have extended westwards to the Aramaeans in the borderland between Elam and Babylonia and even beyond, to Babylonia proper. Also, long-standing political and military alliances were forged with Chaldaean groups to counter Assyrian expansionism and rebel leaders often found refuge in Elam.<sup>91</sup> We have evidence that these contacts were sometimes formalised by dynastic marriages, such as the one between a sister or other female relative of Tammāritu and Šumā, son of Šum-iddina, a member of the Babylonian Gaḥal family.<sup>92</sup> Waters has recently pointed out a second case, that of the marriage between the Chaldaean leader Merodach-baladan and an Elamite woman. From this union a son with the Elamite royal name Huban-nikaš was born.<sup>93</sup> Another way to foster and strengthen alliances was the exchange of gifts, such as the horses and horse trappings for Ištar of Uruk sent by the king of Elam (see Waters 1999a). There are also cases of direct political control exercised by the Elamite kings over some of the Aramaean polities.<sup>94</sup> On the

<sup>90</sup> That garments are meant by such terms as *tukli* and *kuktu* is reasonably certain; on the basis of this it can be established that a major part of the texts deals with textiles. What types of textiles and what colours are referred to is much less clear; the interpretations of Hinz 1967c should be treated with much caution (even in the case of well known words, like *karsuka*, “painted, coloured, decorated,” which can also be used with *apti*, “quiver” [S 82:1], and therefore does not automatically point to textiles). On the textile trade revealed by the Acropole texts see also Álvarez-Mon [forthc. 1].

<sup>91</sup> See Brinkman 1965; *idem* 1984: 28-31; *idem* 1986; Waters 2000, *passim*. Even when the Elamites told Assurbanipal that they would extradite the rebel Nabû-bēl-šumāti, who had caused them great trouble, they stated that they would only do so “in embarrassment” (ABL 792; see De Vaan 1995: 284-7; Waters 2002a: 85).

<sup>92</sup> ABL 282; see Stolper *apud* Brinkman 1984: 30 fn. 148; Glassner 1994: 220; De Vaan 1995: 248-52; Waters 2000: 64; *idem* 2006a: 64-5.

<sup>93</sup> See Waters 2002b. As Huban-nikaš is the name of several Elamite kings and princes in this period, it is certainly plausible that his mother belonged to the Elamite royalty; perhaps she was a sister of Merodach-baladan’s ally king Huban-nikaš I (cf. §5.2 fn. 835 below). On some of the individuals named Huban-nikaš see Fuchs 2003: 134-7, with the response by Waters 2006a: 63-4.

<sup>94</sup> E.g., when Huban-haltaš II granted Nabû-ušallim control over parts of the Sealand (ABL 0576 and ABL 1114; see Dietrich 1970: 24-5; Waters 1999c; *idem* 2000: 38-9). Cf.

whole, however, we see a range of different relationships, typical of the relations between semi-autonomous (pastoralist) tribal entities and a sovereign state (cf. Brinkman 1986: 204). One example that seems to point to shared interests and integrated socio-economic systems is the reference to 1,500 heads of cattle “of the king of Elam and the sheikh (*nasīku*) of the Pillatu tribe,” apparently grazing in the same region, near the Persian Gulf coast.<sup>95</sup> Undoubtedly, exchanges and trade were also a regular form of contact between the Elamite state and Aramaean and Chaldaean communities.<sup>96</sup> In this respect, it is interesting to note that Aramaean inhabitants of Gambūlu exported wool and were able to pay a tribute *in silver* to the Assyrian sovereign (i.e. at the time they were still subjugated by him; cf. Brinkman 1986: 202). Religious acculturation, finally, is also detectable in the sources. In the city of Avva, in western Khūzestān, though primarily inhabited by Aramaeans (judging from the names), Elamite deities were worshipped (see Zadok 1976a: 62 fn. 6; Potts 1999: 302 with references).

The case of the Aramaeans may be exemplary for the range of relations between the Elamite state and various (semi-pastoralist) groups in its periphery.<sup>97</sup>

Brinkman 1986: 201-2, commenting on the Aramaean “royal cities” on the Elamite side of the frontier zone with Babylonia, and other indications of Elamite leadership in the area, and Parpola 2007 on Rāši (and Bīt Imbī). Note Yabi-il, “from the sheikhs of the king of Elam,” in a fragmentary Neo-Assyrian letter, ABL 1331, sent by a Šama’gunu, who was stationed in the Tubliaš region (in the Elamite-Babylonian border region). Šama’gunu occurs in two more letters, in one of which he is addressed as “brother” by a certain Ummaniša, a person with an Elamite name (Dietrich 2003: xxxix-x, 135-6 n° 153-5). That the king of Elam was not omnipotent in the Aramaean area appears from ABL 1315 (Fuchs & Parpola 2001: 90-1), which describes an audience of the sheikhs of Ḫuppapānu and Pillatu with the king of Elam, who, apparently, vainly tried to convince them to make war. On Pillatu (and Ḫuppapānu) see Stolper 2005b (with references).

<sup>95</sup> ABL 520; see Malbran-Labat 1975: 24-5 and De Vaan 1995: 265-9.

<sup>96</sup> The ‘people of Appalaya/Zari’ mentioned as a party in various transactions in the Acropole texts may be members of an Aramaean group or polity. Cf. Henkelman 2003a: 213 with fn. 114; *idem* 2003d: 257.

<sup>97</sup> Caution is warranted in the case of the Aramaeans: though the available evidence certainly includes characteristics that would be at home in a society in which tribal pastoralism plays an important role, there are also indications for many towns and a large settled population. Von Dassow (1998) is right in noting that the term ‘tribe’ is not very helpful in this context. As it is, the evidence rather suggests complex dimorphic polities, probably of various types. This justifies the perspective chosen here: drawing a parallel between the Aramaeans in the west to similar dimorphic zones to the north and east of the Neo-Elamite kingdom. I have – for the lack of another general term appropriate to a situation in which little diagnostic information is available

Parallel to what may be described as the western ‘dimorphic zone’ of intense contacts between agro-pastoralists and a significant sedentary population (cf. Rowton 1973a-b; 1976), there was a similar northern zone in Lorestān, towards Ellipi. In this region there is evidence for a growing Iranian presence in the first millennium, alongside signs of Elamite cultural influence. This is not only evident from the Kalmākarra hoard, but also from such sites as Sorkh-e Dom and Čīgā-ye Sabz.<sup>98</sup> Direct contact with the Elamite state is recorded in the Acropole texts in case of the Samatians. Other forms of contact are likely to have existed as well, especially in view of the two larger Neo-Elamite sites in the plains of Deh Lorān and Patak.<sup>99</sup> It is clear that the Elamite crown had political influence in the region, as appears from its repeated interference in Ellipian affairs.<sup>100</sup>

Finally, one can plausibly postulate a third dimorphic zone in the eastern regions of the Elamite state. The group that is of main interest in this context is that of the *parsip*, “people of Parsa, Persians,” who are regularly mentioned in the Acropole texts and who will be discussed in a later section (see §1.5.1 below).

Besides the regional network described above, there is some evidence for relations that involve longer distances. An Acropole text (s 158 rev.5-6) attests to exchanges with the “king of the Egyptians” (<sup>BE</sup>EŠŠANA <sup>AŠ</sup>*mi-iz-ri-[ib-be-]na*).<sup>101</sup> There is also some evidence for Elamite-Urartean trade and perhaps political contacts. Combining archaeological data with the evidence from the Acropole texts, Barnett surmised, already in 1954, that Susa might have exported textiles with embroidered patterns to Urartu, that these textiles reached Anatolia and the eastern Aegean and that their patterns were copied on Greek vases (1954: 16-7; 1956: 230-4).<sup>102</sup> The most important trade route, however, was the one leading from northern Arabia and Babylonia, *via* Dēr, to Elam and further east. It has been argued that the introduction of camel caravans in the first millennium made this

about social and political structures – used the term ‘tribe’ a few times in the context of Elamites and Iranians, but tried to qualify it wherever possible.

<sup>98</sup> See Henkelman 2003a: 196-8, with references, to which add Tavernier [forthc. 2], where the Iranian names mentioned in the Kalmākarra inscriptions are discussed (see 2.2.1.24, .28, .67). See in particular Moorey 1999 on Middle and early Neo-Elamite influences in Sorkh-e Dom; on some of the Iron Age II-III findings from the same site see also Daems 2001: 23, 34, 36, 38, 41, figs. 92, 134-5, 141, 147, 157.

<sup>99</sup> See de Miroschedji 1986; *idem* 1990: 60-1; compare also Potts 1999b and 2005a: 167-72 (arguing that Tepe Patak cannot be ancient Madaktu as de Miroschedji thought).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Henkelman 2003a: 196-8 (with references); see also Fuchs & Parpola 2001: xxix-xxxi on the pro-Elamite faction (Nibê, Lutû) in Ellipi.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Hinz 1987: 126; Tavernier 2004: 30.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Amiet 1966: 468, 498-9; Briant 1984b: 90-1; Henkelman 2003a: 200 fn. 63. Urartean influences on Neo-Elamite art: Boucharlat 1994: 223.



route, through the Arabian desert, economically viable. Its opening must have meant a major shift in commercial activities at the cost of the northern route, part of which was controlled by Assyria, and probably was a key element in the Elamite-Babylonian alliances of this period (Gibson 1991: 33-7; cf. Radner 2003a: 52). The presence of Babylonian merchants' colonies in western Iran (Silḫazi, Til-Aššurī, Hidali, Sumuntunaš, Ḫilmu), well-established for the Neo-Elamite period and continuing into the Achaemenid period (Susa, Ḫumadēšu = Matezziš; cf. §4.4.2 below), should probably be seen against this background. Other indications come from a merchant's archive from Nippur, which attests to trade in equids and timber, *via* Dēr, with Elam and more easterly regions in the eighth century.<sup>103</sup> Much of the Assyrian interference in Iran and Babylonia, including continuous efforts to gain or hold possession of the strategic town of Dēr, can in fact be explained as a series of attempts to control the southern trade route and the commercial ties between Elam and Babylonia. It seems inevitable that once this pressure had subsided, Elam and Babylonia profited all the more from these commercial ties.<sup>104</sup>

1.4.7. *The State of Elam: a preliminary assessment* – In the preceding sections a number of characteristics of the Neo-Elamite state, both in the period of Assyrian military involvement and the period after the 640s, has been discussed. It has been suggested that purported signs of political fragmentation are susceptible to a different interpretation and that, more important, an exclusive focus on political and dynastic history does not do full justice to the dynamics of the period. Also, the impact of the Assyrian involvement in Elamite politics should be set in historical perspective: only in the years 653-45 did the Assyrians temporarily gain the upper hand in internal Elamite affairs. In the *longue durée* of Elamite history, these dramatic years were not necessarily a defining factor. Rather, Elamite state institutions seem to have remained stable as appears not only from the re-emerging

<sup>103</sup> See OIP 114 38, 43, 57 and 94 in Cole 1996a: 107-9, 116-7, 136-7, 194-7; *idem* 1996b: 20-1, 58 fn. 18, 66-74.

<sup>104</sup> Compare the building activities at the city (fortress) of Laḫiru (not far from modern Kuwait City), during the reign of Cyrus, and the expansion of a trade route linking southern Babylonia with Susa and the satrapy of Elam during the reign of Darius (Joannès 2005). From a *longue durée* perspective, these developments seem to continue the emergence of interregional socio-economic systems from the Neo-Elamite period. Högemann's reflections (1991) on the development of Elam as "Seeprovinz" are also of interest in this context, but are unfortunately placed in a very narrow perspective, that grants Darius I exclusive credit for the stimulus of marine trade, while denying the possibility that such a development could have started in the Elamite period. Note that Potts (2006b) has recently developed the idea of an Elamite-Kassite entente cordiale concerning spheres of influence in the Persian Gulf in the late second millennium.

Elamite monarchy after the 640s, but also from the survival of the institution of the ‘Elders of Elam’ into the Neo-Elamite period, its functioning under duress, and the collocated attestation of a large-scale, state-controlled redistribution system that apparently survived and was eventually deployed by the Persian administrators in Fārs, some 150 years later. In addition, the Assyrian raids do not mark a break in Neo-Elamite stratigraphy (cf. §1.2 above) and there are ample indications of stability and prosperity in the period after the 640s, including a re-emerging complex elite (§1.4.4). Though still largely uncharted territory, we can trace the contours of a regional network of relations directed by the Elamite crown. The Elamite kings seem to have invested in the complex of bonds and loyalties that define a dimorphic state and, as a result, could capitalise on the economic potential of a large pastoralist population and its surplus in wool, in combination with towns manufacturing a variety of goods. The benefits of this system can only have increased as a result of Elam’s improved position in the international trade network. In the Neo-Assyrian period, Elamite kings had had a certain political influence in the regions southwest (the Aramaean communities, Babylonia), north (Ellipi) and east (Anšan, Parsuaš) of their territory. Though the scope of their influence may have been reduced in the post-Assyrian period, and though direct control over, notably, Anšan in the highlands seems to have been lost, they still controlled a respectable territory stretching into the Fahliyān region. In the end, however, it is not size that matters, but the apparent stability and diversity of the political and socio-economic framework.

The Neo-Elamite state is sometimes, especially in publications by French scholars, referred to as an ‘empire,’ but it is rarely made clear what defined Elam as such. I would refrain from using the term ‘empire’ for the Neo-Elamite kingdom, for in the end the kingdom’s size and political scope seem too restricted. It is true, however, that the Neo-Elamite state had a number of imperial traits, such as a complex relationship between core and periphery, an exclusive and complex ruling elite, a central government, a bureaucracy and, to a certain extent, hegemonic ambitions (cf. the case of Ellipi). And though the Neo-Elamite inscriptions are still not fully understood, it seems fair to say that they carry an ideological image (parts of which are echoed in the Achaemenid inscriptions) of Elamite kingship, the pivotal element in the Elamite state. So, in answer to Liverani’s hypothesis, one may indeed conclude that Elam is the logical predecessor of Persia in terms of statehood. That “Persia is the heir to Elam,” it must be stressed, remains an interpretative model – it does *not* pretend to be the description of a well-known phenomenon. But it certainly does seem promising as a direction for future research.

### 1.5. *Ūjiyā and Parsip*

Having postulated that the Elamite state was the predecessor of Persia, it is time to bring the Persians themselves into the equation. The main question in this context is how the incoming Indo-Iranians were exposed to the Elamite state and to Elamite culture at large and how Persian culture and a Persian nation could develop from this. The answer is twofold: 1) there was an important sedentary zone in the border region between the lowland of Khūzestān (Elam) and the highlands and 2) Elamite and Iranian pastoralists seem to have lived side by side in the highlands and this led to an acculturation in which the Elamite state was not directly involved, but Elamite culture (in the broadest sense) was. Both aspects and their consequences will be discussed in the following sections.

1.5.1. *Living on the edge* – As we shall see in a later section (§1.5.3), Persian culture has been markedly influenced by Elamite traditions. In a seminal study relating to this subject, Elizabeth Carter wondered “where and how (...) these sophisticated Elamite cultural customs [were] first transmitted to the Persians” (1994: 67). One of the answers to this question is provided by surveys in the Rām Hormoz plain in southeastern Khūzestān, which showed that at least seven sites were continuously occupied from the Middle Elamite through the Achaemenid periods.<sup>105</sup> Two sites, Tepe Bormī and Tall-e Ġazīr were major urban centres in the Neo-Elamite period. Finds at Bormī included a tablet fragment of possible Neo-Elamite date (Stolper *apud* Carter 1984: 69) and a Neo-Elamite copy of a Middle Elamite royal inscription of Šilhak-Inšušinak I. The latter text may plausibly be taken as evidence of a restoration of the local temple, perhaps the sanctuary of the local god Ruhuratir, in Neo-Elamite times (Vallat 1981c; Henkelman 2007b). As Carter concluded (1994: 76), Bormī and Ġazīr provide “appropriate settings for the first encounters of the Iranians with the urban traditions of the lowland Elamites and their Mesopotamian contemporaries.”

As a result of the recent find of an inscription of Amar-Suen at Tepe Bormī, it is now possible to identify the site as ancient Huhnur, or, as it was called in the Achaemenid period, Hunar.<sup>106</sup> Huhnur was located west of the important city of Hidali, which, as the Assyrian sources tell us, lay “in the distant mountains.” Whether this means that Hidali may be found at Behbahān or Arġān, as has traditionally been assumed, or was located further east, the town or city in any case was located in the western highlands, beyond the reach of the Assyrian armies (cf.

<sup>105</sup> Carter *o.c.*; cf. Carter & Wright 2003: 69-72, 76-9.

<sup>106</sup> See Nasrabadi 2005 and cf. §2.3.1 fn. 245 below. The name of the town may mean “fortress” or “fortified town” (so Steve 1962: 73; see also EW s.v. *hu-h-nú-ur*).

App.7.2 below). Both Huhnur and Hidali were cities of crucial importance to the Neo-Elamite kings (cf. §1.4.1 above); they were both part of the administrative network documented by the Acropole texts. This archive mentions an individual with the Iranian name Išpugurda, “the Zampegirian,” at Hidali (S 238); elsewhere we find references to *parsip zampegirip*, “people of Parsa/Persians of the Zampegir chiefdom” (S 11; S 94).<sup>107</sup> Another text mentions a Nabezza, again the bearer of an Iranian name, and *parsip datyanap* (“people of Parsa/Persians of the Datyana chiefdom”) at the town of Huhnur (S 51).<sup>108</sup> A Neo-Babylonian legal document drafted at Hidali and referring to the local “assembly of the Babylonians” (i.e. resident merchants) adds to the picture of the ethnic and cultural make-up of the wider Rām Hormoz region.<sup>109</sup> The region’s importance in the context of Elamite-Iranian acculturation may find a new proof in recent, spectacular find of a burial chamber, apparently comparable to that of Arġān, that included a rich inventory of funerary objects (cf. §1.4.5 fn. 82 above).

What is true for the Rām Hormoz region as a likely locus of Elamite-Iranian contacts is probably also true for the region of Behbahān, again in southeastern Khūzestān. The Arġān tomb was found in this area (cf. §1.4.5 above). Its content adheres to Elamite traditions in that Elamite script, an Elamite personal name, Elamite forms and iconographic themes are used, but it also points forward to what would become Achaemenid art. The tomb illustrates, in other words, the meeting of lowland and highland traditions.

Against the above background, it is highly interesting to note that the custom-made imagery of the large bronze bowl found in the Arġān tomb includes illustrations of a typically Neo-Elamite fortress and of a tent of the type known as *yurt* (cf. Stronach 2004). Ownership of both structures is expressed by the image of a ruler seated outside the fortress walls and banqueting in front of the *yurt*. With this ruler residing in both fortified sites and luxurious tents, we seem to be in the

<sup>107</sup> On Išpugurda (\**spākṛta-*) see Mayrhofer 1971: 16 and Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.2.1.65; on ‘Zampegir’ (not ‘Zampezak,’ *pace* EW s.v. *h.za-am-be-zak(?)*-*ip*) see Steve 1988. For Parsumaš and Hidali in ABL 961 and ABL 1309 see Waters 1999b: 103-4, who considers the letters as evidence for contact between Elamites and Persians. Compare, however, de Miroschedji 1985: 273-5 and Henkelman 2003a: 184-5 fnn. 9-10.

<sup>108</sup> Nabezza: Hinz 1975a: 171; EW s.v. *hw.na-be-iz-za*; Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.2.1.51. *datyanap*: Hinz 1987: 128 fn. 10; EW s.v. *da-at-ya-na-ip*; Tavernier *o.c.* 2.2.1.17. Two other individuals with Iranian names mentioned in the context of Huhnur are Kamdamanna and Manuša. Kamdamanna: S 42; see EW s.v. *hw.kam-da-man-na* and Tavernier *o.c.* 2.2.1.20. Manuša: S 43, S 63, S 237; see Mayrhofer 1971: 16 and Tavernier *o.c.* 2.2.1.47. On the many Iranian names in the Acropole texts see generally Mayrhofer 1971: 15-6; Tavernier 2002c and esp. *idem* [forthc. 2].

<sup>109</sup> For the document (BM 79013) see Leichty 1983; cf. §4.4.2 below.

world of the dimorphic chiefdom (Rowton 1976; cf. §1.4.6 above), a type of society that encompasses both pastoralist and sedentary elements under a single paramount chief. If Kidin-Hutran of Arġān was such a ruler, the polity governed by him must have been an ideal setting for all kinds of encounters between Elamite townsmen from the Zagros foothills and Elamite and Iranian pastoralists from the highlands (cf. §1.5.2 below).<sup>110</sup>

A third region in southeastern Khūzestān is that of the hills northeast of modern Rāmšīr, more or less between the Rām Hormoz and Behbahān plains. In this region, at the site of Ġān-e Šīn, ancient Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon may have been situated (so Hansman 1978) and thus its Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid predecessor, Šullaggi (cf. §6.6.6 fn. 981 below). Judging from the available textual sources, Šullaggi seems to have been a major town and had dealings with Susa.<sup>111</sup> Given its location, one may assume that Šullaggi played a role similar to that of Hidali and Huhnur in contacts with the highlands.

In conclusion, there is ample evidence for a dimorphic zone in eastern Khūzestān that was the stage for productive encounters between the Elamite sedentary culture of the lowland and the agro-pastoralist inhabitants of the highlands, the predecessors of the Persians. The highlanders did not have to travel to the ancient Elamite metropolis in central Khūzestān, but found the outposts of the Elamite state, with all the characteristics listed above (§1.4), right on their doorstep.

*1.5.2. Life in the highlands* – It is still unclear how much control the Elamite state exercised over the eastern highlands during the Neo-Elamite period. Certainly during the later part of that age, the highlands appear to have been outside Elam's political scope. This does not mean, however, that Elamite culture was absent from what is now the province of Fārs. There is some evidence that the (Indo-)Iranians,

<sup>110</sup> Needless to say, the Arġān ruler, with his two type of residences, is also a striking prefiguration of the Achaemenid King of Kings who famously used sumptuous tents when he was travelling through the empire, but also, possibly, when he was touring the countryside of Fārs and when the court was stationary, e.g., at Persepolis or Susa. On the subject see Briant 1988; *idem* 1996: 267-9; Boucharlat 2001; Henkelman [forthc. 1] §6 and *passim*. As for the fortress of the Arġān ruler, cf. the interesting reflections by Stronach (2004; cf. Stronach & Roaf 2007: 127, 184, 198-9) on so-called Zagros fortresses, i.e. a specific type of defense architecture that existed, with local variations, throughout pre-Achaemenid western Iran.

<sup>111</sup> See s 235 for the contacts with Susa and Vallat 1993a: 262 for occurrences in the Fortification texts. The inhabitants of Šalluku (= Šullaggi) are mentioned as the victims of Nabû-bēl-šumāti's grain theft in ABL 281 (see §1.4.3 above; the Šallukians are also mentioned in ABL 789 and ABL 1311+). See also §5.2 fn. 652 on the special and possibly significant relation between the royal woman Irdabama and Šullaggi.

upon their arrival in the area, encountered an Elamite population. The contacts, acculturation and integration between these two groups may in fact have been the prime factor in the rise of Persian culture and, eventually, the Achaemenid state.

The Persepolis Fortification tablets from the reign of Darius I are the paperwork of a regional economy in an area that stretched from about Behbahān to Nīrīz, i.e. a major part of present-day Fārs (cf. §2.3.1). Most of the personal and geographical names in the archive are of Iranian origin, but a minority of at least 10% is Elamite. The toponyms are of special interest, as they are likely to be inherited from Elamites living in Fārs before the rise of the Persian empire. Place names that are Elamite, or at least non-Iranian, are concentrated in the Fahliyān region in western Fārs,<sup>112</sup> but also occur much closer to Persepolis.<sup>113</sup>

Physical evidence for the presence of an Elamite population in the highlands is scarce. It consists, in the first place, of a series of rock reliefs in the open-air sanctuaries of Kūrāngūn, Naqš-e Rostam, Kūl-e Farah and Šekaft-e Salmān. Each of these Elamite monuments existed already in the Middle Elamite period, but was altered at a later date. Kūrāngūn, in the Fahliyān region, was enlarged by the addition of a relief with worshippers by the end of Middle Elamite, or during the Neo-Elamite, period.<sup>114</sup> The Naqš-e Rostam sanctuary, near Persepolis was also supplemented with one or two worshippers; the addition is variously dated to the ninth or seventh century.<sup>115</sup> Kūl-e Farah and Šekaft-e Salmān, finally, are located in

<sup>112</sup> Places in the Fahliyān region include: Atuk, Bessitme, Dašer, Gisat, Hidali, Hišema, Hunar, Hulipiš, Hutpirri, Kurdušum, Liduma, Mašlapti, Mušlir, Pumu, Šumaru, Šurkutar, Šursunkiri, Tandari, Tašpak, Umbabanuš, Umpuranuš, Zakzaku, Zanana, Zappi and Zila-Humban.

<sup>113</sup> Places in the Persepolis and Kāmīrūz regions with Elamite or otherwise non-Iranian names include: Anzan (Anšan), Dutaš, Elbatte, Hiran, Kurpun, Kurra, Kušan, Kutkuš, Malibban, Matannan, Muran, Pidduman, Šala, Tikraš and Tirazziš (Šīrāz; cf. Benveniste 1958: 56; but see Tavernier 2007a: 377, 403 [4.3.53, 4.3.275]).

<sup>114</sup> Börker-Klähn 1982: 176 n° 128 (Neo-Elamite); Seidl 1986: 13 (late Middle Elamite); Vanden Berghe 1986: 163 (Neo-Elamite); de Miroschedji 1989: 359 (late Middle Elamite); Amiet 1992 (late Middle Elamite); Potts 1999a: 182-3 and 2004: 147 (Neo-Elamite). Note also the fortress on the Kūrāngūn hill, described by Kleiss 1993, with pottery fragments from the second or first millennium.

<sup>115</sup> Börker-Klähn 1982: 176-7 n° 129 (seventh century); Seidl 1986: 19 (ninth century); de Miroschedji 1985: 279, 1989: 360 and 1990: 74 (seventh century). See also Álvarez-Mon [forthc. 4] commenting on the Naqš-e Rostam ‘queen’ and a comparable late Neo-Elamite terracotta head from Susa. An Elamite or Elamitising stele was discovered at the quarry between Naqš-e Rostam and Hāgīābād by G. Gropp (Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970: 198, pl. 98). Gropp tentatively dated this monument to the late Middle Elamite period, whereas Calmeyer opted for “spätelamisch oder vor-achaimenidisch” (1973:

the valley of Īzeh (western Fārs), at the centre of which a high (Middle) Elamite mound was still visible in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. fn. 121 below). At the Kūl-e Farah sanctuary, a relief (KF I) with a long inscription (EKI 75) was commissioned by Hanni, the prince or governor of Ayapir (probably the Īzeh valley) in the later Neo-Elamite period (cf. §1.5.3 fig. 1.7 below).<sup>116</sup> At nearby Šekaft-e Salmān an inscription (EKI 76), also by Hanni, was added to an existing relief.<sup>117</sup>

As for settlements, a new image is emerging, but slowly. Only four sites have been excavated or are currently being excavated, so that we still largely have to rely on the information yielded by surveys. From these it appears that the sedentary occupation of Fārs decreased from the middle of the second millennium onwards, possibly due to climatic change. The largest settlement in the area, the partially excavated site of Tall-e Malyān (ancient Anšan), was abandoned around 1000 BC.<sup>118</sup> A second excavated site, Darvāzeh Tepe, was occupied until *ca.* 800 BC (see L.K. Jacobs 1994). Other towns dwindled in the Middle Elamite period and often were abandoned too. This does not mean, however, that the region was empty. Rather, (agro-)pastoralism must have become the dominant way of life, which typically does not leave a very distinct mark in the archaeological record.<sup>119</sup>

148-9) and Huff (on technical grounds) for “kaum älter als achämenidisch” (1984: 240-1). Cf. also Börker-Klähn 1982: 234 n° 277 (undecided).

<sup>116</sup> The only other Neo-Elamite text from the highlands is the so-called *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* that seems to originate from Gisat (cf. §4.1.4 with fn. 728 below). On Hanni see §1.4.4 sub B above.

<sup>117</sup> On the dating of Hanni’s inscriptions see Vallat 1996a: 387-9, 393 (585-539 BC); Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 484 (*idem*); Tavernier 2004: 16-21 (end seventh century); *idem* 2006c (*ca.* 630-610 [implied]). On Kūl-e Farah I see Vanden Berghe 1963: 17; De Waele 1981: 52; *idem* 1989: 30; Calmeyer 1988: 285; Seidl 1997: 202; Potts 1999a: 302-3; Carter 1999: 289. Kūl-e Farah II and V may also date to the Neo-Elamite period (Seidl 1997: 202); De Waele dates *all* the Kūl-e Farah reliefs in the Neo-Elamite period (1981; 1989).

<sup>118</sup> Sumner 1974; *idem* 1994: 97-9; Carter in Carter & Stolper 1984: 172-6; *idem* 1994: 65-7; de Miroschedji 1985: 289-95; *idem* 1990: 52-5, 83-5; *idem* 2003: 30-4; Potts 1999a: 193, 247-52. As for Malyān, Potts (2005b) has recently stressed that the absence of signs of Neo-Elamite occupation does not have to be taken as conclusive evidence: the site is very large and a first millennium settlement is perhaps still to be found in its unexcavated parts. See also Potts [forthc. 1].

<sup>119</sup> See de Miroschedji 1990: 62-5; Amiet 1992: 86-8. Compare Flannery’s essay (1999), which focuses not so much on pastoralists, but rather on the invisibility of (agro-pastoralist) chiefdoms and confederacies in the 6<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> millennium, suggesting a number of ways (such as tribal villages with clusters of centrally-placed elite houses used by the chief and his relatives) to identify such ‘rank societies.’

That Fārs was inhabited and a political factor of some importance can easily be deduced, however, from such indications as the great Middle Elamite league shrine of Čogā Zانبīl where gods from the highlands were incorporated, with the gods of the plain, in a single pantheon expressing the unity of the Middle Elamite state. Moreover, not all settlements were abandoned. In the central Fahliyān region, in proximity of the site of Kūrāngūn (in the Mamasanī district), the sites of Tol-e Nūrābād and Tol-e Spīd are currently being excavated. Though the first seasons have, naturally, only brought preliminary results, it is already clear that both sites will be of pivotal importance for the question of Neo-Elamite/Achaemenid continuity. Especially Tol-e Nūrābād appears to be of great interest, since the site was occupied during the Neo-Elamite, Achaemenid, and post-Achaemenid periods and inspires hope of establishing absolute dates for the ceramic sequences of the Neo-Elamite/Achaemenid transitional period (Potts & Roustaei 2006/1385: 181-2). The picture is less clear for Tol-e Spīd, where Middle Elamite and Achaemenid layers have been found, but the intermediate period remains as yet poorly documented (*ibid.* 180-2).<sup>120</sup> Neo-Elamite/Achaemenid continuous occupation has also been suggested for a number of sites known from the Kūr River basin survey in central Fārs.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup> On the Australo-Iranian Mamasanī expedition cf. Potts 2005b; Potts & Roustaei 2006/1385. See also the reports on the soundings done by Vanden Berghe at Tall-e Taymūrān (Overlaet 1997) and Tall-e Qal'eh (Haerinck & Overlaet 2003) that suggest that these two sites were inhabited during the Middle Elamite and, perhaps, the Neo-Elamite period. The same is true for Qal'eh Geli Tepe near Lordegān, where recent test soundings revealed "a cultural sequence beginning with the middle Chalcolithic and continuing into the Islamic period" and where a Middle Elamite Hutelutuš-Inšušinak brick inscription has been found (Azarnoush & Helwing 2005: 215, citing an Iranian report by A.A. Nowrouzi).

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Sumner 1994: 102-5. In many cases, the difficulty of identifying Neo-Elamite pottery may have been an obstacle in identifying first-millennium sites. Thus, given the fact that the open-air sanctuaries of Kūl-e Farah and Šekaft-e Salmān were still in use in the Neo-Elamite period, it is surprising that no Neo-Elamite sites in the Īzeh valley have been identified. The 1976 Īzeh survey yielded only one possible little settlement from this period, but the surveyors themselves admitted great uncertainty regarding Neo-Elamite ceramics (Bayani 1979: 102; note that the same site, 8251/5975, was possibly occupied during the Achaemenid period [Eqbal 1979: 114]). In addition, the great, central mound of the valley, east of the town of Īzeh, which was still rising high in the mid-nineteenth century, might have yielded the seat of power of Hanni of Ayapir, but has unfortunately largely been destroyed. Cf. Layard's tantalising description of the site in the Īzeh plain (1846: 74-5; cf. Potts [forthc. 5]): "Towards its eastern extremity are the ruins of a very ancient city. They consist of a large tappeh



In short, historical evidence from the Fortification archive in combination with Neo-Elamite use of open-air sanctuaries and a limited number of settlements shows that an Elamite population, or better a population that continued Elamite traditions (religion, script, names), lived in Fārs in the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods.

The question of the (Indo-)Iranian inhabitants of the highlands is even less clear. By strict definition, their presence in southwestern Iran is not detectable until the first Iranian names (such as that of the Ellipian prince Ašpabara) appear in sources from the eighth and seventh century. It is usually assumed, however, that the first Iranians entered Fārs sometime between 1500 and 1000 BC. Unfortunately, the archaeological record does not show this entrance in an unequivocal way; the suggestion that certain ceramic styles can be associated with the newcomers is not generally accepted. In any case, the newcomers seem to have been pastoralists and agro-pastoralists like the resident Elamites, and their social organisation seems to have been tribal.<sup>122</sup> Obviously, they did not come empty-handed, but were the bearers of an Indo-Iranian cultural heritage in terms of language, social structure and religion. It remains hard, though, to fathom the scope and depth of this heritage.

By the time the Persian Empire emerged, Elamites and Iranians had been living side-by-side for five hundred to one thousand years. This is an observation of tremendous consequence, for it is unthinkable that it did *not* result in a profound

rising upon the summit of a vast irregular mound. This appears to have been the castle, and to have been surrounded by numerous smaller mounds. Foundations of brick are exposed after rain. (...) There is a tradition that this was the site of a most ancient and extensive city, which occupied the whole of the plain, and was the residence of the monarch of the mountains; hence its name of the Prince's House. I have heard many stories of subterraneous passages among the Lurs, and they have wonderful traditions respecting different mounds. (...) It is said that Ḥasan Khān, the last chief of the Chahār Lang, found a large treasure here." Compare also the Neo-Elamite limestone relief fragment, probably from a stele, found in the 1930s at Qal'eh-ye Tol, just south of the Īzeh valley. As Börker-Klähn has argued, the relief hardly depicts a dynastic tableau (Hinz 1964: 107, pl. 17), but rather two rulers, and their retinue, concluding a treaty (Börker-Klähn 1982: 72 [read "Nr. 272" for "Nr. 271"], 233 n° 272). The relief was first described by Sir Aurel Stein (1940: 126, pl. 43); see also Vanden Berghe 1966: 60, pl. 90a). Cf. §1.4.1 fn. 18 above.

<sup>122</sup> On the Iranian migration, its date and the problems regarding the ceramic styles (Qal'eh, Šogā and Taymūrān wares) cf. Dyson 1973; Sumner 1974: 156-8, 175; *idem* 1994 (tentatively relating Šogā/Taymūrān ware to the "early Persians" and Qal'eh ware to highland Elamites); de Miroschedji 1985: 289-92; Overlaet 1997 (with critical notes on Sumner 1994); Stronach 1997: 35-7; Boucharlat 1998: 149; *idem* 2003b: 261-3; *idem* 2005: 226-8, 276-7; Young 2003: 246-8.

mutual influence. In fact, the entrance of the Iranians on the Plateau and the ensuing Elamite-Iranian acculturation may have been the most crucial factor that defined the Neo-Elamite period. It was a process that left, in contrast to the Assyrian wars, a lasting mark on the cultural landscape of southwestern Iran. A model describing the dynamics of these events was first proposed by Pierre de Miroschedji, who suggested that Elamite-Iranian acculturation and integration eventually led to the ethnogenesis of the Persians (1985: 295; cf. *idem* 1990: 70):<sup>123</sup>

(...) c'est au Fârs à la fin du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle (...) qu'il conviendrait de situer l'ethnogenèse des Perses. Comme celle des Mèdes et celle des grands peuples du Proche-Orient ancien et médiéval, elle résulterait de la fusion de populations autochtones (les Élamites) et de populations immigrées de longue date (les Iraniens), après des siècles de coexistence. Leur mode de vie pastorale et nomade, et surtout leur organisation sociale, qui implique des dissolutions et des restructurations fréquentes de groupements tribaux, ont pu favoriser ce processus.

As de Miroschedji indicates, integration of tribal, agro-pastoralist groups living in the same region is a regular phenomenon (*ibid.* fn. 123). In fact, I think it is safe to say that it is almost an automatic process, certainly in a period of 500-1,000 years. It may be noted that even the considerable differences between Old Iranian and Elamite need not have been a problem in the formation of tribal alliances with new shared identities. In modern Iran, tribal confederacies exist that include segments of Iranian, Arab and Turkmen origin such as the Bāšerī and other groups united in the Khamseh confederation (see Barth 1961). It is very telling in this respect that some of the groups introduced as *parsip* in the Acropole texts seem to have Elamite names, such as the *parsip hurip*. Likewise, the Maraphians, known as a Persian tribe from the Greek sources, may have had an Elamite name.<sup>124</sup>

The model of a Persian ethnogenesis is an attempt to grasp the various factors that were interacting in southwest Iran in the later second and early first millennium as well as their apparent outcome, the rise of the Persians and the Persian Empire. It is, as I like to understand it, the description of the intricate dynamics of, first, a process of acculturation and integration of highland Elamites and Iranians, each with their own ancestral culture; secondly, of a new highland culture that could tap into Elamite sedentary culture at the western fringe of the highlands; thirdly, of a Mesopotamian heritage that reached the Persians *via* Elam

<sup>123</sup> For similar views see Briant 1984b; *idem* 1996: 30-2, 37-8; Amiet 1992: 92-3; Rollinger 1999a: 123-7 (with references on the process of ethnogenesis in general).

<sup>124</sup> For *parsip hurip* compare the root *hur-* in Elamite (EW s.vv. *hu-ra-an*, *hu-ra-ap-na*, *huri-en-ra*). Maraphians: see von Gall 1972 (following Nyberg) and compare Henkelman 2003a: 213 fnn. 112, 115 and *idem* in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.4.

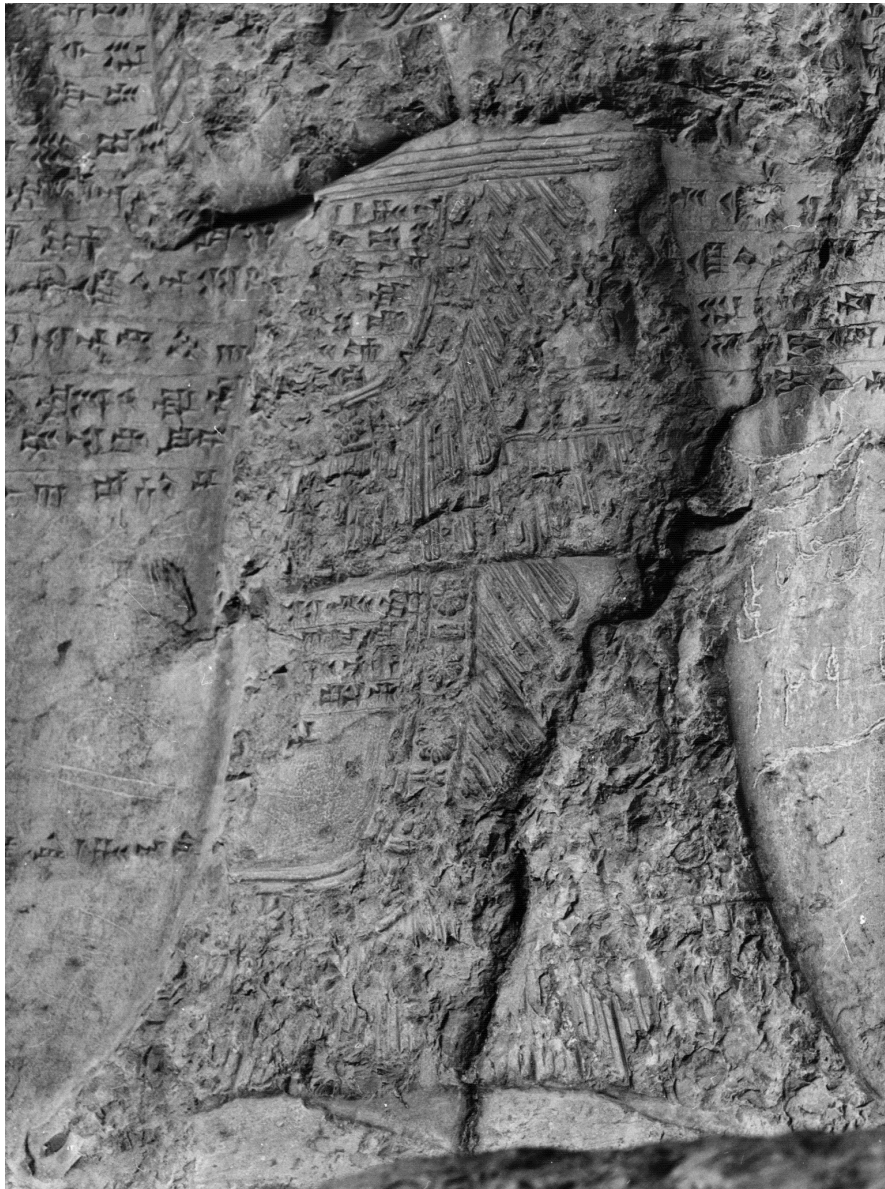
and *via* the trade routes; and, fourthly, of a radiation of statehood and even imperial traditions from an Elamite state that continued to exist until the very rise of the Persian Empire. It is not a model describing the birth of a new ethnic, linguistic or cultural *homogeneity*, but the formation and growing success of a new identity: that of the Persians. It is not a model that dictates that older traditions would have become unrecognisable in the new Persian culture, but it does rule out the idea that the ancestors of the Persians entered southwestern Iran as if it were an empty stage. And most important, it emphatically defines Persian culture as a locally-grown product. With due recognition of the Indo-Iranian heritage, I think scholars, notably students of ancient Iranian religion, cannot avoid this simple maxim: Persia was made in Elam.

1.5.3. *Elamo-Iranica* – As a result of the acculturation of Elamites and (Indo-) Iranians, a certain Elamite element can be discerned in Persian culture. The sample of such ‘influences,’ includes a wide range of traditions. First, Elamite, not Old Persian or Aramaic, was the prime administrative language in Persepolis and other places (Susa, Kandahār, perhaps Šīrāz), even though not all scribes (probably not even the majority) were native speakers of the language.<sup>125</sup> This administrative language obviously continues an existing tradition, as can readily be shown by a comparison with the Neo-Elamite Acropole and the late Middle Elamite Malyān archives.<sup>126</sup> The original Bīsotūn monument consisted, upon the orders of Darius, of a relief and an Elamite text; other versions were only added at a later stage. In short, as Stolper writes, “Elamite was how Iranians communicated in writing” (2005a: 20). This is undoubtedly the prime reason for the preference for Elamite in Achaemenid seal inscriptions (cf. §2.2.4.2 below). Moreover, it is not difficult to appreciate the point made by d’Erme (1990), that Elamite cuneiform, with its simplified syllabary, provided the logical template for the design of the Old Persian script. Conversely, later Elamite syntax shows a distinct influence from Old Persian.<sup>127</sup> As for (administrative) Achaemenid Elamite in particular, there is a case to be made for the hypothesis that the language originated as, or was related to, a pidgin that allowed Iranophones to communicate with Elamites.

<sup>125</sup> A point already stressed by Altheim 1953: 189; cf. §2.2.1 below.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Henkelman 2003a: 187; see on some of these aspects Basello [forthc. 3]. See also the important analysis of Neo-Elamite scribal conventions (such as the phenomenon known as the ‘Reiner test’) used to render Iranian proper names by Tavernier [forthc. 2]; these conventions are largely the same as those used in the Fortification archive from Persepolis.

<sup>127</sup> See Reiner 1960, Tucker 1998: 82 and cf. §6.4 ad l.26 below.



*fig. 1.7a: Kül-e Farah, Izeh, rock relief (KF 1);  
royal robe worn by Hanni of Ayapir (photograph B. Grunewald;  
courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung)*



*fig. 1.8: four-winged genius in Gate R at Pasargadae; drawing by Eugène Flandin  
(from: E. Flandin & P. Coste, Voyage en perse pendant  
les années 1840 et 1841, Paris 1851: 160)*

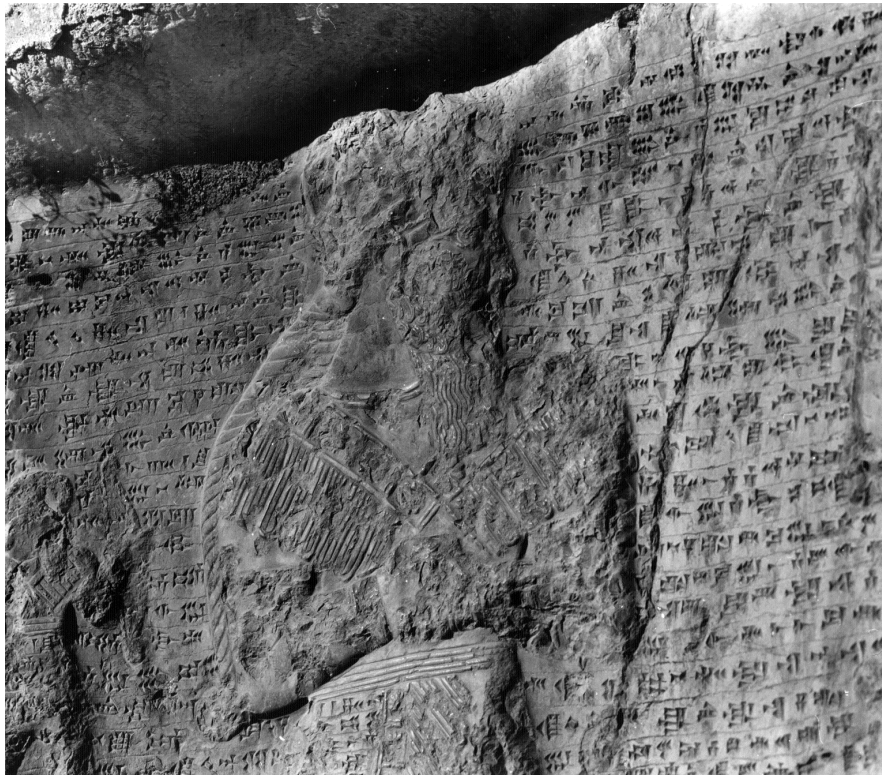


fig. 1.7b: Kūl-e Farah, Īzeh, rock relief (KF 1) depicting Hanni of Ayapir (photograph B. Grunewald; courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung)

In Persian material culture, we can point to many parallels with older Elamite artistic traditions (survey in Henkelman 2003a: 188-93). The Middle and Neo-Elamite reliefs of Kūl-e Farah near Īzeh are a true gold mine in this respect (cf. §1.3 with fn. 15 above; ★§7.3). The use of the distinctive ‘Elamite dagger’ by the Persians and the depiction of the Elamite court robe in the relief of the four-winged genius at Pasargadae both reflect an awareness and active appreciation of the Elamite heritage (figs. 1.7a-b, 8).<sup>128</sup> In other cases, Elamite traditions may not have

<sup>128</sup> Compare also the remarks of Margaret Root (2003a) on the special “importance of Elam and the Elamite legacies to the ongoing potency of the Persian dynastic project” expressed by the image of the Elamite delegation the Apadana staircases at Persepolis. On this image, as well as the ‘Elamite’ dagger, bow, royal robe, etc. in *Persian* context see also Root [forthc.] (the problematic inscription on the Solingen dagger is discussed by Schmitt 2007b: 101-3 as a likely fake). On the court robe cf. §1.4.5 fn. 81 above.

been perceived as specifically ‘Elamite,’ but rather as ‘ancestral’ or ‘ancient,’ but that only strengthens the case of Elamite-Iranian acculturation.

An area of special interest is glyptic art, which seems to have experienced a true blossoming in the sixth century. In contrast to cases like the ideologically charged quotation of the Elamite court robe at Pasargadae, glyptic art resists labels like ‘Elamite’ or ‘ancestral’ and thereby underlines that Elamite-Iranian acculturation is a multi-layered phenomenon. Ever since Amiet’s study on ‘La glyptique de la fin de l’Élam’ (1973; cf. *idem* 1994), the small corpus of seal impressions on the Acropole and Apadana texts (cf. §1.2 fn. 7 above) and that of related seals, from Susa or without provenance, has been regarded as the ultimate expression of Elamite art in the post-Assyrian age. Though Assyrian, Babylonian, Urartean, Ellipian and Iranian influences are recognised in this art, the ‘Neo-Elamite’ glyptic is qualified as an Elamite art with specifically Elamite themes.<sup>129</sup> Yet, as Mark Garrison argues in a recent, important study, the styles and themes, the handling and formula of the seal inscriptions, and the preference for cylinder seals (rather than stamps) are all best attested in the Persepolis Fortification seal corpus (Garrison 2002 [2006]).<sup>130</sup> This implies that the label ‘Neo-Elamite’ for this glyptic art is inadequate if it is simply understood as a continuation of Elamite lowland culture. As an alternative, Garrison suggests that “the critical locus of this phenomenon was not Susa (and, by extension, lowland Elam) in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., but Persepolis (and, by extension, Fars) in the later sixth century B.C.” (2002: 79). Thus, one should not think of a simple continuation and adaptation of Elamite art, but of an entirely new glyptic style and imagery (though influenced by Assyrian models) that emerged among a new social group, “potentially a mixed population, of ‘acculturated’ Elamites and Iranians” (*ibid.* 92) as part of the nascent imperial identity.

There are some arguments that might be raised against the identification of Fārs as the cradle of the new sixth-century glyptic art, but that is not the real issue here.<sup>131</sup> What matters is that, in the image drawn by Garrison, late Neo-Elamite

<sup>129</sup> See de Miroschedji 1982; *idem* 1985: 300-1; Steve 1986; Van Loon 1988; Schmidt, Van Loon & Curvers 1989 I: 440, 446-8, II: pl. 243; Aruz 1992; Potts 1999a: 295-301 (distinguishing between “Assyrianizing, Elamo-Persian and Neo-Babylonianizing”). Bollweg 1988 speaks of “protoachämenidische Siegelbilder” without really explaining what is meant by that qualification.

<sup>130</sup> On the strong Elamite-Achaemenid tradition of the cylinder seal cf. Root 2008 §2.6.

<sup>131</sup> The most important argument is, I think, that the Acropole archive (and thus the seals impressed on the tablets) in any case predates the Fortification archive, if only by one or two generations, as appears from palaeography, orthography and contents (Garrison dates the associated glyptic to 550-520 BC). Conversely, glyptic evidence from the highlands is very rare in the pre- or early Achaemenid period and is, as far as I know,

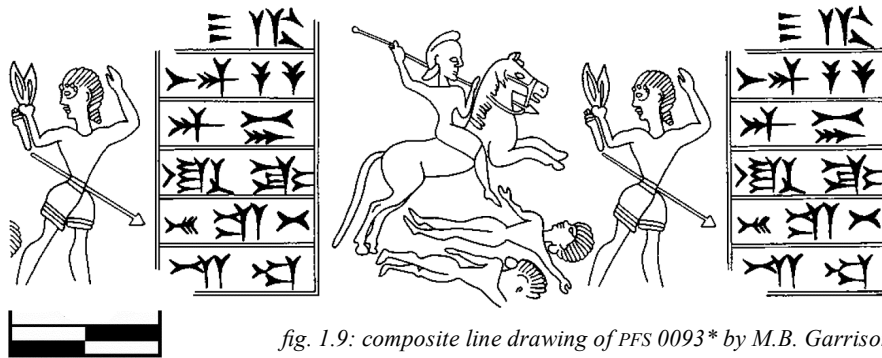


fig. 1.9: composite line drawing of PFS 0093\* by M.B. Garrison

Susa and Achaemenid Persepolis are closely linked *via* a new glyptic art that, wherever it originated, found an immediate and virtuoso expression in both regions. Under such conditions, it becomes, as I have stated before, a rather academic question whether this art was originally Iranian or Elamite,<sup>132</sup> a notion that is further strengthened by the mixed Elamite-Iranian onomasticon (Tavernier [forthc. 2]) of the Acropole archive in which some of the ‘Neo-Elamite’ seals were used. Following Garrison’s assessment that the ‘Neo-Elamite’ glyptic emerged from Elamite-Iranian acculturation in the formative period of the new Persian (imperial) identity, it seems to me that the label ‘Persian’ or ‘Early-Persian,’ as

limited to the ‘impression’ (engraving) of the seal of Huban-šuturuk, son of Šati-hupiti, on the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* (probably originating from Gisat in the Fahliyān region) and a limited number heirloom seals in the Fortification corpus, like the famous seal of Kuraš of Anšan, PFS 0093\* (fig. 1.9) or the seal used by the royal woman Irdabama, PFS 0051 (fig. 1.10) – and these seals are considered to be ‘Anzanite’ rather than ‘early Persian’ by Garrison [forthc. 1]. A third argument is that, contrary to what Garrison (2002: 79) suggests, post-Assyrian Susa is rather a *likely* locus for the emergence of a new glyptic art. The obvious prosperity of Elam in this period and the extensive (international) network centred on Susa (see §§1.4.5-6 above) seem to provide an excellent context for the birth of a new glyptic art. Fourthly, the ample representation of the ‘Neo-Elamite’ glyptic style at Persepolis need not surprise us given the sheer size of the archive. Though the Fortification economy and administration undoubtedly continued existing patterns, it is clear that its scope and level of organisation revolutionised life on the highlands. One of the consequences was a much increased need for seals by the expanding administration. Thus, the sudden outburst of ‘Neo-Elamite,’ or rather ‘Early Persian’ glyptic art at Persepolis is certainly significant, but in my view not *necessarily* an indication that this region was the place of origin of that style. Having said so, I do, obviously, not intend to deny the likely relevance of highland traditions for the emergence of the Early Persian glyptic style.

<sup>132</sup> See Henkelman 2003a: 190, following Boucharlat 1994: 223.



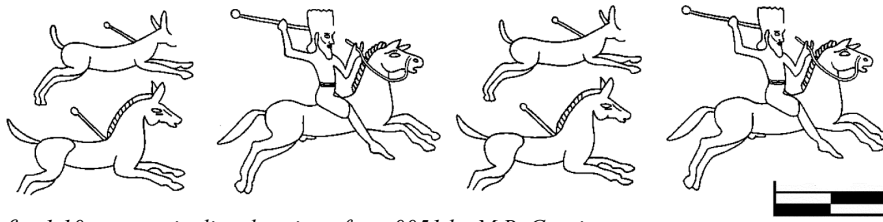


fig. 1.10: composite line drawing of PFS 0051 by M.B. Garrison

proposed by Garrison in an earlier publication (1991: 5-7), is the most appropriate.<sup>133</sup> Note that Garrison ([forthc. 1]) also identifies an ‘Anzanite’ glyptic style, represented by such heirloom seals as PFS 0093\* (fig. 1.9; cf. below), PFS 0077\* (cf. §2.2.4 fig. 2.10), PFS 1308\* and PFS 0051 (fig. 1.10).

Along similar lines, it seems advisable not to push the matter of the Elamite elements in the royal ideology of the Teispid line too far. These elements are the name and the title of Cyrus. Though philologists, for various reasons, have long refused to recognise this reality, ‘Cyrus’ (Kuraš) is far more likely to be an Elamite than an Old Iranian name.<sup>134</sup> In addition, Cyrus also had an Elamite title: ‘king of Anšan,’ which refers to the old Elamite region and city of Anšan in the highlands. This is the only title that, with certainty, was used by Cyrus and the other kings of the Teispid line. It appears, most conspicuously, in the Babylonian *Cyrus Cylinder*, but its use is also implied in the inscription of ‘Kuraš of Anzan, son of Šešbeš’s (Teispes) on the famous seal that plausibly belonged to an ancestor of Cyrus II (fig. 1.9).<sup>135</sup> Now, do the name and title imply that Cyrus was an Elamite, or at least the

<sup>133</sup> This means that I retract my earlier objections to this term (2003a: 190 fn. 32).

<sup>134</sup> See Tavernier 2002a: 752-4, Henkelman 2003a: 194-6, Tavernier 2007a: 528 [5.5.1.34] and *idem* [forthc. 2] 2.3.3.1.3. The main reason for considering Kuraš as a likely Elamite name was already stated by Andreas at a congress in 1902 (Andreas 1904; cf. Hüsing 1908a and Dhorme 1912). A recent advocate of an Indo-Iranian etymology is Schmitt 1993 (comparing Old Indian *kūru-*; see Tavernier *l.c.* for more references).

<sup>135</sup> For the Babylonian evidence see the recent survey by Waters 2004: 93-5 and the correction of my earlier view in *idem* 2005: 529-30. For the ‘Anzanite’ seal PFS 0093\* see Garrison [forthc. 1] and the bibliographical references cited in §2.4.2.2 fn. 293 below. I now read the seal inscription as <sup>1</sup> [D<sup>15</sup>] <sup>2</sup> *kur<sup>1</sup>-rāš* <sup>3</sup> *an-za-* <sup>4</sup> *an-ir<sup>1</sup>-* <sup>5</sup> *ra DUMU* <sup>6</sup> *še-iš-be- iš-na*, “<sup>1</sup> Kuraš <sup>2-4</sup> of Anzan, <sup>4</sup> son <sup>5-6</sup> of Šešbeš.” I retract my earlier tentative reading <sup>AS</sup> *an-za-an-pé-ra* (2003a: 193: 39). I do not think the reading is palaeographically impossible (despite the doubts expressed by Waters [forthc.]), especially given the comparable shape of BI in the Atta-hamiti-Insušnak stele as drawn by Steve (1992: 88 sub 214, néo-élamite 13), but I do consider it unlikely now since BI is not used for the gender suffix *-p* (\*[anšan.p.r]). See Steve 1992: 89 sub 367, achéménide 4b for the divergent shape of IR in PFS 0093\*. Vallat [forthc.] thinks that the use of the seal

leader of a kingdom that was predominantly Elamite in cultural or ethnic terms? And did the Elamite character of this entity prevail down to the fifth and last Teispid, the ill-fated Bardiya? In a recent paper, Daniel Potts has pleaded for an affirmative answer to this question (2005b). He suggests that Anšan was a “predominantly ethnically Elamite” polity and “linguistically and culturally Elamite.” Seen as such, Darius’ regicide and seizure of power meant a “Persian *coup d’état* which replaced the Anshanite, Teispid family of Cyrus with the Persian line of Achaemenes headed by Darius.”

Though I think Potts is right in, first, giving full credit to the name and title of Cyrus and, secondly, in acknowledging the differences between the Teispid and the Achaemenid dynasties, I also feel that the suggested opposition between Anšanites and Persians cannot be upheld as strictly as he proposes. As stated before, royal titles are a tricky means for historical reconstruction. At the time that Cyrus’ ancestor styled himself “Kuraš of Anzan,” the kings of the Neo-Elamite state were still using, or had re-introduced the ancient title “king of Anšan and Susa” (cf. §1.4.1 above). Even Atta-hamiti-Insušnak, who may well have been the last Elamite king (cf. *ibid.*), claimed kingship over Anšan and Susa and this plausibly at a time when Darius I had not only won kingship in the highlands, but had already pacified most of the Achaemenid Empire. Atta-hamiti-Insušnak’s titles reflect his grand aspirations and therefore constitute an ideological message. I do not think that the situation was all that different in the highlands. Cyrus II and his ancestors obviously ruled some polity in Fārs, but that does not mean that the title “king of Anšan” was a neutral choice. Rather, the title is derived from the ancient title “king of Anšan and Susa” and reflects political rivalry with the Neo-Elamite kings *and* an ideological attempt to attach the Teispid line to the glorious Elamite past.<sup>136</sup> It is not at all excluded that a *Persian* identity was shared by the subjects of

of Kuraš in administrative context is a sign of *damnatio memoriae*, particularly because it appears on tablets documenting the procurement of provisions for the royal table. I fail to see the logic of his argument: the concept used by Vallat normally refers to persons *removed from memory* (by the erasure of their names and removal of their images), hence deprived from funerary offerings and other honors. Vallat seems to understand it as degrading rather than obliterating someone’s remembrance, but even in that sense the argument is not convincing: there is nothing negative in the preservation of the seal within the new dynasty, its use by a high court official, and the voluntary spreading of its seal image, in association with an explicit elite context, throughout the administration. Or is the use, in exactly the same context, of the royal-name seal PFS 0007\*, with an inscription naming Darius I, also meant to degrade that king?

<sup>136</sup> The title was also not, in my opinion, a means to supply “legitimacy to a Persian dynasty that had been victorious over indigenous Elamites” (Waters 2004: 95). There is not a shred of evidence for a military and/or political clash between pre-Achaemenid

the Teispid kings. This is in fact what is positively suggested by the Acropole archive in which various groups of *parsip* are regularly mentioned, but groups of ‘Anšānites’ never are.<sup>137</sup> I take this as evidence that the inhabitants of the highlands styled themselves “Persians” (or “inhabitants of Parsa”) when they came into contact with the lowland Elamites. As for the name of Cyrus: if we are to believe Strabo (XV.3.6), ‘Cyrus’ was an assumed name, like the throne-names of the Achaemenids. Such names are always programmatic in some sense. In the case of ‘Cyrus’ the choice of an *Elamite* name may have been prompted by the status of that culture, not by the linguistic milieu of Cyrus’ parents. According to Strabo, Cyrus was originally baptised ‘Agradates,’ and that is clearly an Iranian name (Henkelman 2003a: 195-6 with fn. 48). And though Cyrus may have derived his royal name in the first place, *via* papyponymy, from his grandfather, we still have a family with Iranian and (assumed) Elamite names. The title and name of Cyrus are indeed of greatest interest, not because they point to the survival of a predominantly culturally or ethnically *Elamite* polity in the highlands, but precisely because they fit the model of Elamite-Iranian acculturation so well.

Perhaps a last example may be useful. Of the three ‘Elamite’ rebels mentioned in the Bīsotūn inscription, only one (Aθamaita = Atta-hamiti-[Insušnak]) has an Elamite name. As argued above, this ruler tried to back his claims by calling upon the Elamite past. The second case is that of Āčina, who had, unlike Aθamaita, an Iranian name and, seemingly, an Iranian patronymic (Upadarma). His name notwithstanding, Āčina is called “an Elamite” in the Babylonian and Elamite versions of the inscription. The last case is the most perplexing: Martiya, son of Cī<sup>n</sup>caxriš again had an Iranian name and patronymic, but he assumed the Elamite royal name Ummanuš. According to the inscription, this man came not from Elam, but from Kuknakka in Pārsa. The names, titles and background of the three Elamite rebels present, in a nutshell, the full complexity of Elamite-Iranian acculturation and Persian ethnogenesis.<sup>138</sup>

‘Persians’ and Elamites. More important, I do not believe that a strict dichotomy between the “Persian dynasty” and the indigenous population can be upheld (cf. the recent remarks of Briant [forthc. 1] §2).

<sup>137</sup> Anšān is once mentioned as a place name (S 117); and once, in a broken and unclear context (S 281, *an<sup>2</sup>-za<sup>2</sup>-an-ri*, “the Anšānite?”) – but note that the next line mentions a messenger from Appalaya, probably the leader of an Aramaean group or entity in western Khūzestān! [cf. Henkelman 2003a: 213 fn. 114]). *parsip* and *parsirra* occur in 14 Acropole texts (see Vallat 1993a: 210-1; Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.1.2.1).

<sup>138</sup> See Henkelman 2003a: 183-4 with fn. 7 and Tavernier 2004: 27-9 (with references). Some of the other rebels in the Bīsotūn inscription also have (assumed) names that do not agree with their expected ethnic background (cf. Briant 1984a: 36-7).

### 1.6. Defining ‘ancient Iranian religion’

One of the most productive sources for Elamite-Iranian acculturation is the Persepolis Fortification archive. Within that corpus, the most revealing subject is undoubtedly that of state-sponsored cultic activities. As this study aims to show, the religious landscape of the Achaemenid heartland was a fascinating and variegated tapestry woven from Elamite and (Indo-)Iranian traits. It will be argued that, though heterogeneous, this landscape was nevertheless a unity that was treated as such by the administrators at Persepolis. ‘Iranian’ and ‘Elamite’ cults were not only treated alike, but were actually not separated in clearly distinct sections. The gods venerated and the cults sponsored were only so because they were considered to be *Persian*, i.e. as belonging to the rich intercultural milieu of first-millennium Fārs.

Possible loci for Elamite-Iranian religious acculturation are legion. It deserves emphasis that the Iran seen by the (Indo-)Iranian newcomers was quite a different one from what we see today. At Susa, for example, Neo-Elamite temples and the royal palace were still standing until the time Darius’ architects started their reconstruction of the site (cf. §1.4.5 above). The repeated use of glazed brick reliefs in Achaemenid Susa is, on that premise alone, likely to be a conscious continuation of an Elamite predilection (often expressed in royal inscriptions) for such decorations in temples (cf. §1.4.5 fig. 1.4). Closer to home, at Naqš-e Rostam, the Middle and Neo-Elamite reliefs (cf. §1.5.1 above) were not carved over as yet (this was not done before Bahrām II in the Sasanid period). The local sanctuary, probably founded because of the presence of a spring (Schmidt 1970: 10), must have been intact and functioning during many centuries of Iranian presence in Fārs. Knowing that Achaemenid royal tombs were the locale of funerary offerings, the selection of Naqš-e Rostam as the royal necropolis surely points to a Persian appreciation of its sacredness. Other sanctuaries undoubtedly were still used during at least part of the Neo-Elamite period: Šekaft-e Salmān, Kūl-e Farah and Kūrāngūn. The grand sacrificial feast regularly celebrated in Kūl-e Farah, presided over by the local ruler and organised in a way that expressed the unity and social build-up of an entire society, is a logical antecedent for a very similar feast (*šip*) documented in the Persepolis texts (see ¶22 and esp. ★§7.3). Actual temples also existed. The great ziggurat Čogā Zambīl, probably still largely intact, surely must have been an impressive sight for visitors from the highlands.<sup>139</sup> That it inspired the shape of Cyrus’ tomb seems an attractive idea, even more so given the possible

<sup>139</sup> Cf. the recent, similar description, by Potts (2008 §2), of the Kūrāngūn sanctuary: “an impressive Elamite rock relief which must have resonated with the Achaemenids, no matter how one characterizes their religion.”

associations between the Elamite ziggurat and funerary cults.<sup>140</sup> Incidentally, it may be noted that recent excavations have shown that Čogā Zanbīl was the site of a settlement of some importance during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, which remained inhabited in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, and continued to be so in the Achaemenid period<sup>141</sup> – a factor that raises its significance for Irano-Elamite acculturation.

Other temples are likely to have existed in towns in eastern Khūzestān and in the Fahliyān region. The Neo-Elamite sanctuary at Gisat, known from the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque*, apparently still existed during the reign of Darius I. In other known Neo-Elamite period towns, such as Hidali, Dašer, Bessitme, Atuk, Šullaggi, Huhnur and Rakkan, Elamite temples and other sanctuaries are likely to have existed.<sup>142</sup> All these sacred places must have been important conduits in the transmission of Elamite religious traditions and cultic practices into Persian culture. Still, Elamite-Iranian religious acculturation probably was not wholly dependent on these ‘official’ places of cult. Though speculative, it is easily conceivable that the Elamite and Iranian pastoralist tribes over time came to share popular beliefs and cultic practices. Possibly, Elamite-Iranian tribal confederations joined in certain annual festivals, such as the summer solstice and the autumnal equinox celebrations that seem to be hinted at in the Fortification tablets (¶24). These festivals would have been important forums for all sorts of exchanges and may well have been instrumental in the development of new cultic practices.

As a consequence of the above and given what has been said in the previous sections, ‘ancient Iranian religion,’ should, in my opinion, be interpreted differently from what has been the rule thus far. Not only does the exclusion of Elamite religion in traditional surveys of ‘Iranian religion(s),’ fail to pay due attention to one of Iran’s most important civilisations, but it also ignores an important constituent of religion in the Persian period and thereby a vital tool for explaining individual religious phenomena. In the case of the Achaemenid Empire, we should talk about ‘*Persian* religion’ and define that as the heterogeneous unity of religious beliefs and cultic practices that emerged from a long Elamite-Iranian coexistence and that were considered as native by the inhabitants of Achaemenid Fārs and its rulers.

This study is based on the Persepolis Fortification archive, a rich body of material that has been used before for research on Persian religion. Two scholars should be mentioned in particular: Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch. The works

<sup>140</sup> See Stronach 1997: 41-2 and §6.7.6.1 below.

<sup>141</sup> Nasrabadi 2003/04b: 255, 259-60 and *idem* 2007: 45-6, 90-2; see also Pons 1994.

<sup>142</sup> See Henkelman 2007b on the case of Huhnur, an old cult-centre of the god Ruhuratir, where, in the Achaemenid period, offerings “for the gods” (including Ruhuratir?) still took place.

of both authors are frequently cited, and criticised in this study. Partly this is simply because of their considerable academic output; Hinz and Koch are among the very few historians who have fully embraced the importance of the Fortification archive. At the same time, Hinz and, especially, Koch have, at least in my view, projected an unfounded dichotomy on the relations between Elamites and Iranians. Because of the small numbers of specialists of Achaemenid Elamite, this perspective still lingers and continues to influence the way other scholars look upon Persian religion. How this works in detail will be made clear where relevant in the following chapters, but it may be useful to single out two examples to illustrate and substantiate my criticism.

In a contribution on Elamite and Persian religion in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, Koch discusses Inšušinak, the long-time city-god of Susa and patron of the Elamite kings (1995: 1963):

The power and importance of the god Inshushinak for all inhabitants of Elam, from the most humble up to the king, is quite clear from the earliest times onward. So it is a striking fact that he disappeared completely in Achaemenid times. It is understandable, however, since as protector against enemies from outside, he had failed. Babylonians and, above all, the Persians, had gotten the upper hand, and the Elamites had become subjects to foreigners. Thus with the decline of the Elamite kingdom, Inshushinak lost all of his influence.

Apart from casting a rather modernistic interpretation on the purported disappearance of Inšušinak's cult (Elamites losing their faith 'because of the war'), the above quotation is entirely constructed upon a *presumed* antithesis between Elamites and Iranians. For the Elamites, Iranians cannot be but "foreigners" and "enemies" who caused the loss of an important part of their identity: the cult of Inšušinak. Such an approach obscures the historical realities. Sources from the very latest, post-Assyrian part of the Neo-Elamite period still mention Inšušinak. Conversely, there simply is not a single source from Achaemenid Susa of a type that could have documented the cult of Inšušinak. That the city-god of Susa with his special attachment to the Elamite royal house is not mentioned in Achaemenid Fārs seems only logical. It does not at all preclude a continuation of his cult in the lowlands. Elamite religion, like any ancient religion, was very much a patchwork of local traditions. In the east, the position of the gods Humban and Napiriša seems to have been stronger and these gods are indeed found in the Fortification texts (Humban is even the most popular of the gods mentioned). Similarly, Inšušinak's cult at Susa is not only likely to have existed still in the Persian period, but it was, in all probability, actively supported by the Achaemenid rulers. But what really matters here is that Koch's assertion blocks the view on what may be an important dossier for understanding Persian religion and Achaemenid religious ideology: even a superficial survey of Elamite royal inscriptions evokes many parallels with

the Achaemenid inscriptions. The position of Inšušinak is in some respects very similar to that of Auramazdā. Such possible continuities will, of course, never be discovered from a perspective that only stresses enmity and cultural dichotomy.<sup>143</sup>

The perception of early Zoroastrianism as an enlightened faith was the prime inspiration for Hinz's and Koch's idea of deeply divided religious spheres. Both scholars believed that the Achaemenid kings, especially Darius I, were ardent supporters of this new religion (i.e. Gathic Zoroastrianism *stricto sensu*, not Mazdaism). In Koch's eyes, Darius' tomb inscription at Naqš-e Rostam is a celebration of the king's faith and the "unerschütterliche Prinzipien" that he derived from it.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the presumed arrival of Zoroastrianism in western Iran in the Achaemenid period spelt a breakthrough of monumental significance. It divided the world into two spheres: that of the true believers and that of the pagans clinging to their ancestral gods. No mistake should be made about the old religion: "in den vorangegangenen Zeiten scheint das Verhältnis der Menschen zu den Göttern stärker von der Angst geprägt zu sein, Angst besonders vor dem Urteil des Totenrichters."<sup>145</sup>

Given the nature of our sources, not much is known about Elamite religious beliefs and this observation alone should keep us from talking about an Elamite 'obsession' with death, as is sometimes done.<sup>146</sup> We do know, however, that the idea of a final judgement existed; texts reflecting the subject offer precious glimpses of a world view that is largely lost to us. The Elamites believed in a netherworld tribunal including Inšušinak (judge), the 'Weigher' (who tried the soul of the deceased), Išnikarab (*advocatus dei*) and Lagamar (*advocatus diaboli*). Ironically, it is precisely this idea of a final judgement, considered by Koch to be so characteristic of the fear-dominated Elamite religion, that eventually reappeared in *Zoroastrian* writings from the early Islamic period, most probably after having been transmitted to Persian culture in the Neo-Elamite or Achaemenid period.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>143</sup> I find the opinion of Herrenschmidt (1995/96: 229) equally perplexing: "La célèbre tolérance religieuse des Achéménides doit être nuancée et l'absence du dieu poliade de Suse, Inshushinak, de la documentation persépolitaine, peut faire penser que Darius I<sup>er</sup> mit sur pied une sorte de bureau des mages qui décida ou refusa les subventions d'État au culte de tel ou tel dieu." On the "bureau des mages" (supposedly dictating which gods the *state* should sponsor!) see the critical remarks by Briant 1997a: 73, 97.

<sup>144</sup> Koch 1977: 174; *idem* 1992: 297, 299 (cited); *idem* 2002: 25. Brosius 1994: 519 rightly qualifies Koch's 1992 approach as "a naïve perception of Darius as a morally good king."

<sup>145</sup> Koch 1977: 174, referring to Elamite religion in particular.

<sup>146</sup> See Henkelman 2005c: 140 and §6.7.6.1 below.

<sup>147</sup> See Bottéro 1982 on the Elamite sources (Akkadian texts from 15<sup>th</sup> century Susa). As Steve and Gasche note (1996), the judgement and the weighing are elements not known

So, instead of an unbridgeable chasm between an enlightened, new faith and paganism defined by fear, we find ourselves confronted with one of the most powerful attestations of Elamite-Iranian religious acculturation.

The dichotomy seen by Hinz and Koch in Elamite-Iranian relations is not limited to religious beliefs and cultic practices. The passage quoted above (Koch 1995: 1963) projects a sense of exclusion, loss and disaster upon the old Elamites, whose once proud culture has been overcome by the Iranians. Likewise, Hinz characterised the later Neo-Elamite period, with its decaying Elamite kingdom and growing Iranian influence, as “ein langer, schmerzhafter Vorgang” (1987: 125). In the eyes of Koch, Elamites had become servants to the new Iranian ‘masters,’ and she links this inferior social position with the continuity of Elamite cults as if those were the one thing the Elamites could cling to.<sup>148</sup> All these notions are discouragingly familiar. In *Orientalism*, the late Edward W. Said famously analysed a well known and influential passage from Aeschylus’ *Persae* in which the chorus bewails what is presented as the irreversible loss suffered by Xerxes’ armies in Greece (1978: 56) and comments on the text in words that could serve as the definition of his subject:

What matters here is that Asia speaks through and by virtue of the European imagination, which is depicted as victorious over Asia, that hostile “other” world beyond the seas. To Asia are given the feelings of emptiness, loss, and disaster (...); and also, the lament that in some glorious past Asia fared better, was itself victorious over Europe.

I think that it is hard to deny that the publications of Hinz and Koch on Elamite-Iranian acculturation, or rather the perceived clash between the two cultures, have certain overtones that, for lack of a better term, may be labelled as orientalist.<sup>149</sup>

from contemporary Mesopotamian eschatology and may be seen as originally Elamite. The parallel they draw with the later Zoroastrian Netherworld triad (Mithra, Sraoša, Rašnu), seems fully justified given the names, make-up and *modus operandi* of that grim institution. On the Zoroastrian evidence see Kreyenbroek 1985.

<sup>148</sup> See Koch 1977: 176, “Jedoch scheint der zarathustrische Glaube, dem ohne Zweifel der König anhing, nicht in allen Bevölkerungskreisen Anklang gefunden zu haben. (...) So ist die Verehrung der alten elamischen Götter (...) noch lebendig, vermutlich besonders in den Schichten der jetzt *dienstbaren* Elamer” [italics mine, WH]. See also Koch 1992: 284, “Und sicher gab es auch zur Zeit des Großkönigs Dareios noch sehr viele Elamer, die nicht nur in der Verwaltung, sondern darüber hinaus verstreut im ganzen Lande bei den Grundbesitzern und adligen Familien angestellt waren.” Cf. Koch 2006: 354-5, where the author speculates on an ethnic background for the (perceived) difficulties between the Persian Akriya and the ‘Elamite’ Zinini (!).

<sup>149</sup> Compare Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987 on orientalist approaches to Persian history.



The end of Elam is only seen through the lens of the victorious Iranians and that lens is a modern construct. Under such circumstances, a meaningful contribution by the Elamite to the nascent Persian culture seems *a priori* excluded.

It must be stressed that Koch's and Hinz's notions on Zoroastrianism, on Achaemenid Mazdaism, and on the rise of the Persian Empire are not representative of current research on these subjects. At the same time, it is seldom recognised that even their interpretations of philological details and bureaucratic procedures in the Persepolis Fortification texts are deeply affected by such notions. Not surprisingly, the outcome is that the archive confirms preconceived ideas about Persian religion. It is, unfortunately, precisely this result of Hinz's and Koch's studies that is time and again cited in works on Persian religion. Thus, the tablets are reduced to a secondary source in a debate centred on the comparison between Achaemenid inscriptions and the *Avesta* (and other Zoroastrian writings). Though that debate undeniably continues to yield new insights into Persian religion, the secondary position of the tablets is absolutely unjustified. The Fortification material is an important and independent source and therefore entitled to speak for itself. If we are really interested in understanding *Persian* religion, we can no longer afford to ignore this voice.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE FORTIFICATION ARCHIVE

*Elamite is a simple language*

[Richard T. Hallock]

*If you are not confused  
you do not appreciate the problem*

[Richard T. Hallock]

#### 2.0. Introduction

Some years ago, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg characterised the Persepolis region as “bristling with life and activities” (1995a: 1044) and pointed out that the Fortification archive is the key *par excellence* to this Achaemenid heartland. Indeed, the archive’s laconic and unpretentious documents have a tremendous potential for research on many aspects of Achaemenid history, one which, I dare say, stands unrivalled among the sources available to the historian of the Empire.

The tablets, mostly written in Achaemenid Elamite, were excavated in the northeastern Fortification sector of the Persepolis terrace and represent but a fragment of the paperwork of a regional administration that covered an area coinciding with a larger part of modern Fārs. The scope of the archive made up by the Fortification tablets, dating to Dar. 13-28 (509-493 BC), is modest and can be described as the handling (not the production *per se*) of locally grown and produced food-stuffs, and locally bred and raised livestock (including game fowl fattened in captivity). Its purpose was to arrange, survey, record, and account for the streams of these commodities within what I will call the ‘Persepolis economy.’ The prime tasks involved were the receipt, taxation, storage, and transport of goods and their redistribution to gods, members of the nobility, officials, travellers on the royal roads, workers and livestock. As such, the archive offers important material on subjects like animal husbandry, organisation of manpower, status of labourers, heartland demography, fiscal policy, religious practices, status of cultic personnel, the royal road, the relation between state institutions and private parties, and record management. And though regional in scope and certainly not a royal or state archive, the Fortification archive does inform us about the choices and needs of the upper stratum of Persian society, not only through the extremely rich glyptic repertoire of the seal impressions, but also the involvement of royal and noble Persians in the administrative apparatus, the provisions for the royal table, the texts

relating to the royal domain, sacrifices for deceased kings and through tokens of ideologically charged royal largesse such as meat rations at the occasion of sacrificial feasts, personal gifts and bonuses for workers. On a more general scale, the tablets are witness to the energy invested and the great organisational skills applied by the regional authorities on behalf of the Persian crown in the creation and management of a highly complex and extensive institutional economy.<sup>150</sup> It is fair to say, then, that the Persepolis Fortification tablets are a true imperial microcosm, a vast primary source that should stand at the centre of Achaemenid studies.

Working with the thousands of edited texts opens one's eye to the amazing organisational coherence they represent. The image of many interrelated clay tablets that constitute a single archive really captures and re-creates the network of activities and individuals that made up the dazzling mosaic of Achaemenid Pārsa.

Evidently, the exploration of such an intricate archive cannot be the work of a single scholar, not even one of the calibre of Richard Treadwell Hallock. This assiduous publisher and student of the archive himself stated that "no man could fully exploit such texts ... their exploitation requires the services of many persons with various backgrounds and interests" (1960: 90). The veracity of this statement will be clear to anyone familiar with the archive; the fact that an international cooperation has now been set up to map the archive's riches is therefore particularly fortunate.<sup>151</sup> The results of this endeavour, which will gradually be made available in the years to come, will include text and seal editions, but also a synthesis of the archive. Though in the past individual studies have enhanced, sometimes considerably, our understanding of the archive and its individual components, such a general, encompassing synthesis remains an urgent desideratum.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>150</sup> Compare also Pierre Briant's characterisation of the Fortification find as "a discovery of documents that completely overturned the traditional view of the Persian monarchy: an assessment of the tablets would have dissuaded anyone from analyzing the Persian monarchy through the deforming lenses of feudal, nomadic, or primitivist theses, since the tablets show that the administrative organisation centred on Persepolis had genetic connections with the Syro-Mesopotamian kingdoms of earlier centuries" (2005: 275).

<sup>151</sup> The Persepolis Fortification Archive Project (PFAP), under the aegis of the Oriental Institute and directed by M.W. Stolper, includes specialists of Elamite, Aramaic and of glyptic art and has the aim of fully publishing the Fortification archive.

<sup>152</sup> Closest to a full synthesis is Briant's treatment of the tablets (1996: 434-87, 962-72). A very rich presentation of the material (more than 140 texts quoted *in extenso*, with elaborate notes), particularly attractive and important because it places the Fortification texts amidst the full plethora of sources on the Achaemenid Empire, is that of Kuhrt (2007b: II 763-814 and p.905 s.v. Elamite; cf. 1995 II: 689-96). Also very useful are the surveys by Hallock (1985; cf. 1969: 1-69 and 1973b), Jones (1990 [unpublished]) and Wiesehöfer (1994: 102-48, 348-55). See also Dandamaev 1972b; *idem* in Dandamaev

For obvious reasons, the present chapter is not intended to fill that lacuna. There will be no attempt to discuss the many subjects documented by the archive, such as the activities and organisation of base workers (*kurtaš*), the share-breeding system, the function of the treasuries (*kapnuški*), the royal road, taxation, specialist craftsmen, bird breeding, etc.<sup>153</sup> Instead, our focus will be on the functioning of the Fortification tablets as a comprehensive administrative and archival system.

- & Lukonin 1989: 90-237; *idem* s.d.; Hinz 1970; *idem* 1971c; Lewis 1977: 4-14; *idem* 1984: 592-602; *idem* 1990; *idem* 1994; Olmstead 1948: 176-8; Roaf 2004: 408-10. Although one could disagree with the views expressed in it (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993a; Brosius 1994), Koch's *Es kündigt Dareios der König* (1992) is to be praised as a rare attempt at disseminating the evidence from the tablets to a larger audience.
- <sup>153</sup> A selection of case studies may be listed here (excluding studies extensively discussed in this publication): Aperghis 1997a (royal road); *idem* 1997b (exchange); *idem* 1998 (accounting, production, taxation); *idem* 1999 (storehouses); *idem* 2000 (work teams); Bivar 1988: 205-8 (Indians); Briant 1982b (treasuries); *idem* 1982c (livestock); *idem* 1982e (plantations); *idem* 1991c and 1992 (royal road); *idem* 1997b (wine for animals); *idem* 2006b (royal and public domains); *idem* [forthc.] (Susa); Brosius 1996 (women); Cahill 1985 (treasuries); Dandamaev 1973, *idem* 1975b and *idem* 1976: 189-94 (*kurtaš*); De Blois 1989 (Makka); Gabrielli 2006 (horses); García Sánchez 1999 (women); Giovinnazzo 1989c (Babylonians); *idem* 1993 (exchange); *idem* 1994a (royal road); *idem* 1994b (movements of the court); *idem* 1995 (servants); *idem* 2000/01 (Indians); Graf 1994 (royal road); Henkelman 1997 (food producers); *idem* 2002 (lance-guards); *idem* 2005a (bronze workers); *idem* [forthc. 1] (royal table); Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2006 (livestock); Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] (ethnicity, Skudrians); Herrenschildt 1989 (taxation); Kawase 1980 (livestock management); *idem* 1984 (*pašap* women); *idem* 1986 (treasuries); Koch 1980 and *idem* 1989 (taxation); *idem* 1981b (treasuries); *idem* 1983 (wages and rations); *idem* 1986 (royal road); *idem* 1993a (travellers); *idem* 1993b (movements of the court); *idem* 1994 (women); *idem* 2006 (letters); Lewis 1987 (royal table); Magee *et al.* 2005: 713 (travel routes); Mancini 1987 (*kapnuški*); Naster 1980 (mothers' rations; children); Potts 2006: 104-5 (asses); *idem* 2008 (royal road); Roaf 1980 (quarry men); Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b (food commodities); Seibert 2002 (royal road); Stolper 1977 (storehouses, taxation, registrars, investigators); *idem* 1985: 56-9 (*kurtaš*); *idem* 1998a ('conscripted' workers); Tuplin 1987a (administrative districts, treasuries, estates, registrars, taxation); *idem* 1987b (fortresses); *idem* 1996 (plantations); *idem* 1998 (movements of the court, royal road); *idem* 2008 (*kurtaš*, *šumar*, taxation); Uchitel 1989 (work teams); *idem* 1991 (foreign workgroups); *idem* 1997 (plantations and estates); Vogelsang 1985 (Arachosia); *idem* 1992: 165-9 (Hinduš); Zaccagnini 1983 (foreign workers). Compare also the references in fn. 152 above. Bibliographical surveys also given in Hinz & Koch 1987: 1332-68; Weber & Wiesehöfer 1996 index s.v. PFT; Briant 1996: 962-72; *idem* 1997a: 79-80, 85-6; *idem* 2001: 133-6, index s.v. tablettes élamites.

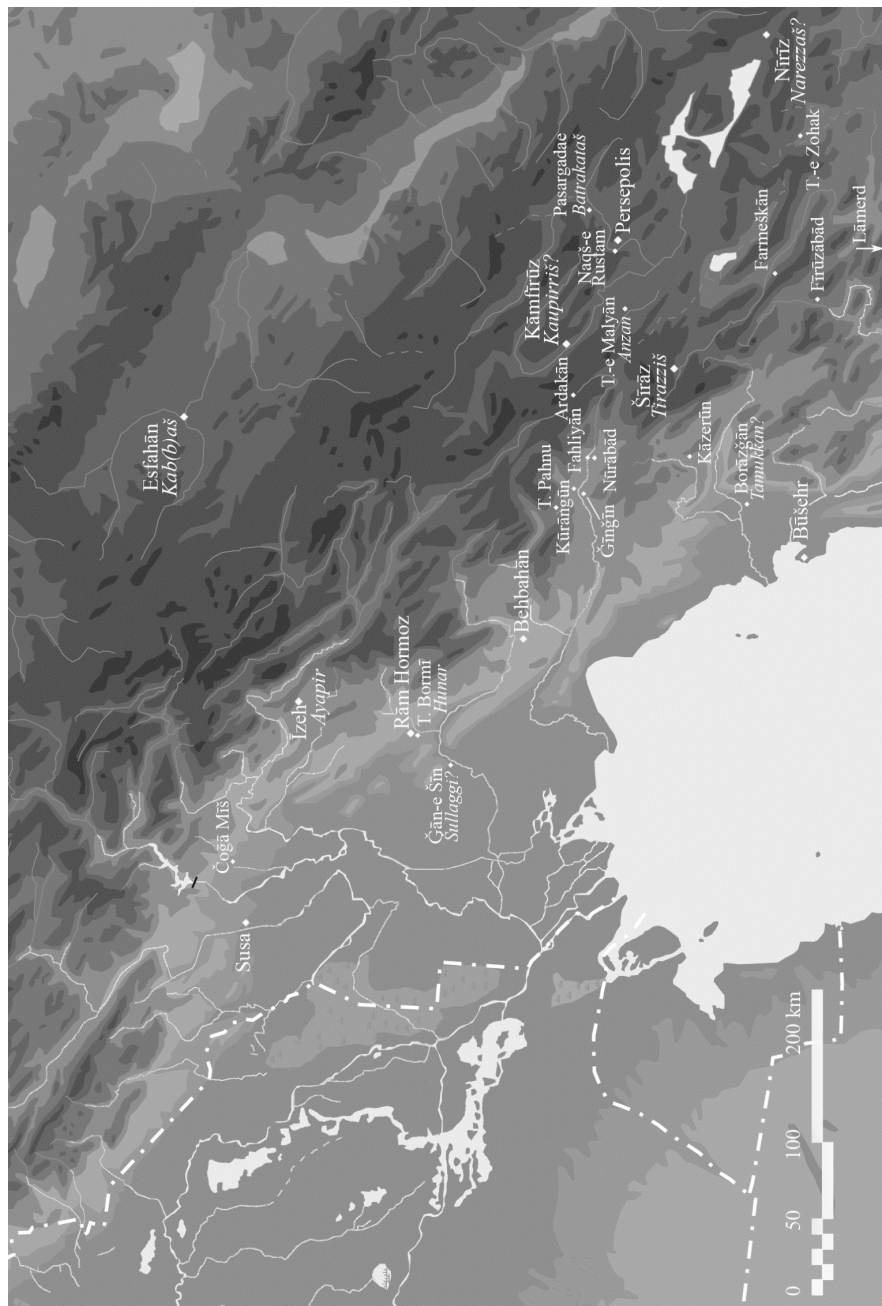


fig. 2.1: map of southwestern Iran showing (Achaemenid) sites mentioned in Ch. 2  
(dummy map courtesy M. Sauvage, EPHE Paris)

### 2.1. *Discovery and study of the tablets*

2.1.1. *The Fortification wall* – The Fortification texts were discovered at Persepolis in the 1933 spring season of the excavations conducted by Ernst E. Herzfeld on behalf of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. A telegram, received on March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1933, to James Henry Breasted, stated: “Hundreds Probably thousands business Tablets Elamite Discovered On Terrace Herzfeld.”<sup>154</sup> Probably the first public announcement of the discovery was also made by the excavator, in a lecture for the *Royal Asiatic Society* on September 21<sup>st</sup> 1933. The lecture remained unpublished, but a summary (by an anonymous epitomist) was printed in the society’s journal ([Anonymous] 1934: 231-2):<sup>155</sup>

Among the small finds, not belonging to architecture and sculpture, is to be mentioned the discovery of two little archive chambers in the fortification wall: not apparently the archives of State, but either military or judicial records. There are about 10,000 intact pieces, 10,000 more or less complete ones, and probably more than 10,000 fragments. The shapes vary greatly, from the largest ever known to the smallest. They are mostly in Elamite cuneiform, and will require years of labour and study to be deciphered. Among them are about 500 pieces with Aramaic writing in ink. As an exception there was found one piece – perhaps there are more – in Phrygian letters and language.

This note remains one of the rare pieces of information on the find spot and the size of the archive. Herzfeld, who soon afterwards (1934) was forced to give up the field directorship of the Oriental Institute’s Persepolis Expedition, unfortunately never published a proper report on the find, nor did he leave any precise notes that could further clarify the matter. There is only a short reference in his *Iran in the Ancient East* (1941: 226, cf. 271), where the Fortification wall is described:<sup>156</sup>

<sup>154</sup> Charles Jones, [//persepolistablets.blogspot.com/2008/03/seventy-fifth-anniversary-of-discovery.html](http://persepolistablets.blogspot.com/2008/03/seventy-fifth-anniversary-of-discovery.html).

<sup>155</sup> Curiously, the summary starts out from the perspective of the audience (“he told us” [p. 226]), but changes to the perspective of the excavator (“our expedition” [p. 230]). It may have been a direct reworking from Herzfeld’s notes. Cameron 1933/34: 272 basically repeats the same information.

<sup>156</sup> Compare also Herzfeld’s recollection of his discovery of the tablets: “Als ich in Persepolis etwa 30.000 tontafeln in elamischer sprache entdeckte, glaubte ich, sie würden für das elamische die bedeutung von Wincklers Boghazköi-tafeln für die Hettitologie erlangen, außer dem unerschöpflichen stoff für die innere geschichte des Achämenidenreiches, den sie enthalten müssen” (1938a: 11 fn. 1). Interestingly, Herzfeld apparently had some knowledge of the contents of the Fortification archive, as he writes, in a book published in 1947, “The Elam. cuneiform tablets of Persepolis

But on the north side, and all over the mountain, climbing over 300 feet, the walls still stand forty-five feet high. (...) The wall is a double one with casemates and loopholes, illustrating Sargon's description of some Median towns. Where the wall touches the mountain, it had two stories, the upper one alone continuing up the mountain. At the northern angle, the upper story had housed the office of the guards, while documents no longer used were walled up in a small room below. Only a small portion of these archives is preserved, and yet they still number about 30,000 clay tablets written, with the exception of about 500 Aramaic and 1 Phrygian piece, in Elamite cuneiform.

This description is accompanied by a drawing showing a section of the northeastern Fortification wall, apparently based upon a sketch ("Tabletten-grabung"), found among Herzfeld's papers, that indicates the location of the "two little archival chambers" (drawing published in Garrison & Root 2001: 25 fig. 5). In addition, there are 23 photographs: six of the excavation of the tablets and the remainder of individual tablets; two of these have been published.<sup>157</sup>

A similar description, yet with some interesting new details, comes from Friedrich Krefter, Herzfeld's deputy in the Persepolis excavation (1979: 23):

Weitere Entdeckungen fielen in das Frühjahr 1933: Bei der Ausgrabung des N-O Turmes der Umfassungsmauer der Terrasse, die ein mächtiges, zusammenhängendes Verteidigungssystem darstellte, stießen wir neben dem Treppenaufgang im Innern des Turmes in einer verborgenen Nische auf ein Depot von abgelegten Tontäfelchen, die sorgsam zur Konservierung nach Chicago versandt wurden und dort ihre wissenschaftliche Auswertung durch R.T. Hallock fanden.

teach that the magi, like the Muhammedan qāḍī, had the juridical and financial administration in their hands" (Herzfeld 1947 I: 123; the source may be a personal communication by G.G. Cameron or A.T. Olmstead).

<sup>157</sup> On this material, now in the Oriental Institute, see the rich treatment by Dusinberre 2005: 150-61. One of the photographs was published, without identification of the subject, in Chiera's *They Wrote On Clay* (1938: 19). Charles Jones informs me (pers. comm.) that the photograph published there is in fact a collage that includes a few extra tablets. Another photograph is printed in Garrison & Root 2001: 29 fig. 6. See also pl. 52 in Herzfeld 1941, showing the excavation of the northeastern Fortification wall. On this area see Krefter 1971: 86-8 and esp. Beilage 36 (n° 28: "Nord Turm"); Mousavi 1992: 213-7. On the discovery of the tablets see the survey by Garrison & Root (*ibid.* 23-32) and compare earlier statements by Cameron 1948: 1, 18-9; Schmidt 1953: 3 ("when levelling debris for the construction of a road, Herzfeld discovered great numbers of cuneiform tablets in the northeastern remnants of the Terrace Fortification"), 40-1; 1957: 4-5. Cf. Briant 2005: 275-7 on the scholarly impact of the find.



What strikes most in this description, apart from the mention of a staircase, is Krefter's insistence that the tablets were intentionally *deposited*, i.e. not dumped or used as fill (cf. §2.6.1 below).

Krefter himself was not present at Persepolis when the first tablets were discovered, and came back only on May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1933.<sup>158</sup> From that moment onwards, however, he was involved, probably much more than Herzfeld himself, in the actual excavation of the tablets. He reports on June 16<sup>th</sup> that the foreman of the team working in the northeastern Fortifications, Suleiman, had found "viele Tabletten."<sup>159</sup> The next day he writes (Krefter diary, entry for 17/VI/1933):

Den ganzen Vormittag mit Suleiman Tabletten ausgegraben. Die meisten sind so weich, daß sie zerbrechen. Viele interessante Siegel. Zwei Tabletten mit aramäisch in Tusche, eine mit aramäisch geritzt. Nachmittags Post und Tennis.

More tablets were excavated until the next Sunday, June 25<sup>th</sup> (*ibid.* 25/VI/1933), after which work at the Fortification apparently came to a brief pause. One week later, Krefter reports, "Herzfeld n. N.i.R. Suleiman findet beste Tabletten oben auf der Treppe" (*ibid.* 1/VII/1933), which could be a reference to the find of larger journal and account texts (cf. §2.6.3 sub G below). The packing of the tablets apparently began in August (diary, 3/VIII/1933; cf. §2.1.2 below). At this point, Krefter notes (*ibid.* 4/VIII/1933): "Tabletten ausgegraben und verpackt. Die Fülle wird unverstaubar." Only weeks later, Krefter himself would discover the first of the gold foundation inscriptions from the Apadana during an absence of Herzfeld (*ibid.* 18/IX/1933), who subsequently could not bring himself to show much enthusiasm for his deputy's exciting find. In the ensuing period of rising tension between the two, Herzfeld spent, in the eyes of Krefter, too much time on the Persepolis tablets and ignored other parts of the excavation.<sup>160</sup> Ironically, it was this predilection for the Fortification tablets that made Herzfeld the first to realise their historical potential and that, though he most probably did not read or organise any part of the archive, enabled him to discover, amidst thousands of documents, the single Phrygian tablet (cf. §2.6.2 below).

<sup>158</sup> A precious and hitherto unknown source on the Persepolis excavations in the years 1932-34 is Krefter's diary. I am very grateful to Dr. H. Krefter for having given me access to his transcript of his father's fascinating notes, and for supplementary information passed down to him by his father.

<sup>159</sup> Krefter diary, entry for 16/VI/1933, "Bei Suleiman eine kleine Treppe an der südöstlichen Schießscharte. Dazu viele Tabletten." From earlier entries, it appears that this must mean a part of the northeastern section of the Fortification.

<sup>160</sup> As Krefter privately told his son (pers.comm. H. Krefter 27/IV/2008).

2.1.2. *Uncovering the archive* – Following their discovery, the fragile and uncleaned Fortification tablets were impregnated with paraffin, packed in 2,353 consecutively numbered boxes and shipped, in 1935, to the Oriental Institute where they were studied from 1937 onwards.<sup>161</sup> Initially, the study of the archive was briefly directed by Arno Poebel, with the assistance of George G. Cameron, Pierre M. Purves and Richard T. Hallock.<sup>162</sup> Cameron made preliminary editions of 154 texts (the ‘Cameron texts,’ now in Tehrān; see §2.1.3), but it was Hallock who would soon become the main and, for many years to come, the only scholar studying the tablets. Hallock’s work was interrupted only by the outbreak of World War II and continued to his death in November 1980.<sup>163</sup> In his later years, he was assisted by two of his students, Abdol-Majid Arfa’i and Charles E. Jones.

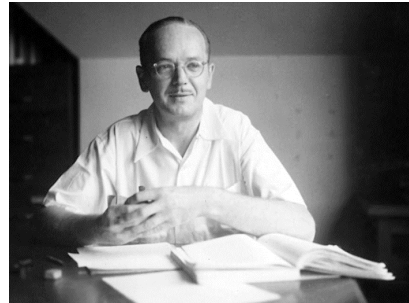


fig. 2.2. Richard T. Hallock around 1950  
(photograph courtesy Oriental Institute)

By March 1950, notwithstanding the difficulties he experienced in cleaning the paraffin-infused dirt from the tablets and despite the fact that he was treading on practically virgin soil in terms of language and archival composition, Hallock had already edited and studied 1,400 tablets.<sup>164</sup> He would soon reach the number of 2,087 texts that were to be published, after much delay in the editorial and printing

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Poebel 1938a: 132-3 fn. 6; Hallock 1969: 1. See also Jones & Stolper 2008: §4 on the precise number of boxes (and tins). Note that the Fortification tablets were (unlike the Treasury tablets) not touched by the burning of Persepolis and were, notwithstanding occasional statements to the contrary, unbaked when they arrived at Chicago. Only a small portion of the tablets have been baked since.

<sup>162</sup> Poebel, Cameron and Hallock are mentioned in a letter by the director of the Oriental Institute at that time, Th. Jacobsen (dd. 31/VII/1947), explaining the progress made on the archive. Some unpublished editions by Purves attest to his involvement in the project (cf. §3.3.1 fn. 466 below). According to Hallock (1969: 2) a total of 131 texts were edited by Poebel, Cameron and Purves (i.e. apart from the 154 ‘Cameron texts’). These editions are, understandably, very preliminary and had to be revised completely by Hallock.

<sup>163</sup> Hallock entered the US army in November 1941 and returned to the Oriental Institute in July 1947 (letter by Th. Jacobsen dd. 31/VII/1947). For a biography, see Brinkman 1981/82 and Jones & Stolper 2003a.

<sup>164</sup> R.T. Hallock, memorandum to E.G. Kraeling (dd. 2/III/1950), “Up to the present I have transliterated 1,400 texts, indexed every occurrence of every word, and made various special studies of the material.” Cf. Hallock 1950: 238.

15 mar 54		occurrences:	
la-an	la-an	649, 1906.1, 2014, 2178,	
la-an(-na)	la-an(-na)	2238, 3126, 3159, 2503,	
ffs. da-u-sa-um	da-u-sa-um	3506, 3885, 3992, 4444,	
el. d. si-ka	el. d. si-ka	4620, 5255, 5453, 5972,	
gal-li	gal-li	6307, 6663, 6681, 6718,	
PIR-si-ia-um	PIR-si-ia-um	6815, 7133, 7544, 7980,	
gal	gal	8263, 8328, 8480, 8960,	
la-an(-na)	la-an(-na)	9013, 10693, 10806, 10867,	
ffs. gal	ffs. gal	10923, 11253, 11261, 11473,	
la-an	la-an	(36 texts)	
pre. by gal	pre. by gal		
el. la-na	el. la-na		
pre. by gal	pre. by gal		
Commodities		per person per mo.	
GESTIN	GESTIN	one III (1), ? II, 2 1/2 I, 1 1/2 II (1), 2 (?) I	12 mo. III III III
SEBAR	SEBAR	? I, 3 (?) I	? III III
ZI.DA	ZI.DA	5 I, 4 III, one III, 3 III, 1 1/2 I	1 mo. III
KAS	KAS	1 1/2 II, 3 I	13 mo. (I-III, 24 yr) I
?	?	? II, 1 IA I	2 mo. II
pi. uel	pi. uel	one? I	2 years I
MA	MA	1 1/2 I	

fig. 2.3a: a page from one of the folders in Hallock's Nachlaß showing his notes on the lan sacrifice (cf. Ch. 3), dd. 15/III/1954

process, in his 1969 *Persepolis Fortification Texts* (cf. Hallock 1959b: 177 fn. 1).<sup>165</sup> Subsequently, he prepared a manuscript with editions of another 2,586 texts (cf. fig. 2.4), 33 of which were selected and published in a separate paper (Hallock 1978). He also collated, from photographs, the texts that had previously been edited by Cameron (and were returned to Iran in 1948; cf. §2.1.3).

In addition to his editions, Hallock produced a wealth of notes, interpretative studies and research tools ranging from lists of seals and an extensive glossary to file cards with prosopographic and topographic data, lexical studies, calculations on the volume of produce and workforces, analyses of distribution patterns, etc. (fig. 2.3a-b). Seen as a whole, these notes are in fact an analytical re-creation of the entire archive: nothing could capture the image of the intricate bureaucracy better than Hallock's comprehensive system of neatly-kept lists, notebooks and card files.

<sup>165</sup> A typescript by C.E. Jones, containing Hallock's additions and corrections to Hallock 1969 (introduction and glossary) was kindly made available to me by its author. I also had access to Hallock's own copy of the volume in which a number of collations are added in pencil. These notes are sometimes referred to in this publication as 'Hallock i.m.' (in *margin*).

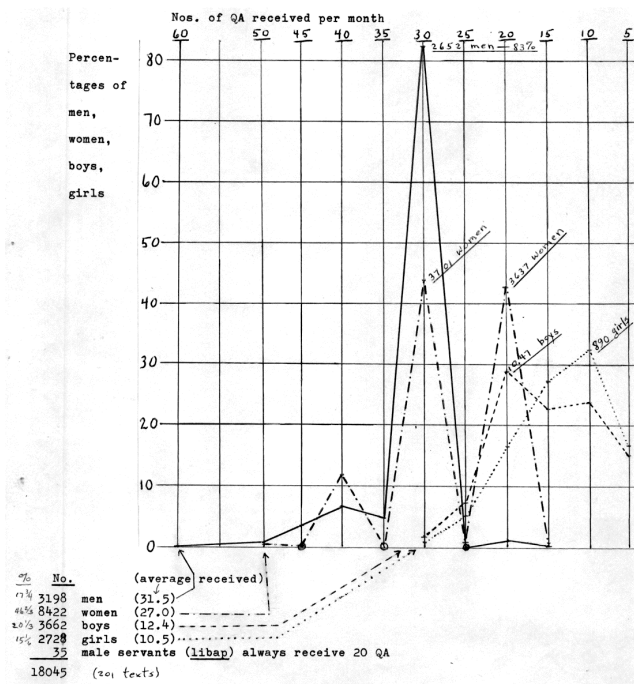


fig. 2.3b:  
analysis of "regular  
monthly grain  
(barley) rations"  
(Hallock Nachlaß)

fig. 2.4 (below):  
Hallock's manuscript  
edition of NN 0339:  
wine for an Humban  
offering at the River  
Betir (cf. §5.4.3)  
(Hallock Nachlaß)

6  
3

Fort. 1392 (Box 270) S. 91 (Libaturna) l.e., another seal rec.

Cat. E - of PF 391-4

- 1) [6] mar-ri-iš
- 2) u. GĒŠIN.g kur-min m.
- 3) Hi-ba-tur-na-na
- 4) m. Ki-ti-ik(?)<sub>new</sub> ka
- 5) du-ša d. Un-
- 6) ba-in-na
- 7) ha-la-iš-<sup>da</sup>
- 8) k.A.g Be-ti(?)<sup>ir</sup>-ir
- 9) na d. be-ul
- 10) 23-um-me-man-na

x (339)

Though Hallock based a number of papers on the material he prepared, most of it remains unpublished. It is clear, also from his own statements, that Hallock considered it his prime goal to make the Fortification texts accessible (cf. Hallock 1969: 3). By this selfless devotion he created a corpus of nearly five thousand highly reliable editions. The field of Achaemenid studies is indeed immensely indebted to this unassuming man and great scholar.

2.1.3. *Composition of the available sample* – The present study is based on a corpus of 4,845 tablets, at least 4,833 of which were excavated at Persepolis. 4,824 of the provenanced texts were edited or collated by Hallock. They are now partly based at the Oriental Institute and partly at the National Museum of Iran (Tehrān). Of the remaining 21 tablets, nine were from the Fortification find; they were edited by C.E. Jones and remain in Chicago. Twelve others are in various public and private collections, but their Persepolitan origin may confidently be assumed.

The available sample of 4,833 texts on provenanced tablets consists of 2,120 texts published by Hallock, and 2,713 editions by the same scholar. The latter group remains largely unpublished (cf. below).

As stated above, Hallock published 2,087 texts in 1969; for these texts the siglum ‘PF’ is used.<sup>166</sup> An additional group of 33 texts, published in 1978, is commonly referred to as ‘PFa.’

Hallock’s additional editions are found in two manuscripts. The first consists of a series of folders containing 2,551 editions made by Hallock (some with the help of A.M. Arfa’i) as well as the nine additional ones, by C.E. Jones, of tablets that were found in Hallock’s office after his death.<sup>167</sup> Texts from the first manuscript have been given the siglum ‘PF-NN’ or, as in the present study, ‘NN.’<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup> A number of texts had already been published or referred to in earlier publications. These include Pers. 3159 = PF 0758 (Poebel 1938a: 133-4), Fort. 3959 = PF 1404 (Hallock 1950: 247 with fn. 42; cf. Benveniste 1958: 63-4), Fort. 0455 = PF 1532 (Hallock 1950: 248 with fn. 46), Fort. 6663 = PF 2036 (Cameron 1948: 7 fn. 34), Fort. 11473 = PF 2073 (*ibid.* 7 fn. 40), Fort. 6414 = PF 2043 (*ibid.* 51 fn. 39), Fort. 7096 = PF 2068 (*ibid.* 53 fn. 51). For a concordance from field numbers to PF numbers of texts cited in publications before 1969 see Hallock 1969: 12.

<sup>167</sup> Actually, the ms. contains 2,586 editions made by Hallock, but 33 of these are published as PFa (Hallock 1978), one text, NN 1929, is the same as PF 0719 and another text, MMA 36.30.62 (listed as ‘NN 2303’), was not found at Persepolis but at Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr (near Šīrāz). Though the last tablet (on which see below) may belong to the archive at large, it is not a Fortification tablet *stricto sensu* and is therefore excluded from the overview presented here. The nine tablets edited by Jones are NN 2587-2595.

<sup>168</sup> Older studies, including the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* by Hinz & Koch, sometimes refer to the NN texts by their field number preceded by ‘Fort.’ Concordances are given in

Collated editions of 14 of the NN texts have been, or will shortly be published; other texts have been quoted, sometimes integrally, from Hallock's manuscript.<sup>169</sup>

The second manuscript is a series of handwritten and typed octavo cards with 154 collations made by Hallock on the basis of editions by Cameron. These tables are now in Tehrān, with one exception: Fort. 5902 is also edited in the first manuscript (numbered as 'NN 2301') and remains in Chicago.<sup>170</sup> Hallock included the so-called 'Cameron texts' in the glossary to his 1969 publication, where they are referred to by their original field number, preceded by the siglum 'Fort.' Hitherto, only four texts have been published; some others have been cited in part.<sup>171</sup> A full edition of the 2,551+153 texts read or collated by Hallock is currently being prepared by the author.<sup>172</sup>

Hinz & Koch 1987: 1369-92 and Vallat 1993a: lxxv-ci. The future publication of the texts will use the NN numbers.

<sup>169</sup> Collated editions: Henkelman 2003b: NN 1700 (pp. 103-4), NN 1848 (pp. 107-8), NN 2174 (pp. 110-1); *idem*, this volume: NN 0339 (§5.4.3), NN 2259 (§6.2-3), NN 2202 (App.1); *idem* [forthc. 1]: NN 0306; *idem* in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.]: NN 1581; *idem* [forthc. 3]: NN 0654, NN 1665, NN 1701, NN 1731, NN 2225, NN 2402. Texts quoted from Hallock's manuscript: Giovinazzo 1994a: NN 0375 (cited as Fort. 310-1 on p. 21), NN 2135 (= Fort. 8351 on p. 24), NN 0944 (= Fort. 3580 on p. 27-8 [read 1 BAR 6 QA tan ZÍD.DA<sup>1</sup>MES in 1.1]), NN 0431 (= Fort. 1732 on p. 29 [also in Giovinazzo 1994b]); Giovinazzo 1994b: NN 0431 (= Fort. 1732 on p. 34), NN 0643 (= Fort. 2502 on p. 36), NN 0317 (= Fort. 1233 on p. 39), NN 1713 (= Fort. 6596 on p. 40).

<sup>170</sup> Of the remaining 153 texts, two were found by Iranian excavators at Persepolis and have always been housed in the National Museum of Iran at Tehrān (Teh. 1957/1 and Teh. 1957/2), where they were edited by Cameron (see Hallock 1969: 37). The other 151 texts were returned to Iran in 1948. Photographs of good quality of the Cameron texts are kept at the Oriental Institute and could be consulted by the author. Note that some of the NN texts also bear a Tehrān siglum; these were apparently found in the National Museum of Iran by A.M. Arfa'i (NN 2310 = Teh. 1968/2; NN 2311 = Teh. 1968/3; NN 2312 = Teh. 1968/6; NN 2329 = Teh. 1968/1; NN 2330 = Teh. 1968/4; NN 2331 = Teh. 1968/5). Though I have no information on their precise background, the texts are undoubtedly part of the Fortification archive.

<sup>171</sup> Published: Fort. 2509 (Cameron *apud* Hinz 1967b: 72), Fort. 3568 (Stolper 1977: 263), Fort. 6764 (Cameron 1942 [cited as 'Pers. 6754']; cf. Hallock 1969: 52; re-edited from photographs in Henkelman [forthc. 1] §1), Fort. 2512 (¶113-4). Partial editions: Fort. 8960 (Cameron 1948: 7 fn. 40), Fort. 3126 (*ibid.* 7 fn. 41), Fort. 6413 (*ibid.* 51 fn. 39), Fort. 6780 (*ibid.* 52 fn. 43), Fort. 3543 (*ibid.*), Fort. 1018 (*ibid.*), Fort. 3547 (*ibid.* 193). Translations and summaries: Hallock 1969: Teh. 1957/1 (p. 37), Teh. 1957/2 (p. 38), Fort. 1363 (p. 54), Fort. 8960 (p. 57); Brosius 1996: Fort. 5206 (p. 152).

<sup>172</sup> For regular updates see [//ochre.lib.uchicago.edu/](http://ochre.lib.uchicago.edu/) and [//www.achemenet.com/](http://www.achemenet.com/).

Permission to use Hallock's unpublished editions and collations was, very generously, granted by Matthew W. Stolper, curator of the Fortification tablets kept in the Oriental Institute. This permission included the use of two sets of collations made by C.E. Jones and M.W. Stolper. The first set covers NN 0001-0600. The second set contains about two thirds of the 154 Cameron texts.<sup>173</sup>

Apart from the 4,833 provenanced texts, there are twelve texts that in all likelihood came from Persepolis. Nine of these were once in the Erlenmeyer collection, have been auctioned by Christie's ([Anonymous] 1988: 61, lots 127-8) and have been published recently by Jones & Stolper (2006).<sup>174</sup> Two others are in the collection of the Institut Biblique of the Université de Fribourg (Vallat 1994a) and one is in a private collection (Grillot 1986b).<sup>175</sup>

<i>publication/manuscript</i>	<i>siglum</i>	<i>number</i>	<i>present location</i>
Hallock 1969	PF 0001-2087	2,087	OI (1,787 tablets); NMI (300 tablets)
Hallock 1978	PFa 01-33	33	OI
Hallock ms. 1	NN 0001-2586	2,551	OI (except Teh. 1968/1-6 [NMI])
Jones in Hallock ms. 1	NN 2587-2595	9	OI
Hallock ms. 2	Fort. (number)	151	NMI
Hallock ms. 2	Teh. 1957/1-2	2	NMI
Grillot 1986b	AMI 19	1	private collection
Vallat 1994a	Fribourg A-B	2	Université de Fribourg, Inst. Biblique
Jones & Stolper 2006	MS 1814	1	Schøyen Collection (Oslo – London)
Jones & Stolper 2006	R 137, R 140, R 557, R 558	4	Jonathan Rosen Collection (Yale)
Jones & Stolper 2006	MWS 1-3	3	collection M.W. Stolper
Jones & Stolper 2006	Erl. lot 127/2	1	present location unknown

*table 2.1: edited sample of 4,845 published and unpublished Elamite texts*

<sup>173</sup> I have also profited from the digital photographs made by and under the supervision of M.W. Stolper, of several hundreds of tablets (including the 300 PF texts returned to the NMI in April 2004), and from the growing corpus of images made by student photographers working for the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project (PFAP).

<sup>174</sup> The origin of the ex-Erlenmeyer tablets is not documented, but it may not be coincidental that the collection was based at Basel, the place where Herzfeld died in 1948. The tablets' "general appearance, contents, proper names and seal impressions strongly indicate that all these texts originally belonged to the Persepolis Fortification find" (Jones & Stolper 2006: 2).

<sup>175</sup> As Jones & Stolper (2003b) remark, the tablets published by Vallat and Grillot share a number of characteristics with the Fortification tablets and have, most plausibly, been taken from that archive, perhaps by the excavator. On the Fribourg tablets see also Garrison & Root 2001: 6-7; Keel & Uehlinger 1990: 26, 47, 90 Abb. 18.

Finally, mention should be made of seven administrative texts written in Achaemenid Elamite and generally similar to the Fortification tablets, but found or supposedly found at different locations.<sup>176</sup> One of these was excavated at the foot of the citadel of Old Kandahār and two were, most probably, excavated at Susa.<sup>177</sup> Three unprovenanced texts, one in the Yale Babylonian Collection and two at the British Museum, are written in Achaemenid Elamite and are similar to the Fortification texts but also have some peculiarities that set them apart. There is a serious possibility that they stem from different archives, as the texts from Susa and Kandahār do.<sup>178</sup> A seventh text was excavated at the site of Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr

<sup>176</sup> An eighth such text is reported by Vallat (1983c: 93) to have been found on Bahrain (“une tablette semblable à celles découvertes par milliers à Persépolis”), but I have not been able to find any confirmation of the existence and characteristics of this tablet. Another text was found just below the modern surface of the Čogā Miš mound. Hallock (*apud* Delougaz & Kantor 1996 I: 17; cf. II pl. 5k) judged that it was written in “Elamite writing of the Achaemenid period,” but could not determine the nature of the text. See also Jones & Stolper 1986: 248. The excavators judged on the basis of the tablets and other finds that Čogā Miš probably was occupied, after having been deserted for centuries, from the later part of Iron III into the Achaemenid period (Delougaz & Kantor 1996: 18).

<sup>177</sup> Kandahār: Helms 1982: 13; Briant 1984a: 59; Vogelsang 1992: 255-6; Sollberger in Helms 1997: 101; Jones & Stolper 2003b; Kuhrt 2007b II 814-5. The ‘Kandahār tablet’ is a burned fragment of an account text with seven partially preserved lines. Two other inscribed fragments are too small and broken to allow interpretation. Susa: only one tablet has been extensively discussed thus far. Sb 13078 = MDP 11 308 was first published by Scheil 1911: 89, 101; cf. Goossens 1949: 38; Hallock 1969: 25; Garrison 1991: 5; *idem* 1996a; Stolper 1992b; Garrison & Root 2001: 35, 68-70 (with complete bibliography); Jones & Stolper 2003b; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 494-5; Kuhrt 2007b II 814. The second text, on a small, roughly rectangular tablet, was published by Scheil (1939: 109) as MDP 28 468, among the ‘Actes Juridiques’ from Sukkalmah-period Susa. Hinz (1967a: 329) first recognised the text, 4 PI ŠE.BAR | *gal-li-ma* | *li-ka*<sub>4</sub> (“36<sup>2</sup> qts. of barley, delivered as ration”), as Elamite and Stolper recently (2004a: 63; also pers.comm.) listed the text as “probably Achaemenid” on the basis of its content and script. Scheil does not reveal whether the tablet was sealed.

<sup>178</sup> The Yale tablet (YBC 16813) was published by Jones & Stolper (1986: 247-54), who stress that the text, though generally similar to the Fortification texts, “differs from the known Persepolis tablets in many particulars” (such as the use of an Akkadian month name), which “may reflect an origin in a different administrative region” (*ibid.* 247-8). On this tablet see also Garrison 1995; Garrison & Root 2001: 7 fn. 1; Jones & Stolper 2003b; Kuhrt 2007b II 815. BM 56302 differs, as Jones & Stolper point out, “in shape and ductus from the normal run of Persepolis texts” (1986: 248). On this text see also Walker 1980: 79-80; Steve 1992: 24. Hinz & Koch (1987: 1323) consider the text to be



near Šīrāz, but it may have been planted there after initial excavation at Persepolis. Alternatively, it may be part of the wider Fortification system.<sup>179</sup> Though these seven texts are highly interesting for various reasons (if only because they indicate the existence of sister-archives similar to the Fortification archive), they have no immediate bearing on the subject of the present monograph. Because their attribution to the Fortification archive is impossible, doubtful, or uncertain they are excluded from the sample of Fortification texts upon which statistical analyses and general inferences are based throughout this study.

2.1.4. *Representativeness of the available sample* – Though the sample of 4,845 tablets used for this study is considerable, it represents but a small portion of the Fortification find and an even smaller portion of the original Fortification archive as it must have been in antiquity. The size of the original archive for the years Dar. 13-28 may have amounted to as much as 100,000 Elamite tablets.<sup>180</sup> The edited sample may therefore represent no more than 5% of that original.

of Neo-Elamite date. The second unpublished Achaemenid Elamite text in the British Museum, BM 108963, is more similar to the Fortification texts but again differs in various respects from the tablets excavated at Persepolis (Jones & Stolper 2003b; for the seal impression, with images of the tablet, see Collon *apud* Merrillees 2005: 81, pl. XXXIVb).

<sup>179</sup> The tablet, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 36.30.62), was found with some Achaemenid sherds. These finds have no secure stratigraphic or architectural connections, so it has been doubted whether the text really originates from Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr. Henkelman, Jones & Stolper, in their recent publication of the text (2006), raise the possibility that it was brought there from Persepolis in 1933 or 1934, but they do not entirely exclude the possibility that Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr hosted its own Elamite archive. For this reason the text is not included in the above calculation of the Fortification sample. The Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr tablet was previously edited by Hallock and included in ‘manuscript 1’ (described above) as NN 2303. On the text see Wilkinson 1965: 344-5; Whitcomb 1985: 191; Jones & Stolper 1986: 248; Sumner 1986: 19; Garrison & Root 2001: 7. MMA 36.30.62 will also be included, along with the ex-Erlenmeyer tablets, the Kandahār tablet(s) and the BM tablet, in a monograph by Henkelman, Jones and Stolper dealing with all the scattered Achaemenid Elamite administrative documents and associated uninscribed tablets (forthcoming in *Achaemenid History*) which will replace Jones & Stolper 2003b. This publication will also include Hallock’s later corrections and additions to Hallock 1969 (cf. §2.1.2 fn. 165 above).

<sup>180</sup> The calculation upon which this *tentative* estimate is based will be explained later in this chapter (see §2.7.3 below).

It should be stressed that not all of the clay objects excavated by Herzfeld are actually texts. A large part of the find, some 4,000 to 5,000 objects, consists of uninscribed tablets with one or several seal impressions (cf. §2.2.4.1 below). Also, there are perhaps as many as 700 tablets inscribed in Aramaic rather than in Elamite. Finally, there is a handful of unica, including a text in Greek, a text in Akkadian, a text in Old Persian, a text in what seems to be Phrygian, a text in an unknown cuneiform script, and some ten pieces of uninscribed and unsealed clay, perhaps pre-shaped for future use as tablets. These groups of documents, inscribed and uninscribed, will be discussed below (§§2.2.2-3, 2.2.4.1, 2.6.3 sub E).

A recent census of 613 boxes (26% of all boxes) by Stolper now allows for a qualification of Herzfeld's initial estimate that "10,000 intact pieces, 10,000 more or less complete ones, and probably more than 10,000 fragments" had been found at Persepolis (cf. §2.1.1 above).<sup>181</sup> It can be estimated that the total Fortification find, including uninscribed sealed tablets and tablets written in Aramaic, amounted to 21,378-24,486 complete pieces and fragments.<sup>182</sup> These figures need adjustment because several fragments often come from the same tablet.<sup>183</sup> The total number of original tablets would then be between 15,878 and 17,905. Of these, 11,259-12,462 are written in Elamite. This means that our sample of 4,845 probably represents roughly 30% of all original documents and about 40% of all original Elamite tablets. The estimates are listed in the table below:<sup>184</sup>

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Jones & Stolper 2008 §1, also listing previous estimates of the size of the find.

<sup>182</sup> Jones & Stolper 2008: §4 table 1 present two sets of estimates based on the assumption that the 631 boxes contain either 25% or 30% of all tablets and fragments, hence the range of 21,378-24,486 as estimated total of tablets and fragments (to which I have added the nine texts edited by Jones and the twelve texts in various private and public collections; cf. §2.1.3 above and fn. 184 below).

<sup>183</sup> As journal and account texts are larger and therefore more likely to break, Jones & Stolper 2008 §4 assume that the number of counted tablets and fragments belonging to these categories represents roughly 50% of the number of original texts. For other Elamite text categories, they assume that the number of counted tablets and fragments represents 67% of the original. The small uninscribed sealed tablets are assumed to represent 80%, and the Aramaic texts 100% of the number of complete documents.

<sup>184</sup> The table gives two sets of estimates, following Jones & Stolper 2008 §4 table 1: one based on the assumption that the contents of the 631 boxes in the box census represent 25% of the total, and one based on the assumption that the boxes contain 30% of the total. The numbers represent estimated totals of original tablets (not fragments); cf. fn. 183 above. My numbers differ slightly from those given by Jones & Stolper, because I have included the texts published in Grillot 1986b (1), Vallat 1994a (2), Jones & Stolper 2006 (9) and the nine unpublished texts edited by Jones that are included in Hallock ms. 1 (cf. §2.1.3 with table 2.1). For discussion of text categories cf. §2.2.

	<i>Elamite journals and accounts</i>	<i>Elamite memoranda, letters, labels</i>	<i>uninscribed sealed tablets</i>	<i>Aramaic tablets</i>	<i>total</i>
edited sample	325 (6.1%)	4,520 (84.6%)	0	501 (9.4%)	5,346
estimated total if 25% sample	3,755 (21.0%)	8,707 (48.6%)	4,755 (26.6%)	689 (3.8%)	17,905
estimated total if 30% sample	2,928 (18.4%)	8,331 (52.4%)	3,962 (25.0%)	657 (4.1%)	15,878

table 2.2: estimates of complete tablets based on the Stolper box census

The above numbers are, naturally, very approximate. One factor that has not been included in the calculation is the fact that there are also tablets and fragments from the Fortification find that are now kept in the National Museum of Iran, after having been returned from Chicago in 1951. Razmjou (2004b) directed a census of these unedited documents and counted some 35,000 items. The great majority of these are fragments (complete tablets with texts are rare), which suggests that they were returned because Hallock and his colleagues considered them unfit for transliteration. Although the fragments are generally very small and some may be the result of recent breaks (Razmjou 2004b: 4), the number of original tablets represented by the Tehrān corpus would still be substantial. Moreover, Elamite texts may be relatively numerous in this corpus, since Razmjou's report suggests that the majority of fragments belong to texts rather than uninscribed tablets. Even by a very conservative guess, we have to allow for another three thousand inscribed Elamite tablets represented by the Tehrān fragments. This yields a bare minimum of 15,000 (complete) Elamite tablets as the grand total of Elamite texts deposited in the Fortifications of the northwest section of the Persepolis terrace. Based on this very crude estimate, the edited sample (4,845 texts) may be taken to represent no more than a third and probably less.

Yet, not all of the unedited Elamite tablets are legible, many fragments will probably never be joined, and many do not contain enough text to be meaningful. This implies that the total of legible and useful texts is considerably smaller than the hypothetical 15,000 complete Elamite tablets. Jones once estimated that, besides the 4,845 edited texts, there may still be as much as five thousand "useful inscribed tablets and substantial fragments" (1990). Recent estimates by Stolper (pers.comm.) lower this number, however, to about one or two thousand whole tables and useful fragments. This means that the available sample could represent two thirds or more of the total number of legible and meaningful Elamite texts.

The edited sample used for this study is only a small part of the total Fortification find, but it also has a distorted ratio of journal and account texts on the one hand and other Elamite texts on the other. In the edited sample, the ratio is 1:14.1, but in reality (i.e. in the estimated total of complete Elamite texts) it is 1:2.4

(cf. table 2.2 above). In other words: journals and accounts are seriously under-represented in the corpus edited by Hallock.<sup>185</sup>

In the concluding remarks of the 1986 table ronde on *Le tribut dans l'empire perse*, Amélie Kuhrt raised the issue of the representativeness of the available sample of Fortification texts: “Will new publications of texts simply invalidate conclusions arrived at on the basis of the texts available at present?” (1989: 219). The answer is, unavoidably, affirmative as can easily be demonstrated by the impact of the NN texts used in the present study. Especially negative statements of the type ‘x does not exist in the Fortification archive’ are to be avoided where possible. Nevertheless, the possibility that conclusions reached can be completely overturned by a single new text should not paralyse us altogether. In this context it is good to realise that even in the ideal situation that the 15,000 (or more) Elamite Fortification tablets were intact, legible and published, we would still be dealing with an incomplete archive and the danger of false conclusions based on a restricted corpus would even then remain very real. The prospect of a safe and comprehensive set of data will thus always be illusory in the case of the Fortification tablets (as with most ancient archives). This gloomy perspective is somewhat mitigated, however, by the observation that a corpus of nearly 5,000 texts is, by itself, an abundance of material. It is certainly adequate to discern major patterns in the bureaucratic system, to recognise the key locations and major players and to conduct reliable statistical analyses.

In the publication just referred to, Kuhrt complained about the “disturbing number of instances” in which Hallock’s unpublished editions are cited (1989: 218; cf. Seibert 2002: 11 fn. 9). This holds true not only for the proceedings of the 1986 table ronde, but also for many publications on the Fortification archive, including some of mine. The undesirable situation of sources that cannot be checked by the reader will eventually disappear, when all of Hallock’s editions are published. In the meantime, the reader may want to consult the *Text Abstracts* section at the end of this book (pp. 509-61), where I have summarised, as factually as possible, a selection of documents that is of prime importance to the present study, viz all the texts relating to cultic activity that are found in the Fortification archive.

<sup>185</sup> Another important conclusion is that the number of uninscribed tablets is lower than previously assumed. C.E. Jones, in the typescript mentioned earlier (§2.1.2 fn. 165), estimated that “approximately half of the numbered objects from the Persepolis Fortification Archive are uninscribed bullae” (cf. Jones 1990; Garrison & Root 2001: 3). Based on the recent box census, uninscribed tablets may be taken to amount to about 25% of the total corpus (cf. §2.2.4.1 below).

2.1.5. *Studying the archive* – The 4,845 available Elamite Fortification texts have been read and processed into an electronic database (cf. Henkelman 2000b). Twenty-five ‘fields’ are used for describing the formal characteristics (tablet number, seals, box number, shape) and for the analytical description of various parts of the transaction (supplier, recipient, intermediary, supervisor, addressor, addressee, commodities, purpose, location, travel destination, etc.). Inevitably, some arbitrary choices were made in this set-up. I have tried to counteract possible distorting effects of the categorisation of text elements by the use of a summary field. This includes the whole text in a standardised translation, all relevant technical terms, deviant spellings and unusual syntax. All information contained in the database could be re-organised and manipulated in various ways.<sup>186</sup>

The Fortification archive contains a group of texts known as ‘journals’ (see §§2.2.5, 2.5.1 below). These contain multiple discrete entries on distinct transactions. Such transactions have been included as separate records in the database. Thus, the database actually contains not 4,845, but 5,623 files.

Mistakes are inevitable in the handling of a large body of evidence like the Fortification archive. I have tried to minimise this risk by re-checking the texts each time a set of documents had been selected for a specific discussion and by invoking the help of two very reliable tools. One is Hallock’s unpublished, meticulously kept glossary of all the Fortification texts he had edited. The other is François Vallat’s repertory of geographical names in Elamite sources (1993a), which contains complete references for all place names in published and unpublished Fortification texts.

A database is an indispensable instrument for working with the Fortification archive, but it can never be more than a first step. It is very useful for collecting texts with shared characteristics, exposing patterns and connections or detecting anomalies. The real challenge, however, remains the slow and piecemeal interpretation of individual texts and the evaluation of the place they take in the greater whole of the archive.

2.1.6. *Missing archives* – A sobering note seems in place at this point: the Fortification archive, even when entirely published, cannot but represent a segment of the documentation that kept the ‘Persepolis economy’ running. First, important sectors are entirely or virtually absent. There is no reference to payments in silver, as in the Treasury archive (492-458 BC),<sup>187</sup> though there is no *a priori* reason to

<sup>186</sup> For organisational purposes, I have given each tablet and each seal a four-digit number in the database (‘PF 0033,’ not ‘PF 33’); these numbers have been retained in this study.

<sup>187</sup> 139 Treasury tablets were published by Cameron 1948, *idem* 1958, and *idem* 1965. See also the collations by Hallock 1960. They are part of a find of 753 tablets and

exclude such payments for the early and middle period of Darius' reign, especially not since there are possible indicators for the existence of a silver market (see references in ¶150). Also, there are no or hardly any references to tools, garments and shoes that must have been provided to the dependent labourers, the *kurtaš*.<sup>188</sup> In fact, the actual activities of the *kurtaš* are often glossed over and are certainly not a prime focus of the archive. Relevant documents, such as rosters of work teams, presumably written on wax boards, are lost to us (cf. §2.5.4).

Mention of commodities is limited to locally produced products and animals bred or at least kept in captivity. This excludes products gathered in the wild, such as mushrooms, truffles and nuts as well as salt, but also, for example, dried and fresh fish (cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] §2.4). Here again absence of records seems a matter of preservation rather than the result of an actual absence of agencies organising the income from hunting, fishing and gathering. The same is largely true for documentation pertaining to the institution's capital in livestock. Sheep, goats and ducks were managed in a share-breeding or consignment system,<sup>189</sup> but we do not have all the documentation expected for such a system. There are annual inventories of herds allocated to individual herdsman, but, apart from a few uncertain cases, no actual contracts, nor any files on secondary produce: eggs, dairy products, goat hair and wool, fixed percentages of which the herdsmen were undoubtedly required to hand over to the institution's agents. Cheese and ghee occur a few times, but only in royal contexts (*ibid.* s.vv. *banura*, <sup>GIŠ.MEŠ</sup>); wool seems entirely absent. Especially this last lacuna is frustrating since the quantities of wool from the tens of thousands of sheep that are mentioned in the tablets must have been tremendous; wool production must have constituted one of the most important pillars of the Persepolis economy.<sup>190</sup>

fragments, many of which are illegible (Cameron 1948: 19), and 198 uninscribed sealed 'labels,' some of which are similar to the uninscribed tablets from the Fortification find (see survey in Garrison & Root 2001: 33-4).

<sup>188</sup> Hallock 1973b: 321 tentatively interpreted PF 0335 as a list of tools, but it may alternatively be explained as a list of gifts. In any case, the text is certainly an intrusion in the Fortification archive (see also §2.6.1 fn. 356 below). Garments: see ¶165, ¶147, 164 and cf. Hallock 1973b: 323.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. §§6.6.3.1-2 below and Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *basbas*.

<sup>190</sup> On the absence of wool from the Fortification archives see also Hallock 1973b: 323, Koch 1983: 22 and Briant 1982c: 347-9. One could speculate that the (increased?) amount of silver payments as documented by the Treasury tablets was made possible and attractive by a steady income in silver from marketing the institution's wool surpluses. Jursa (2008, conclusion 2) has recently formulated a similar hypothesis to explain silver payments to the personnel of Uruk's Eanna temple, explicitly pointing out the possible relevance of this model for the case of Persepolis.

Not only are certain sectors missing, but also certain levels of the administrative process. We do not have the director's and deputy director's archive (cf. §2.5.5.1 below), in which Aramaic orders (on which the Elamite letter orders were based) were kept, as well as, presumably, correspondence between high officials and the *viatica* issued to and received from travellers on the royal road (cf. §2.5.4 below). A newly-discovered corpus, comparable to such a 'high' archive, is the collection of Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Bactria that are dated to 353-324 BC and that provides glimpses of what we are missing at Persepolis.<sup>191</sup>

Another absentee is the actual court archive, although we do find signs of the interaction of the court administration with the Fortification administration during periods of royal visits (Henkelman [forthc. 1]). This court administration must have been of considerable size and could dispose of considerable quantities of animals and goods, clearly not all withdrawn from the Persepolis economy. Among other tasks, it must have regulated the massive redistribution of food commodities *via* the Table of the King. Similarly, we find only traces of the archives of two royal women, Irdabama and Irtaštuna, who were economically powerful, had their own 'table,' as well as their own professional staff to manage their estates, workforces and other assets (*ibid.*). Finally, it is certainly possible that Achaemenid Fārs hosted temples of some economic importance (see App.3 below), which would have kept their own records. Such institutions are, however, largely invisible through the lens of the Fortification archive.

<sup>191</sup> See Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] as well as the surveys by Shaked 2004 and Briant [forthc. 2]. The collection contains drafts (on recycled leather) of letters sent by Akhvamazda to his subordinate Bagavant concerning various administrative issues. It also contains other letters and lists of allocations issued for various purposes, and labels. A fourth category is a group of more mundane texts, described by the editors as tallies, written on wooden sticks. Generally, the Bactrian documentation bears witness to administrative procedures and uses a terminology that are often astonishingly close to those used in Persepolis. A comparative study will therefore most certainly yield new insights on the working of the Persepolis administration.

## 2.2. *The multilingual Persepolis bureaucracy*

The majority of the *texts* in the Persepolis Fortification archive are written in Achaemenid Elamite (§2.2.1). These are the texts used for the present study. It may be worthwhile, however, to briefly survey the other modes of communicating used by the bureaucracy as well (§§2.2.2-5).

2.2.1. *Elamite texts* – The tablets written in Achaemenid Elamite form the largest extant body of any kind of Elamite and are a gold mine for studies on the lexicon, morphology and syntax of the language.<sup>192</sup> Elamologists, myself included, indulge in stating that Elamite is a peculiar and barely penetrable language – an opinion echoed widely beyond the confines of this small specialisation. Yet, while some Elamite texts indeed baffle even the most astute scholars (the Neo-Elamite ‘Nineveh Letters’ are nice examples), the large majority of Fortification texts are actually quite well understood. Richard Hallock, while elsewhere admitting his great confusion over such complexities as the use of seals in the archive, stated outright that “Elamite is a simple language” (1962: 56). This is very true, at least as a characterisation of the language as it was used in Persepolis, some 2,500 years ago. Even for a non-native speaker of that time it cannot have posed a great challenge to master the reduced syllabary (131 signs according to Steve 1992: 11) and to reproduce the simple, terse sentences that make up 90% (or more) of the Elamite Fortification texts. Similarly, mastering the limited lexicon used in administrative Achaemenid Elamite must have been relatively easy. For us, the situation is somewhat different: the structure of most of the texts is more or less clear, but the lexicon still poses a number of difficulties and apparent paradoxes. Fortunately, the body of evidence is large and diverse enough for most of the main problems to be

<sup>192</sup> The most recent grammatical survey of Elamite, with ample notes on Achaemenid Elamite, is that by Stolper (2004a). Earlier grammars include those by Labat (1951), Reiner (1969), Grilhot-Susini (1987 [the revised edition, Grilhot 2008, appeared after the manuscript of the present study was finalised]; see also 1998) and Khačikjan (1998). See also the concise survey by Krebernik (2005). Paper (1955) devoted a study to the phonology and morphology of inscriptional Achaemenid Elamite. An extensive study on all Achaemenid Elamite, including the material from the Fortification and Treasury tablets, does not exist to date, but Elizabeth Tucker’s analysis of the verbal system (1998) is an essential contribution to such a study. See also Hallock 1969: 8-12. As for the lexicon: the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* by Walther Hinz and Heidemarie Koch (1987) is absolutely indispensable as a nearly-complete thesaurus of Elamite words and proper names from all periods, but the interpretations given should generally be treated with caution (cf. the remarks by Zadok 1991: 226). The Elamite onomasticon is studied by Zadok (1984a; cf. 1983a and 1991); the Elamite syllabary is presented by Steve (1992).



solved eventually. That this has not happened as yet is not, I think, due to the impenetrable nature of Elamite, but rather to the modest attention the Persepolis archives have received thus far.

Achaemenid Elamite, both inscriptional and administrative, incorporates a large number of Old Persian loanwords. Not every scribe used these loanwords; some apparently preferred Elamite terminology. The choice of Old Persian or Elamite terms, used indiscriminately as equivalents, may be based on the various backgrounds of the Fortification scribes. Hallock additionally observed that the use of Elamite instead of Persian month names is confined to the westernmost area under the archives purview, the so-called Fahliyān region (1978: 114). Old Persian month names are also used in Fahliyān-related texts, but Elamite month names do not seem to occur in texts relating to other regions. Equally significant is that Elamite month names never occur in journals or accounts, *viz* in texts that were composed at Persepolis on the basis of the simple memorandum-type documents produced locally and sent periodically to the centre (§2.5.1 below).

Another difference is that of morphology and syntax. Some scribes wrote in a language that is more ‘correct’ or, to put it neutrally, that is closer to Neo- and Middle Elamite than that of their colleagues. The differences are perhaps not very great, but they are noticeable. An example is the distribution of various constructions expressing attribution, a systematic analysis of which would be very interesting from a socio-linguistic perspective.<sup>193</sup> A similar observation holds true

<sup>193</sup> The ‘classical’ attributive construction, i.e. rectum-regens with secondary gender suffix attached to the regens, is rare in Achaemenid Elamite and occurs only with personal pronouns, as in <sup>DIS</sup>*li-ba-ru-ri*, [*liba.r u.r*], “my servant,” (e.g., DB<sub>e</sub> II.14). In Fortification contexts we find *mu-ši-in* <sup>HAL</sup>*nu-ka<sub>4</sub>-mi* (PF 2084), which may be analysed as [*muši.n nuka.m*], “our account,” though *nukami* may also represent a generalised possessive form (analogous to *appini*). Otherwise, the construction may be used for expressing adjectival relations, as in <sup>SAL</sup>*ša-ad-du-<sup>r</sup>uk<sup>1</sup>-ka<sub>4</sub>* <sup>AS</sup>*zap-pi-ra*, “Šadduka, the Zappian (woman)” (PF 1790). Of two other, more frequent constructions, one is of mixed Irano-Elamite background: regens-rectum with secondary gender suffix attached to the rectum, as in <sup>HAL</sup>*mar-du-nu-ia* <sup>SAL</sup>*ir-ti-ri* <sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA <sup>SAL</sup>*pa'-ak-ri*, [PN *irti.r* KING *pak.r*], “the wife of Mardonius, the daughter of the King,” lit. “Mardonius his wife, the King his daughter” (PFa 05). Another example is <sup>rHAL</sup>*a-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>* ... <sup>HAL</sup>*li-bar-ri-ri*, [PN *liba.r.r*], “the servant of Anakka,” lit. “Anakka his servant” (NN 0472). As Reiner pointed out (1960: 223-4), the regens-rectum order in this construction finds a clear parallel in Old Persian syntax, in constructions like *ṛšāmahyā pitā*, “Arsames’ father,” lit. “of Arsames the father” (DB<sub>p</sub> I.5). The inverted order occasionally occurs in Middle Elamite too (Stolper 2004a: 86), but its popularity in Achaemenid Elamite may indeed be the result of an Iranian influence. On the other hand, and this is not noted by Reiner, the actual use of a secondary gender suffix and the position of that suffix at the end,

for the use of gender suffixes.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, there are some differences in orthography, in the use (or lack of use) of logograms and in ductus. Some scribal hands tend to be more similar to those found in the late Neo-Elamite Acropole texts from Susa.<sup>195</sup> Particularly texts relating to the Fahliyān region and using Elamite month names (cf. §2.3.5) can be very distinctive. Compare, for example, PF 0782 and PFS 0783, both receipts for rations received by officials (figs. 2.5-6).<sup>196</sup>

The above observations are first impressions requiring further elaboration. For the moment it may safely be concluded, however, that the Elamite texts do *not* reflect a homogeneous knowledge of Elamite writing and language. This implies a serious challenge to the simplistic view that all the Fortification scribes were native Elamites, or even deported Susians put to work in the new capital.

rather than a genitive case at the beginning, indicate the essentially Elamite nature of the construction. This is less so with the second attributive construction frequently used in Achaemenid Elamite, which employs the generalised attributive suffix *-na*, as in <sup>DIŠ</sup>*pīr-ti-ia* DUMU *ku-rāš-na*, Bardiya, son of Cyrus” (DBb<sub>e</sub>) or <sup>SAL</sup>*kur-taš* <sup>AS</sup>*taš-pa-ak-na*, “female workers of the place Tašpak” (PF 1019). Though *-na* too is sporadically attested in Middle Elamite (for expressing adjectival relations), and though we are back at the rectum-regens order, the late *-na* construction, which is used for animate and inanimate, singular and plural alike, is actually quite far removed from the system of gender suffixes. For an Iranophone it must have resembled the Old Persian genitive construction and was therefore an ‘easy’ way of expressing attribution. By contrast, the use of the first construction, with secondary gender suffix, may have been ‘difficult.’ This would explain why the construction is sometimes used that suffix. Compare *kurman* PN<sub>1</sub>-*na*, PN<sub>2</sub> *ulliriri*, “allocation of PN<sub>1</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> (is) his delivery-man” ([ulli.r.r]; marked) and *kurman* PN<sub>1</sub>-*na*, PN<sub>2</sub> *ullira*, “allocation of PN<sub>1</sub>, PN<sub>2</sub> (is) delivery-man” ([ulli.r.r]; unmarked). There are pairs of texts in which the personnel and context are exactly the same, with the difference that one text uses the gender suffix and the other does not (e.g., PF 1946:82-3/PF 1947:93, NN 0473/NN 1028). Similarly, the construction with *-na* may occasionally take the reversed regens-rectum order (Stolper 2004a: 87), which makes it a virtual calque of Old Iranian. All these variations do not support the assumption of an equal ethno-cultural background of the scribes (deported Susians or an ‘Elamite’ scribal corps as “une survivance du temps où Cyrus était roi d’Élam” [Goossens 1949: 40]), let alone an “Humban Scribal College” (Gershevitch 1979: 132).

<sup>194</sup> Note the occasional substitution of *lakip*, “sent” (conj. II, plural) by *lak(i)* (sg.), where the subject is plural and requires *-p* (e.g., 23 <sup>HAL</sup>*kur-taš mar-ri-ip* <sup>AS</sup>*šu-ṛšá-an-mar* <sup>AS1</sup>*ba-ir-ṛšá-an1 la-ak*, “23 *kurtaš*, artisans, sent from Susa to Persepolis,” in NN 0327). And to quote another example, an Elamophone would not be likely to have written 2 <sup>HAL</sup><sub>LÚ</sub> <sup>MES</sup>*šá-lu-ráš*, “two gentleman” (PF 1355), instead of 2 <sup>HAL</sup><sub>LÚ</sub> <sup>MES</sup>*šá-lu-ip*.

<sup>195</sup> As was first pointed out to me by Charles Jones (pers.comm.).

<sup>196</sup> Another good example is PF 1001 (Elamite month names), which may be compared with PF 1002 (OPers. month names). Both texts are on barley rations for Lycians.



*figs. 2.5-6: obverse of PF 0782, with Old Persian month name, and PF 0783, with Elamite month names (photographs PFAP)*

2.2.2. *Aramaic texts* – Aramaic texts occur in three types: tablets, docketts and seal inscriptions. A fourth category, now lost, can plausibly be postulated.

The monolingual tablets with Aramaic texts are inscribed in ink and/or incised with a reed pen on the clay tablets. Some tablets are made of cream-coloured clay (or covered with a creamish slip), probably to enhance legibility (cf. §2.2.5 fn. 239). Also, they are described as pyramidal or triangular, hence similar to the tongue-shaped Elamite memorandum-type documents and letter orders, but generally a bit smaller (fig. 2.7).

Raymond A. Bowman studied and edited 501 of these texts in an unpublished manuscript, to which perhaps another 200 may be added.<sup>197</sup> A preliminary survey of the corpus has recently been presented by its present editor, Annalisa Azzoni (2008), whose findings are briefly summarised here.

Most Aramaic texts run along the long axis of the obverse of the tablet, like the Elamite texts on tongue-shaped tablets, but a substantial number is written along the short axis (parallel to the flattened left edge). They date, like the Elamite texts, to years 13-28 of



*fig. 2.7: PFAT 027 in Azzoni 2008 (photograph InscriptiFact/PFAP, courtesy A. Azzoni)*

<sup>197</sup> According to the Jones & Stolper (2008 §4) estimate, there are 650 to 700 monolingual Aramaic tablets in total. See also Jones 1990; Garrison & Root 2001: 6 with fn. 13.

the reign of Darius I (cf. §2.3.5 below) and they have a similar scope: the handling of food commodities such as wine, oil and grain. Simple operations such as receipts of rations (*ptp*), receipts of fodder for horses and donkeys, transport of commodities and deposit as seed, which are ubiquitous in the Elamite tablets, recur in the Aramaic ones. Yet, the contents of the latter group of texts are often even more terse. The commodity transported or issued as ration is seldom explicated, as is the quantity. Azzoni (2008 §2) cites the example of PFAT 003, *zr<sup>c</sup> bšnt x*, “seed for the year x,” where the seals may indicate the officials and type of transaction involved, but where the quantity is not revealed. Similarly, PFAT 252 (*kmryn* 3, “3 priests”) and PFAT 390 (*kmry<sup>r</sup>*, “priests”) seem rather elliptical. Such texts emphatically raise the possibility that some of the Aramaic texts were used in tandem with other documents.

By contrast, the Aramaic corpus also includes travel texts that do seem to be full administrative records (cf. §2.5.5.2) and that are very close to the Elamite travel documents, e.g., in stipulating that travellers were going from Parnakka, the director of the Persepolis economy, to the king (Azzoni §3).

More generally, it is conspicuous that the Aramaic tablets compare well to some groups of Elamite memorandum-type documents and labels, but do not seem to include letter orders, letters, journals, and accounts. Another conspicuous feature is the terminology used, which often parallels that of the Elamite tablets. Compare, e.g., the formula by which some people are introduced: PN *šmh*, “PN his name,” in Aramaic and PN *hiše*, “PN his name,” in Elamite (undoubtedly both calques of Old Persian PN *nāma*). Aramaic *lym* may mean “child,” but also “subordinate” (Azzoni 2008 §4), like the Elamite term *puhu* (“child, boy, servant, page”). By comparison with the Elamite formula *halmi* <sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA-na-ma, “in accordance with the sealed document of the King,” the Aramaic *bḥtm mlk<sup>r</sup>* (lit. “by the seal of the king” [PFAT 095]; see Azzoni 2008 §4) becomes understandable as well (cf. §2.5.5.1 below).<sup>198</sup>

Like the Elamite tablets, the Aramaic tablets have one or several seal impressions and string holes on either side of the flattened left edge surface. It seems that the tablets were sealed before writing (Azzoni 2008 §1). The seals used on the Aramaic tablets are currently being prepared for publication by Elspeth Dusinberre. From her first survey of the material (2008), it appears that common sealing patterns on the Elamite tablets, such as the single-seal and counter-sealing protocol (cf. §§2.4.2.1-2), are also regular features on the Aramaic tablets. A number of ‘cross-over seals’ appear on both Aramaic and Elamite tablets; some of these seals appear also on the uninscribed tablets (cf. Garrison 2008 §8 and §2.5.5.2).<sup>199</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Also: Aram. PN (*šmh*) *knwth* ~ Elam. PN (*ak*) *akkayaše*, “PN and his colleagues.”

<sup>199</sup> Cross-over seals between Aramaic and Elamite tablets attested thus far: PFS 0048, PFS 0070s, PFS 0075, PFS 0078, PFS 0095, PFS 0142, PFS 0213, PFS 0518s, PFS 1090, PFS

The monolingual Aramaic tablets were found intermingled with the Elamite tablets in the Persepolis Fortification.<sup>200</sup> This, in combination with the observation that the Aramaic texts have a shape similar to the tongue-shaped Elamite texts, include a number of proper names that also occur in the Elamite texts, and share a number of seals and seal patterns with the Elamite tablets, makes it clear that both groups are part of a single antique artefact, the Fortification archive (cf. Stolper 1984: 304). Once the Aramaic tablets and the seals impressed on them are published, it will be possible to outline their (undoubtedly complex) relation with the Elamite texts.



fig. 2.8: part of the Aramaic docket on PF 0855 (Bowman apud Hallock 1969: 246),  
bšnt 23 byrlḫ, “in the year 23, in the month...” (photograph PFAP)

A second type of Aramaic texts is that of the dockets (also ‘endorsements’ or ‘notes’) written in ink on some of the Elamite texts, comparable to the Aramaic dockets on Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian tablets.<sup>201</sup> Bowman, in the same manuscript mentioned above, studied 83 of these, but the total number of Aramaic dockets identified to date amounts to at least 110 (fig. 2.8).

1312s. PFS 0048, PFS 0075, PFS 0078, PFS 0095 and PFS 1312s also appear on the uninscribed tablets (cf. §§2.2.4.1, 2.5.5.2 below). Cross-over seals between Aramaic and uninscribed: PFUTS 0079, PFUTS 0101, PFUTS 0108, PFUTS 0109s.

<sup>200</sup> Hallock 1973b: 320. Ernst Herzfeld privately told R.A. Bowman that the Aramaic texts were “found among the Elamite texts” and intimated that they “might have been an ancient filing device” (Bowman, manuscript). Friedrich Krefter mentioned in his diary (entry for June 17<sup>th</sup>, 1933) that he and his team found tablets with Aramaic script, written in ink and incised, among the tablets excavated in the northeastern Fortification.

<sup>201</sup> On the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian dockets see Zadok 2003: 558-78, Oelsner 2006 and Joannès [forthc.].

Some (but not all) Aramaic dockets are mentioned in Hallock's edition of the Elamite tablets (1969). Some of these little notes may have been intended for easy categorisation, filing and retrieving of the Elamite tablets: they are mere catch-words like *twr kbr*, "a heavy ox" (on PF 0692) and *mgwš'*, "the magos" (on PF 1798) or, quite often, date formulae like *bšnt 23 byrh 'b*, "in the year 23, in the month Ab" (on PF 1816).<sup>202</sup> Other dockets are more elaborate summaries (up to seven lines) of the contents of the Elamite texts and may have served other purposes than filing and retrieving.<sup>203</sup> Occasionally, a docket mentions a proper name that is not mentioned in the Elamite text; such information must logically derive from a different source.<sup>204</sup>

It should be stressed that it is not at all excluded, if not plausible, that the dockets were written by (some of) the scribes who also wrote Elamite tablets.<sup>205</sup> This appears from spellings of some proper names, which betray the influence of Elamite (Tavernier 2008 §3.4). A rare case of visible Elamite-Aramaic interaction, also suggestive of bilingualism, is found on PF 2072, where the grand total calculated in the Elamite text was repeated in Aramaic, and then corrected, by erasing the original numbers, in the Elamite text (so Hallock 1969: 644).<sup>206</sup> There are also

<sup>202</sup> Hallock regularly mentions the dockets on the Elamite tablets published by him in 1969, but does not always quote Bowman's interpretation (see also Hallock 1969: 82).

<sup>203</sup> Like the monolingual Aramaic tablets, the Aramaic dockets do not, at this stage, add much to subjects discussed in this study for the simple reason that they are often hard to read, and also we do not yet fully grasp their original context and function. To my knowledge only PF 0761 (Bowman's reading *htwr* in l.1 seems impossible [pers.comm. A. Azzoni]), PF 1798 (*mgwš'*, "the magos"), NN 1077 (largely illegible) and NN 2589 (date and, perhaps, an illegible word) are memorandum-type texts relating to cultic activity that have Aramaic dockets; these dockets, as far as can be judged at present, do not seem to add information relevant for the questions treated here.

<sup>204</sup> An example is cited by Delaunay 1976: 24-5; more cases are found in Bowman's ms.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. the use of alphabetic and syllabic script by Ugarit scribes (Van Soldt 1995: 183-6).

<sup>206</sup> There is a little text, a so-called 'label' (NN 1604), among the unpublished Elamite texts that has just one line of Elamite ("in the 27<sup>th</sup> year"), and five lines of Aramaic on the reverse. Hallock remarked, with evident surprise, "Cuneiform is gloss to Aram[ae]!" One may also consider the possibility that the Aramaic text (which contains a personal name and the word for ration) is an elaboration of the Elamite text based on the tablets stored in the container (a jar or basket) to which the label may have been attached. The Aramaic docket on PF 2059 also seems to contain more information than the Elamite of the tablet on which it was written (see Hallock 1969: 637). Compare also Lewis 1994: 28, who notes the interesting case of tablets with the supplier Hatarbanuš; at least nine out of 23 such tablets have relatively long Aramaic dockets.

cases of an Aramaic docket written, in a different hand, on a monolingual Aramaic tablet (pers.comm. A. Azzoni).

Incidentally, part of the Elamite text too sometimes functions as a catch line that was possibly used for filing purposes. A clear example is PF 1943, a journal text. On the left edge of this tablet (ll.41-2), the summary information (already given in ll.39-40) is repeated, obviously because the left edge was supposed to be visible when the tablet was stored. Similarly, the repetition of the date of Aramaic texts PFAT 004 and PFAT 046 on one side of each tablet may well have served purposes of filing (Azzoni 2008 §1).

A third type of Aramaic texts is that of Aramaic seal inscriptions known from the seal impressions on the Aramaic, Elamite and uninscribed tablets (see §2.2.4.2 below).

Finally, a fourth category of Aramaic writing can be assumed, but is not physically attested: Aramaic written on parchment is indicated by 26 Elamite texts referring to “Babylonian scribes (writing) on leather” or “scribes (writing) on leather.”<sup>207</sup> What kinds of documents were produced by these scribes, who almost certainly wrote in Aramaic, is a matter of debate. Perhaps one of their responsibilities was making the Aramaic *dumme*, “order,” underlying the Elamite letter orders issued by the director’s and the deputy director’s office (see §2.5.5.1).<sup>208</sup>

2.2.3. *Akkadian, Greek, Phrygian (?) and Old Persian* – The Fortification find included a small number of irregular texts in terms of script and language.<sup>209</sup> The first of these is a private legal document (Fort. 11786) written in Akkadian, drafted at Parsu (Persepolis) and dated to Dar. [x]/VIII/[y]. The text was published by

<sup>207</sup> The texts are: PF 1561, PF 1807, PF 1808, PF 1810, PF 1828, PF 1947: 21-2, 23-4, 25-6, 29-30, NN 0061, NN 1040, NN 1255, NN 1369, NN 1511, NN 1752, NN 1775, NN 2394, NN 2486: 30-1, 32-3, 51-2, 53-5, NN 2493: 22-3, 24-6, 46-8, 49-51 and NN 2529. On the Aramaic scribes see Hallock 1973b; Hinz 1971c: 308; Zadok 1976a: 70; Lewis 1977: 9-13; *idem* 1994: 24-8; Stolper 1984b: 304-6; Giovino 1989c: 202-3; Vallat 1994a: 268-9; Briant 1996: 435, 438; §136 fn. 60; Tavernier 2008.

<sup>208</sup> See also the suggestion by Hallock 1973b: 322 (rations of workers active in Persepolis itself recorded on parchment). On the relation between non-preserved Aramaic documents and the extant Elamite tablets see §§2.5.3, 2.5.5.1, 3 below.

<sup>209</sup> Some comparable irregular texts are known from Achaemenid Babylonia: a cuneiform text (a slave sale) from Babylon (dated to year 23 of Artaxerxes I/II) includes a line in what has been recognised, among other interpretations, as Brāhmī script (Bobrinskoy 1936) or as early form of the ‘Arabic’ numbers (Torrey 1936); see Falk 1993: 117-19, with bibliography. Tablets in South-Arabic script were found in Nippur (Biggs 1965). On these texts and their multi-lingual and multi-ethnic contexts see Joannès [forthc.].

Stolper (1984b), who discussed its possible context in detail.<sup>210</sup> The subject matter of the text, a slave-sale, differs from the subjects regularly covered by Fortification texts, but is not entirely unique. An exchange involving a female slave from the royal domain is mentioned in NN 2355:11-7 (cf. 151-2 with fnn. 29-30).

A second *rara avis* among the Fortification tablets is the short text in Greek language and script (Fort. 1771), reading ΟΙΝΟ|Σ ΔΥΟ | ΙΙ | ΜΑΡΙΚ | ΤΕΒΗΤ, “two *marriš*, 2, (of) wine, 10<sup>th</sup> (Akkadian) month.”<sup>211</sup> One of the seals impressed on the tablet has been recognised as PFS 0041 (Garrison & Root 2001: 6), which occurs on the Elamite tablets as well where it is usually used with wine receipts. The Greek tablet may therefore not be a foreign element among the Fortification tablets. Note that Akkadian/Aramaic month names are also used in the Aramaic Fortification texts and the Aramaic dockets (so Stolper 1984b: 304). The seals and the number ‘2’ in the Greek text will probably have communicated its most vital information.

Thirdly, there is a tablet (A 29797) with seven lines of what is most likely Phrygian (Brixhe 2004: 118-26). The text is too broken for interpretation, but seems to be economic (*ibid.*). The last line contains the name of the tenth Old Persian month (Cameron 1973: 52-3), which underlines the possibility that this text too is, somehow, linked to the Fortification archive at large.<sup>212</sup>

Fourthly, and most surprising, there is one tablet inscribed with Old Persian cuneiform, recording a text in Old Persian language (Fort. 1208-101). The tablet was recently identified by Matthew Stolper and was published by Stolper and Tavernier (2007).<sup>213</sup> Hitherto, it had been assumed that the Old Persian script was reserved for prestige purposes, *viz* the royal inscriptions.<sup>214</sup> The tablet is tongue-

<sup>210</sup> See also Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 2, fig. 1, Kuhrt 2007b: II 762 and §4.4.2 below.

<sup>211</sup> Text first published by Hallock (1969: 2); cf. Lewis 1977: 12-3; Balcer 1979: 279-80; Schmitt 1989: 303-5; Canali de Rossi 2004: 133 (*non vidi*); Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 3-4, 24-5, figs. 2-3, 11; Rollinger [forthc.]. Compare the Athenian tetradrachm used as a seal on an Elamite text (PF 2053) and on an uninscribed tablet: C.G. Starr 1976; Root 1988. Jones 1990 mentions the impression of an earring on an uninscribed tablet.

<sup>212</sup> The text was first published by Friedrich (1965) and re-edited by Haas 1966: 176-7 and Brixhe 2004: 118-26 (with further references). Photographs can also be found in Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 5, fig. 4. For a suggestion on the tablet’s background see Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §3. Compare also the seal inscription in Greek script, but in an unknown language, on seal PFS 0284\* (see Garrison & Root 2001: 192-3).

<sup>213</sup> Note that there is a fifth irregular text (Fort. 4797), first mentioned by Jones (1990) as written “in an otherwise unknown cuneiform script.” The tablet is illustrated in Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 5, fig. 5.

<sup>214</sup> As Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 22 put it, “The oddity of this case, almost an irony, is that it brings evidence of the rulers’ language in ordinary written use in the homeland of the rulers.”



shaped, and has string holes on either side of the flattened left-edge, just like most of the Elamite memoranda (§2.2.5 below).<sup>215</sup> The text is certainly economic, but it is, unfortunately, still largely incomprehensible. It does, however, seem to contain two place names and one personal name that occur in the Elamite texts as well: Tammaršan, Karikda and Šedda (Stolper & Tavernier 2007: 14). Karikda and Šedda are, in fact, collocated in PF 0573.

Work groups from various regions of the Persian Empire were active in and around Persepolis. Stolper has proposed that the ethnic labels ('Cappadocians,' 'Egyptians,' 'Babylonians,' etc.) used to identify them may reflect some kind of legal status (1984b: 310). It seems attractive to relate the four or five non-Elamite, non-Aramaic texts from the Fortification corpus to that possible context. At any rate, the texts should not readily be assigned to archives other than the Fortification archive as long as the scope of this archive is not completely clear to us. Rather, we may conclude, with David Lewis, that the Persepolis administration was a "complex linguistic phenomenon, even at the level of script" (1994: 21).

*2.2.4. Non-textual communication: seal impressions* – The vast majority of the clay tablets, Elamite, Aramaic and uninscribed, excavated in the Persepolis Fortification bear one or several impressions of cylinder or stamp seals (87% according to Root 2008 §2.7). The most recent estimate, on the basis of the published Elamite texts alone, counts as many as 1,148 legible seals (Garrison 2008 §7.1). Impressions of some seals are found on more than one component of the archive, confirming "that all three components are parts of a single artefact" (Jones & Stolper 2008 §2.1).

The seal impressions add another language layer to the communicative process.<sup>216</sup> They convey information on, for example, the recipient and supplier of certain commodities, the responsible official, the 'bureau,' or the district involved in the transaction. As such, they certainly served the purposes of identification, authentication, and verification. Moving beyond that very general observation remains difficult. One of the features of the 'seal language' that has become clear is that the seal impressed on the left edge of the regular, tongue-shaped Elamite tablets is of special relevance to the administrative process. This and other patterns of seal use will be introduced in §2.4.2 below.

Seals mattered in Persepolis. In a recent study, Root (2008) argues that the virtual absence of seal surrogates (impressions of fingernails, garment hems, coins,

<sup>215</sup> The seal impressed on the tablet has not been identified as yet.

<sup>216</sup> As Jones and Stolper note, it is a particular fortunate feature of the study of the Fortification archive that "texts and seal impressions were never dissociated as items of separate text-historical and art-historical study. They have consistently been treated as intimately connected parts of a single information system" (Jones & Stolper 2008 §1).



fig. 2.9: composite line drawing of PFS 0016\*,  
“seal of Parnakka,  
son of Aršam,”  
by M.B. Garrison

earrings, etc.) and ‘non-professionally made’ seals, in combination with the ubiquitous use of cylinder and stamp seals, even by foreign travellers entering the region, on tongue-shaped tablets is an important and often perplexing hallmark of the Fortification administration and certainly one that sets ‘Persepolis’ apart from many other ancient Near Eastern administrative environments. The virtual absence of name captions expressing ownership of the seal, in combination with the circumstance that seal inscriptions were often ignored in the rolling process (see §2.2.4.2) furthermore implies that the seal image as such mattered and was treated as a means of conveying administrative data.<sup>217</sup>

The language of the seal impressions is not confined to administrative processes of authentication, identification, and verification. The seals used by the administrators form a very rich glyptic repertoire with a wide variety of styles and imagery (figs. 2.9-10); in the words of Root “the explosion of image diversity is astounding” (Root 2008 §2.4). This repertoire, in turn, is quite revealing in terms of its social context: it outlines seal owners and groups of seal owners with individual choices and varied tastes, in short the “social history of art” (Garrison 1991: 2;

<sup>217</sup> Name captions are not absent, as Root 2008 §2.5 assumes, but they are very rare. PF 1318 is a receipt for travel rations for a travel party led by Abbatema. The main text ends, on the reverse, with a date formula in ll.11-2. Then follows a space of four lines left open for a seal impression, followed by two more lines in a smaller script: <sup>HAL</sup>iš-ba-ra-mi-iš-du-ma pār-ri-iš-da-ma-še hal-mi <sup>HAL</sup>KI+MIN ha-ri-ka<sub>4</sub>, “Išbaramišduma (is) his elite guide, the *halmi* (of) the same (i.e. I.) has been impressed.” The seal impressed on the reverse is PFS 0049, known to be Išbaramišduma’s (cf. PF 0686, PF 0785, PF 1316, etc.; tablets with PFS 0049 are often pre-sealed, cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 95-6). A less clear example is NN 0896, a receipt of *tarmu* (emmer) by the brewer Iršena. The text ends with (ll.8-10, edge and reverse): <sup>AS</sup>hal-mi hi <sup>HAL</sup>ba-ṛku<sup>1</sup>-un-da-ha-rāš-da, “this seal Bakunda impressed,” followed by an unidentified seal impression. A recently edited text (Fort. 1402-101) has an impression of PFS 1155 on the left edge, with one line of Elamite running alongside it, stating <sup>AS</sup>hal-mi <sup>HAL</sup>ú-iš-šu-iš-na-ka<sub>4</sub>-na-na, “seal of Uššušnaka” (pers.comm. M.W. Stolper 21/3/2008).

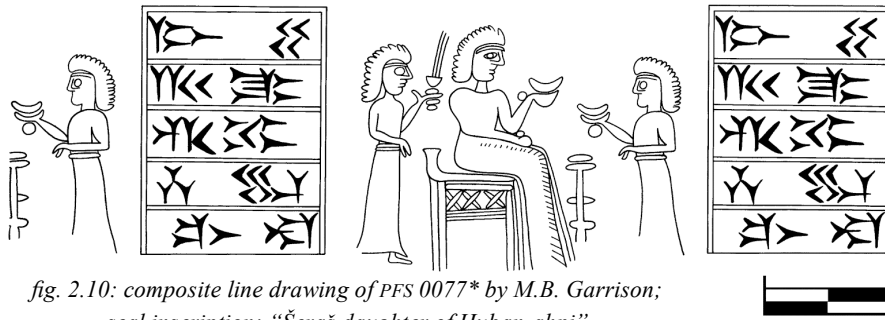


fig. 2.10: composite line drawing of PFS 0077\* by M.B. Garrison;  
 seal inscription: "Šeraš daughter of Huban-ahpi"

2000: 125-6, 151-5).<sup>218</sup> Also, perhaps more than any other corpus of Achaemenid art, the Persepolis sealings attest to a wide-ranging and intricate intercultural receptivity (Root 1997: 236; cf. §1.5.3 above).<sup>219</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Compare the provocative image that Garrison & Root (2001: 21) draw to describe this aspect of the Persepolis glyptic: "The sealed landscapes of the tablets are like seating-markers at a banquet table for which we know the date of the occasion, have some inkling of the purpose of the gathering, can reconstruct brief and strangely selective bio-sketches on a few of the people on the guest list, and even have a good idea of the sort of food and drink they favoured. The seals themselves (when documented *via* these landscapes) often give voice to the guests, their symbolic and aesthetic predilections, and their cultural associations."

<sup>219</sup> The Persepolis seal corpus has, like the Elamite texts, an enormous potential by virtue of its size and its diversity. It is now gradually being made accessible by a three-partite project undertaken by Mark Garrison and Margaret Root. The first part, in two volumes, has appeared (*Images of the Heroic Encounter*, 2001) and includes the publication and discussion of 312 seals (on the basis of 1,970 seal impressions). Each of these seals is analysed in terms of style and themes, seal inscriptions (read by C.E. Jones), patterns of seal placement, occurrences and attribution (where possible); a full bibliography for each seal is added. Earlier, the Persepolis Seal Project had already been inaugurated by a concordance of tablet numbers and seal numbers (*AchHist IX* = Garrison & Root 1996/98), the data of which have been fully incorporated in the database prepared for this study (see §2.1.5 above). In addition, both Garrison and Root have published extensively on a range of aspects of the Persepolis seals. Selective references are: Garrison 1988 (systematic inventory and discussion of the 'heroic encounter' seals on PFT and PTT); *idem* 1991 (elite seals); *idem* 1995 (YBC 16813); *idem* 1996a (PFS 0007\* on MDP 11 308); *idem* 1996b (attribution to individual artists); *idem* 1998 (replacement seals; PFS 1567\* and PTS 14\*); *idem* 2000 ('heroic combat' seals, archer seals, cultic imagery and chariots); *idem* 2002 ('Neo-Elamite' glyptic style; seals with Elamite inscriptions); *idem* 2008 (seals on the uninscribed Fortification tablets); *idem* [forthc. 1] (PFS 0093\*); *idem* [forthc. 2] (religious scenes); *idem* [forthc. 3] (fire

2.2.4.1. *Uninscribed tablets* – The importance of the seal impressions on the inscribed tablets as an additional level of communication implies that the four or five thousand uninscribed tablets (also identified as ‘tags,’ ‘dockets,’ or ‘bullae’) with one or several seal impressions are an integral part of the Fortification archive (fig. 2.11). This notion is reinforced by the observation that there are a number of seals, known as ‘cross-over seals’ (Garrison 2008; see also Dusinberre 2008), occurring on both inscribed and uninscribed tablets. Also, the uninscribed, Elamite and Aramaic tablets were found intermixed by the excavator.<sup>220</sup> The uninscribed tablets, thus far largely unpublished, have recently been discussed for the first time by Garrison (2008), on the basis of a sample of 110 tablets.<sup>221</sup>

Like the Elamite Fortification tablets, the uninscribed tablets appear in several distinct shapes, which are likely to have corresponded to different administrative protocols (cf. §2.2.5; see also Jones & Stolper 2008: §2.3). Most frequent are pyramidal and tongue-shaped tablets of varying sizes, alongside more rare types such as the thick pyramidal tablets with an impression of the royal-name seal PFUTS 0018\* (Garrison 2008 §§5, 6.1). Like the Aramaic and most of the Elamite tablets, the majority of the uninscribed tablets has string holes on either side of the flattened left edge. Garrison also reports one conical tablet “with the string hole

altars); *idem* [forthc. 4] (seals of Ziššawiš); Garrison & Dion 1999 (seal of Ariyāramna); Root 1988 (Athenian tetradrachm [PFS 1616s] on PF 2053 and Fort. 5114 [cf. C.G. Starr 1976]); *idem* 1989 (Persian archer coin [PFS 1393s] impressed on PF 1495); *idem* 1991 (‘Graeco-Persian’ seals); *idem* 1996 (preponderance of cylinder seals, perhaps as continuity of Elamite glyptic traditions); *idem* 1997 (intercultural receptivity); *idem* 1998 (Babylonian and non-Babylonian pyramidal stamp seals); *idem* 1999 (Pasargadae cylinder seal); *idem* 2002 (animals); *idem* 2003a (PFS 0038 [Irtaštuna]); *idem* 2003b (Babylonian-type seals); *idem* 2008 (seal practice and sealing protocols). Given this wealth in publications of and on the Fortification sealings it is perplexing that Koch 2005c: 271 manages to complain: “Leider sind die zahlreichen und äußerst interessanten Siegelabdrücke der Verwaltungstäfelchen noch immer nicht publiziert worden” (!). Among other Achaemenid glyptic corpora, the seal impressions on the Daskyleion bullae, recently published by Deniz Kaptan (2002), should not remain unmentioned (review: Maffre 2006).

<sup>220</sup> As appears from the mixed contents of the boxes in which the excavator stored the Fortification objects.

<sup>221</sup> See also the earlier observations by Root: 1996: 11-4. On similar uninscribed tablets, as well as tags/labels and bullae from other sites and periods (including those from the Persepolis Treasury) see Garrison & Root 2001: 33-9 and Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2004: 38-51 (with bibliography). On the Persian bullae found in Daskyleion (Ergili), see Kaptan 2002, esp. I 24-7. On possible functions of ‘tags’ with seal impressions (and a short text?) in Old Babylonian administration cf. CAD Z 86-7 s.v. *ze’pu* 1.

running the length of the tablet,” hence of a type also found among the Elamite tablets, albeit that in the latter context the tablet is usually unsealed (cf. §2.2.5).

In the sample studied by Garrison, 140 legible seals occur, 17 of which are cross-over seals that are also found on the Elamite tablets.<sup>222</sup> These seals are applied according to protocols that are very similar to those used on the Elamite tablets, notably the single-seal and counter-sealing protocols (see §§2.4.2.1-2). In addition, holders of cross-over seals typically sealed Elamite and uninscribed tablets according to the same protocol. Most intriguingly, the various protocols occur in roughly the same percentages among Elamite and uninscribed tablets (Garrison 2008 §§6.1-3), once more suggesting that the two groups of documents reflect similar administrative and bureaucratic operations.

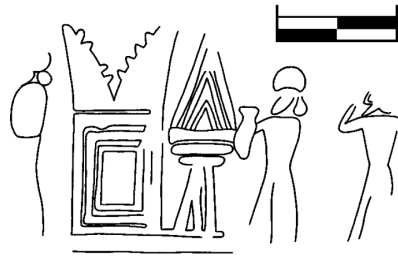


fig. 2.11: PFUTS 0066 on PFUT 0858-102  
and composite line drawing  
of PFUTS 0066 by M.B. Garrison

There is every reason to agree with Garrison & Root (2001: 3) that the uninscribed tablets should be considered as *documents* and as meaningful parts of the communication process of the Fortification archive, even though their precise functions remain enigmatic and the exact implications of their document status are a matter of debate. Some pertinent suggestions are discussed below (§2.5.5.2).

2.2.4.2. *Seal inscriptions* – Another intriguing aspect of the Persepolis seals is the preponderance of Elamite in the seal inscriptions. A preliminary estimate by Garrison (2002: 70-1) suggests that among some 94 inscribed seals there are 50 monolingual Elamite inscriptions.<sup>223</sup> The other seals have monolingual Aramaic or

<sup>222</sup> PFS 0024, PFS 0048, PFS 0075, PFS 0078, PFS 0095, PFS 0142, PFS 0168, PFS 0189, PFS 0520, PFS 0535\*, PFS 0625s, PFS 0793s, PFS 0883\*, PFS 0885, PFS 0944, PFS 1058 and PFS 1312s. On PFS 0075 see also Garrison [forthc. 3].

<sup>223</sup> Thirty-six inscribed seals are published in Garrison & Root (2001): 16 in Elamite, eight in Aramaic, two in Akkadian, two trilingual (OPers., Elamite and Akkadian), seven in an unidentifiable cuneiform script, one in Greek characters (see *ibid.* 7-9). See Garrison [forthc. 4] on some of the Aramaic seal inscriptions.

Akkadian inscriptions, inscriptions in an unidentified script or language, or trilingual (Old Persian, Akkadian and Elamite) inscriptions. Thus, the seal inscriptions are not only interesting for identification of the seal owner (or the superior of the actual seal user), but also for the status of Elamite as the preferred language among seal holders in the Persepolis bureaucracy. The latter point may seem obvious in the context of a largely Elamite archive, but it is not in view of theories claiming that the Elamite texts are just ‘Elamographs’ of orally communicated Old Persian messages (Gershevitch 1979) or slavish copies of Aramaic originals (Vallat 1994a: 267-70; 1997d). The matter receives an additional dimension from Root’s observation that, in contrast to other administrative environments (such as the Ur III documentation), “often a seal inscription on the PFTs will be ignored in the rolling process,” leading to the conclusion that the inscriptions “seem not to have been relied upon for seal verification.”<sup>224</sup> This means that the predilection for Elamite in seal inscriptions cannot be adequately explained by simply assuming that the inscriptions were intended to be read by the ‘Elamite’ scribes and lower clerks and not by the supposedly Aramaic- or Old Persian-oriented middle and higher strata of the bureaucracy.<sup>225</sup> Generally, the case for a class of *Elamite* scribes as opposed to *Persian* decision-makers seems rather weak (cf. §2.2.1 above and §4.4.3 below).

2.2.4.3. *Seals with cultic imagery* – Achaemenid iconography, and in particular the glyptic repertoire is an important yet complicated source for religious beliefs and cultic practices of the period. Moorey’s pioneer study of a limited number of seals (1979) already reveals many themes that are highly relevant to the subject treated in this monograph: ritual banquets, fire altars, animal sacrifices, libations, various kinds of officiants and the famous Ištar-like goddess standing on a lion’s back (Anāhitā-Nanaya?). Once the Persepolis seals with cultic scenes become available (in the second part of the Persepolis Seals Project), it will be even clearer how complex the religious landscape of the Persian heartland really was.<sup>226</sup> Yet another group of seals with cultic imagery is found on the uninscribed tablets (§2.2.4.1); Garrison’s preliminary assessment of these seals includes a discussion of PFUTS 0111, which shows an animal sacrifice near a stepped fire altar (fig. 2.12).<sup>227</sup>

<sup>224</sup> Root 1996: 22; cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 13, 31 and Root 2008 §2.12.

<sup>225</sup> See also Garrison 2000: 127-9 with fn. 36 on the questions raised by the inscriptions.

<sup>226</sup> A selection of Fortification seals with cultic scenes can be found in Garrison 2000: 142-4, *idem* [forthc. 3] (‘fire altars’) and Root 2003b (Babylonian-type worship scenes).

<sup>227</sup> Garrison 2008 §7.2 and figs. 48-51. See also *idem* [forthc. 3], where PFUTS 0111 is discussed in the contexts of glyptic representations of ‘fire altars.’

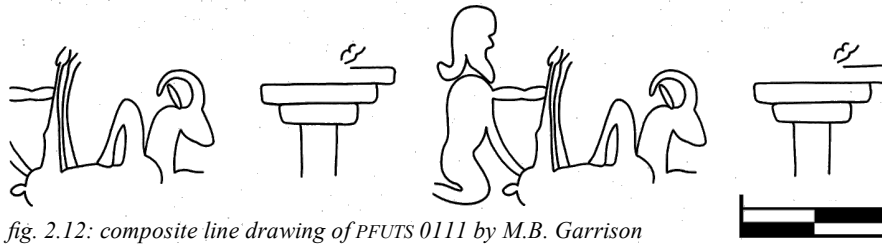


fig. 2.12: composite line drawing of PFUTS 0111 by M.B. Garrison

The Persepolis glyptic imagery of the numinous and the divine has recently been treated in a rich study by Garrison ([forthc. 2]). This repertoire alone yields a perplexing variety of (semi-)divine figures, *Mischwesen* and symbols. As Garrison's analysis shows, "the depiction of the divine and the numinous in the early Achaemenid period was deeply embedded in traditional Assyro-Babylonian and Elamite representational imagery." This leads to the inevitable conclusion that these corpora, not the distant Zoroastrian writings, should be at the fore-front of future research on Persian religion. Simultaneously, it is clear enough that the great variety of Achaemenid heartland glyptic traditions, like the Fortification texts themselves, effectively challenge neat divisions, such as the purported dichotomy between Mazdaic or Zoroastrian and pagan/Elamite cults (cf. §1.6 above). This is also the opinion of Garrison ([forthc. 2]; cf. [forthc. 3]) who, referring to an earlier version of the present study (Henkelman 2006b), remarks that

The existence of this imagery would seem to complement the evidence, documented in the texts from the Fortification archive, showing the existence of a wide array of deities whose worship was sponsored by the state. Both the textual and pictorial evidence stand in direct contrast to the two most generally perceived notions about religious imagery and the Achaemenid Persians: firstly, that they did not depict deities in anthropomorphic form (the 'Herodotean' perspective); secondly, that the prevailing religious belief was Zoroastrianism (the 'Avestan' perspective).

From this perspective, I cannot but agree with Mark Garrison's confession with regard to the seals' cultic imagery: "an irresistible urge arises ... to connect these divine figures with the names of deities preserved in surviving texts" (1996b: 31). Yet, even a preliminary attempt to confront the iconographic and textual data is a sobering experience. Especially the uncertainty that remains with regard to the iconography of many of the deities mentioned in the Fortification texts, forbids rash assumptions and implies that the leap from iconography to religious semantics has to remain "a perilous endeavor" (Garrison [forthc. 2]). Moreover, the relation between image and text is, as always, far from linear and far from straightforward. At the very least, there is a distorting difference of perspective: whereas the seals mostly concentrate on the *act* of worship, the appearance of the numinous, or the presentation of the offering, the texts deal with the basic material requirements and

the mundane preparations for cultic activity. All this does not, naturally, mean that research on the relations between text and image should not be pursued, but this will inevitably be a process of slow reading – a process, moreover, that transcends the limits set to this study and its author’s competence.

2.2.5. *Non-textual communication (bis): tablet shapes* – Hallock created 32 text categories (A-W) as a preliminary

basis for the classification of Elamite Fortification texts. Some of these categories coincide with special tablet sizes and forms. The most regular form, however, is found in a whole range of text categories (A-S) that may all be described as simple memoranda recording single transactions.<sup>228</sup> Tablets with such texts are roughly tongue-shaped, small (typically 3 to 5 cm in width), with text lines running, along the long axis, from the flattened left edge to the rounded or pointed right edge (see fig. 2.13).<sup>229</sup>

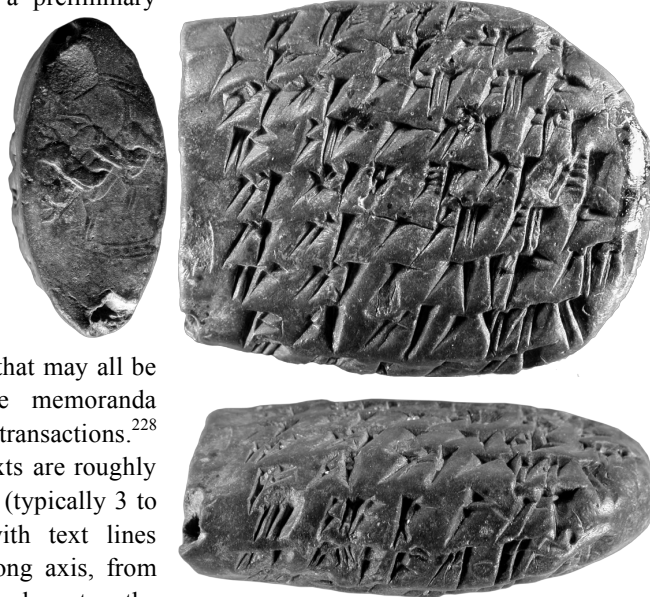


fig. 2.13: PF 0744 obverse, left edge, lower edge (photographs PFAP)

<sup>228</sup> The term ‘memorandum’ as a text category in the Fortification and Treasury archives was first coined by Cameron 1948: 25.

<sup>229</sup> In function, the tongue-shaped memoranda correspond to the small pillow-shaped, landscape oriented “single transaction receipts” in Neo-Babylonian institutional archives as described by Jursa 2004: 150-1 (the same author uses ‘memorandum’ for a different type of text; *ibid.* 153-4). In form, they resemble Neo-Assyrian tongue-shaped dockets (cf. Radner 2008 §2). The shape of the memoranda is perhaps significant: compare *titme*, “tongue,” and *tit*, “report” (cf. EW s.vv. *ti-ut* 1-2, *ti-ut-me*). Still, *tit* does not seem to be the technical term for a memorandum; in PF 2071 it clearly refers to a letter. Also, the activity of *tiddahuttip*, correctly interpreted by Koch as “report makers, supervisors, inspectors” (1983: 30-1, with fnn. 76-7; cf. EW. sv. *ti-ud-da.hh.hu-ut-ti-ib-ba*), is not drafting memoranda. The OPers. equivalent of the appellative is *\*didāka-* (Elam. *titikaš*; Akk. *didakku*); see Tavernier 2007a: 419-20 [4.4.7.33].



A minority of the memorandum-type texts is shaped differently: conical, ovoid, lenticular or rectangular. A peculiar feature of such texts, as noted by Hallock (1969: 78) and Root (1996: 11), is that almost none of them are sealed.<sup>230</sup> By contrast, virtually all the regular tongue-shaped memoranda have one or two impressions of seals (cf. *ibid.* 10; §2.4.2 below).<sup>231</sup> Another remarkable character-

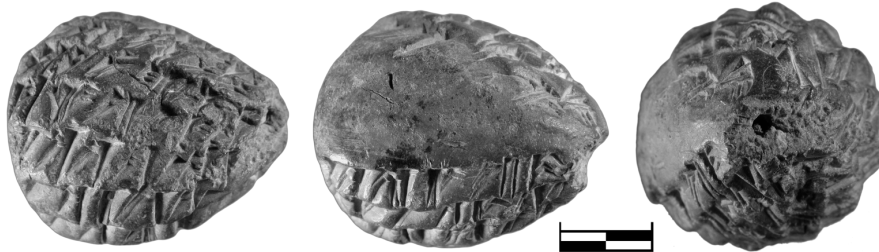


fig. 2.14: PF 1353 (photographs PFAP)

istic is that a number of the irregularly-shaped tablets has a single hole (often in the tip of cone-shaped tablets), instead of the two holes on either side of the left edge of regularly shaped tablets (fig. 2.14). The texts documenting travel rations of flour/barley issued by Pirratamka at the way-station of Uzikurraš may be cited as example.<sup>232</sup> None of these is sealed, all (as far as could be checked) have irregular shapes (mostly oval/ovoid), and most have a single hole. It is unclear why particularly Pirratamka never sealed documents on travel rations (he does seal other types of documents). Or did he indeed seal such documents, and are the unsealed tablets just copies?<sup>233</sup> Did the unsealed, irregularly shaped tablets play a different, specific role in the bureaucratic process or the archival system?

<sup>230</sup> I found 6 cases among 127 irregularly-shaped memoranda. See also Root 2008 §2.7.

<sup>231</sup> Hitherto only six memoranda with regular shape but without seals have been identified.

<sup>232</sup> The texts are: PF 1411, PF 1412, PF 1413, PF 1414, PF 1415, PF 1416, PF 1417, PF 1418, PF 1419, PF 1420, PF 1421, PF 1422, PF 1423, PF 1424, PF 1425, PF 1426, PF 1427, PF 1428, PF 1429, PF 1430, PF 1433, PF 1434, PF 1435, PF 1436, PF 2051, NN 0086, NN 0381, NN 1092, NN 1191, NN 1192, NN 1252, NN 1305, NN 1307, NN 1518, NN 1630, NN 1633, NN 1636, NN 1746, NN 1804, NN 1824, NN 2034, NN 2323, NN 2407, NN 2416, Fort. 6181, Fort. 6830 and Fort. 6833. On Uzikurraš see Arfa'i 1999: 40. Hallock (1977: 132) also notes the case of the "sigillophobe" Pirratamka.

<sup>233</sup> Aperghis' observation (1997a: 19), that tablets with unusual shapes and dealing with travel rations are rarely dated to Elamite months, favours this supposition. Only one such text (PF 1569) dates to an Elamite month. Among regularly shaped memoranda on travel rations about 24% have Elamite month names. As stated above (§2.2.1), Elamite month names are largely confined to tablets relating to the Fahliyān region. They are

A second text/shape category is that of the letters (category T). Most of these are tongue-shaped like the majority of the memoranda, but generally a bit larger (4 to 7 cm in width). The tongue-shaped documents are authorisations and should therefore be called letter orders. A minority of *ca.* 20% of the letters has a rectangular shape (fig. 2.15). As Hallock noted, most of these rectangular letters concern administrative issues and problems; they may have been written on the rectangular format “because they circulated among persons concerned with accounts and journals, which were always written on rectangular tablets” (1978: 113). As opposed to the tongue-shaped letter orders, the rectangular documents are real letters.<sup>234</sup> It seems that all letters, tongue-shaped or rectangular, are sealed.<sup>235</sup>



fig. 2.15: PF 1859 obv. and upper edge (photographs PFAP)

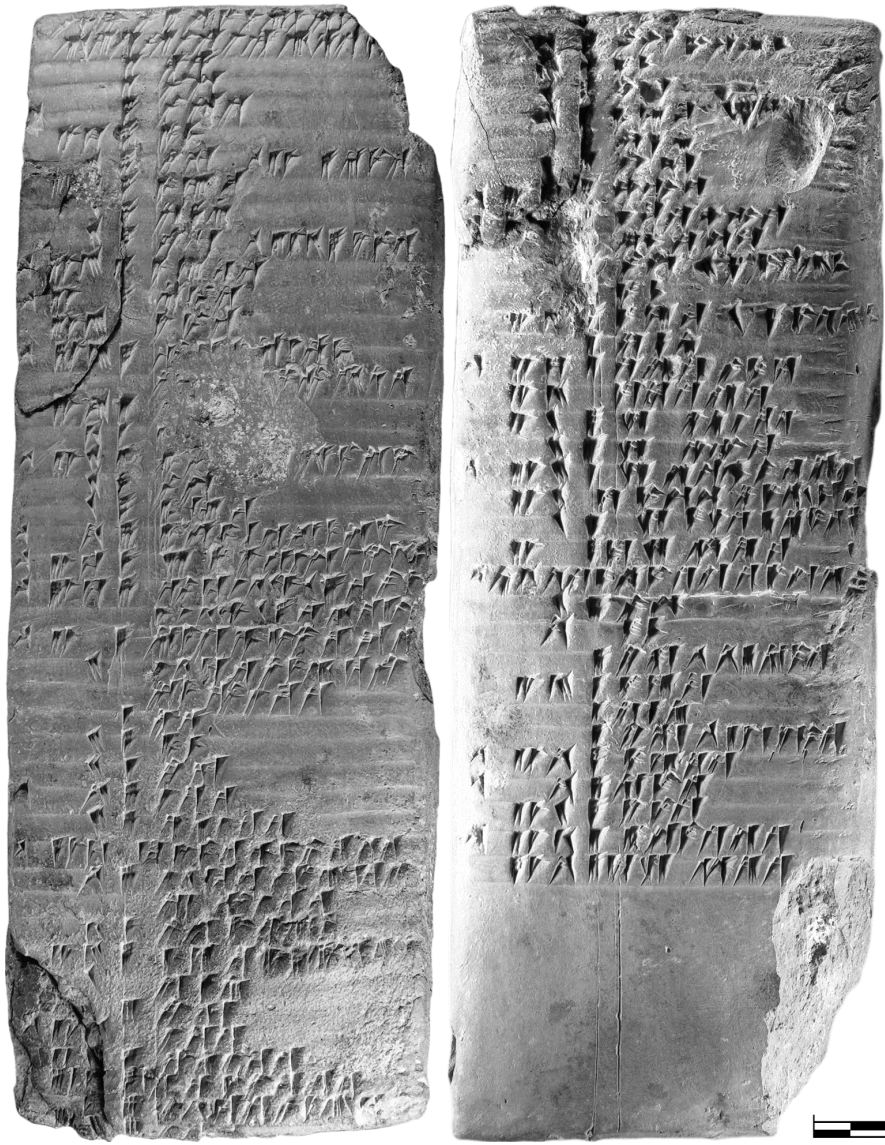
entirely absent from journals and accounts, i.e. documents composed at Persepolis. That they are also virtually absent in the unsealed, irregularly shaped memoranda may indicate that these were drafted (as copies) at Persepolis as well. Note, in this context, that of 17 texts with *sapsap*, “copy,” 7 are on unsealed conical tablets (PFS 0531, PF 0591, PF 0592, PF 0651, NN 0864, NN 0869, NN 0976). Koch’s translation (1990: 218) of the pertinent phrase in PF 0531, <sup>AS</sup>*sa-ap-KI+MIN ap-pa* <sup>HAL</sup>*man-za-na-na su-ku-ka* as “dieses ist die Abschrift, welche von Xvančanah angefordert wurde,” may seem attractive, but is grammatically impossible. The phrase means something like “[the grain] was removed (*vel sim.*) (in accordance with) the copy of Manzana” (cf. *halmi PN-na* and *halmi PN-nama*). PF 0591 (cf. NN 0864, NN 0976), <sup>AS</sup>*sa-ap-KI+MIN hu-be-ma ap-pa* <sup>HAL</sup>*man-za-na-na zi-ku-ka*, “removed in accordance with *that* copy of Manzana,” seems to support this view. Note that each of the seven unsealed texts with *sapsap* mentions Manzana, who does not occur elsewhere, suggesting a very specific administrative context. Finally, the idea that tablets were left unsealed just because the responsible official “es wohl nicht nötig [fand] sein Siegel und das des Empfängers zur Bestätigung der Lieferung auf die Tafel zu setzen” (Seibert 2002: 15) would be an unlikely lapse in administrative protocols and offers no solution to the existence of such documents.

<sup>234</sup> Letter orders and real letters also have distinct formats in Neo-Babylonian institutional archives (Jursa 2004: 153).

<sup>235</sup> In a few cases the left edge has broken off, destroying the seal impression. There are no cases of unbroken letters without seals. See also Root 2008 §2.8.



*fig. 2.16: journal PF 1955, obverse, left and right edge, lower edge, reverse;  
note the Aramaic docket on the reverse (photographs PFAP)*



*fig. 2.17: obverse and reverse of PF 2009,  
a livestock account (photographs PFAP)*

Journals (v) and accounts (w) are compilations (partly) based on the information from the memorandum-type texts. They are always rectangular, yet mutually differentiated by size, orientation and the ratio between width and height. There is an elegant, standard size for journals of some 9 to 12 cm in width and 7 to 10 cm in height (fig. 2.16), but considerable variation occurs. Some journals are very large (PF 1947 measured *ca.* 25 × 22 cm), others are smaller than the regular size. Regardless of size, however, the great majority of cases adhere to a ratio that ranges from 10 : 7 to 10 : 9 (width : height) and this makes most journals easily recognisable. Another conspicuous feature is the layout of the text, mostly with a wide margin on the left side (separated by a single vertical line) reserved for the amounts listed. Most of the journals have lineation, in many cases evidently created by pressing a flat, oblong object (the stylus?) in the clay surface. They are generally in a better hand than the memoranda; some journals are real masterpieces.

Elongated shapes are reserved for account texts (w). Various groups among these accounts have recently been discussed by Maria Brosius, such as the distinctive livestock accounts on oblong tablets (average size: 5.5 × 12 cm) with a vertical (portrait) orientation and a layout that consists of clearly separated sections of continuous text and a tabulation in columns (2003: 267-70; cf. fig. 2.17). Another striking group is that of short grain accounts principally dealing with “making *sut*” (*ibid.* 273). “Making *sut*” refers to the exchange or trading of surplus for other goods, such as pack animals. The tablets of this group are small (average size



fig. 2.18: wine account PF 2002, obverse, lower edge and reverse (photographs PFAP)

5.5 × 2.5 cm) and are horizontally (landscape) oriented. They are distinct from, e.g., similarly-sized wine accounts like the one shown here (fig. 2.18) in that they have the shape of a flattened cylinder (rectangular but oval in section). Because of their distinctive shape, an archivist would be able to retrieve texts dealing with the

exchange or trading of grain surpluses in a matter of minutes. Journals and accounts are not always sealed: about one third lacks a seal impression.<sup>236</sup>

A correlation between tablet shape and contents is also visible in a fifth, heterogeneous group, known as ‘labels’ (U; figs. 2.19-20). These tablets have terse statements or just a few catchwords. About two thirds are unsealed.<sup>237</sup> Many labels



fig. 2.19: PF 1866,  
“let Dapirukbama  
and Umayā deliver  
this flour from  
Kaupirriš!”  
– cf. §2.5.4  
(photographs PFAP)

seem to have functioned as file tags such as “sesame in the 21<sup>st</sup> year” (PF 1895), “14 sealed documents from Batikamiš” (PF 1916), “Hitibel” (PF 1937) or “this/these (is/are) account(s) of Irdamišša, 24<sup>th</sup> year” (PF 1927). They were either attached to baskets or jars, placed on shelves used for storing series of tablets, or were, as Jones proposes (1990), attached to leather bags in which the collected memoranda from a particular district or supplier were transported to Persepolis. The labels are small (typically 2-3 cm in width) and though they have a variety of shapes (but mainly conical and ovoid) they are easily recognisable. Some specific groups can be identified, such as the four texts starting with *tuppi hi*, “these tablets ...” (NN 0746, NN 0799, NN 1098, NN 1940). The first three of these texts have very distinct shapes: they are circular lumps of clay (ca. 2.5 cm. in diameter) with a convex, inscribed obverse and a flat reverse with, in two cases, the impressions of cords and cloth on the reverse (NN 0799, NN 1098). The cord impressions support the theory that some labels were attached to bags with documents taken to Persepolis for

<sup>236</sup> See ¶149-50. A similar procedure may be reflected by an Aramaic document from Achaemenid Bactria, B4, which refers to the exchange of flour against a donkey (Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] 30, 154-5).

<sup>237</sup> There are about 150 labels, ca. 100 of which are unsealed (see also Root 1996: 11). Note that most of the unsealed labels are dated, most of the sealed ones are not.

auditing (cf. §2.5.2 with figs. 2.21-2). An atypical group of ‘labels’ (orders) is that of tablets with short texts containing the word *lišni*, “let (PN) deliver” (fig. 2.19) and that may have been attached to bags of tablets specifying amounts of commodities to be issued to work teams in a certain district (cf. §2.5.4).

It may be clear from the above survey that the record management practised by the Persepolis administration involved more than text-internal references.<sup>238</sup> ‘Labels’ and Aramaic dockets categorised texts and text groups, thus facilitating filing and retrieving. Seal impressions served for recognition of the parties involved, tablet shapes helped to identify and assemble certain groups of texts. By studying these devices, our perception of the archive gradually changes from an insurveyable mass of documents to a tidily kept, fully controllable *system* that probably served the purposes it was specifically designed for in a satisfactory and effective way.<sup>239</sup>



fig. 2.20: PF 1884, “barley, Rašinužzan, 22<sup>nd</sup> year” (photographs PFAP)

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Jones 1990, “there is no question ... that officials in the administration recognized tablets by their shape.”

<sup>239</sup> I note in passing that, according to Bowman, some Aramaic Fortification tablets had bright colours such as “wine-red” and “canary-yellow” when he studied them (ms. pp. 33-34). The (intentional) use of different clay pits may be responsible for this range of colours, as may the possible chemical reaction with the soil in which the tablets were found. Bowman insists, however, that “such bright colours as canary-yellow, rose-pink, wine-red and green suggest that colour may have been used deliberately” (*ibid.* 35) and cites the following observation by Johns on Neo-Assyrian precedents: “one tablet, at least, seems to have been artificially coloured to represent bronze, and there often seems to be some pigment applied, perhaps, to heighten the effect of the writing” (Johns 1901: 27). An inspection of *ca.* 100 Aramaic tablets in November 2005 did not yield any brightly-coloured tablets or traces of chemically unstable pigments (as used on the reliefs; cf. Tilia 1978: 31-69). This impression is strengthened by Azzoni’s work on the tablets (2008 §1 and pers.comm.). Generally, the Aramaic, Elamite and un-inscribed tablets have a dull greyish-brown colour, though other colours expected for dried clay, ranging from pale brown or creamish *via* red-brown to dark brown and black, occur as well. It is also true, however, that especially among the Aramaic texts a number of tablets made of very light, cream-coloured clay with a soap-like texture are found. This clay, presumably highly refined or from a special pit, may have been used with Aramaic to maximise the contrast between the background and the dark ink.

### 2.3. Territorial and chronological extent

2.3.1. *Territory* – The territorial scope of the Persepolis economy is one of the features that is taken for granted in the Fortification texts and that therefore is unclear to us. Having said so, it is also true that all students of the archive agree that the territory under the scope of the Persepolis administration was considerable and covers the larger part of present-day Fārs (cf. fig. 2.1 on p.68 above).<sup>240</sup>

Most debated is the western limit of the territory. One approach takes not only Fārs, but also most of Khūzestān, or at least the stretch of the royal road from the western edge of the highlands to Susa, as the area under purview of the Persepolis administrators (see fig. 2.21 below). This was the initial opinion of Hallock, as well as that of Hinz and Koch.<sup>241</sup> Hallock changed his mind, however, in response to the detailed topographical research conducted by Arfa'i (summarised in Arfa'i 1999; see fig. 2.22 below). In his last two studies, Hallock assumed a reduced territory, confined to (a larger part of) Fārs proper (1977: 129, 131; 1978: 109). This is also the perspective adopted by Aperghis (1997a; 1999: 153-4) and, tentatively, by Tuplin (1998: 104-8).<sup>242</sup>

The prime negative argument against the theory of a larger territory is that Susa was an important Achaemenid capital and that there is no convincing reason why it would not have administered its own hinterland.<sup>243</sup> In fact, there is direct and

<sup>240</sup> As such, the Fortification archive invites comparison with the Bactrian documentation from the end of the Achaemenid period, which also pertains to an administrative territory of hundreds of kilometers (see Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] 16-7, 24-5).

<sup>241</sup> See Hallock 1959b; *idem* 1969: 1; *idem* 1985: 589 [first published in 1971]; Hinz 1961b: 250-1; Koch 1986; *idem* 1987: 240-1; *idem* 1990: 302, 307.

<sup>242</sup> The location of Hidali plays a certain role in the debate; cf. App.7.2 below.

<sup>243</sup> Susa is mentioned regularly in the Fortification texts, but mostly as place of destination or departure of travellers. There are fifteen documents that record deliveries of commodities at Susa: PF 0057, PF 0088, PF 0089, PF 0090, PF 0091, PF 0092, PF 0136, PF 0318, NN 0051, NN 0322, NN 0325, NN 1240, NN 1718, NN 1762 and NN 1988 (see also Potts 1999a: 323). NN 2523 is a letter from Irtaštuna (Artystone), apparently sent from Susa. NN 1040 and NN 1775 are letter orders from Parnakka concerning scribes under his command; the letter orders are said to be delivered at Susa. All the above documents may be explained on the assumption that regular contacts and exchanges existed between the Susa and Persepolis administrations (see also Briant [forthc. 1] §3). Three texts are very peculiar: a receipt for wine used by the royal woman Irdabama at Susa (PF 0737; see Garrison 1996a: 22-3, 35 fn. 75) and two receipts of barley for birds, also at Susa (PF 1752, PF 1753). Based on the use of seal PFS 0074 (used on the last two tablets), other bird texts *may* relate to the same location (PF 1754, PF 1755, PF 1756, NN 0033, NN 0335, NN 0337, NN 0829 and NN 0969). That activities at Susa were regularly



indirect evidence for an Achaemenid archive with Elamite texts at Susa.<sup>244</sup> Secondly, the Susiana plain is just too far from Persepolis. The ‘minimal’ extent of the territory, from just west of Behbahān to Nīrīz already measures 440 km (as the crow flies). This is an enormous stretch considering the personnel and lines of communication needed to control it; the addition of another 240 km in the direction of Susa would therefore seem very problematic. Thirdly, there is no convincing match between the towns in the Fortification texts and towns known, from Middle and Neo-Elamite and Assyrian sources, or from Ptolemy’s *Geography*, to be situated in central or western Khūzestān. A number of places occur in both groups of sources, but as far as these can be located on the map they are always in eastern

administered from Persepolis stretches credulity: the above texts on fodder for birds may actually originate from the Susa administration and somehow have ended up in the Fortification archive. The explanation lies probably in the circumstance that the Achaemenid court had its own administration which followed the king when he moved to another residence. This explains, for example, why an impression of PFS 0007\* is impressed on MDP 11 308, found at Susa, as well as on a number of texts on food consumed ‘before’ the king from the Fortification archive. Upon arrival in Susa, Persepolis, etc., the court administration would link up to the local administration, leading to a temporarily increased interwovenness of administrative protocols and a certain exchange of documents. Receipt of commodities for the royal table written on normal memoranda, but sealed by the royal commissioners (such as the holder of PFS 0007\*) belong to this sphere. It may also explain why a receipt for the table of the royal woman Irdabama at Susa ended up in Persepolis: the document was drafted and then sealed by Irdabama, but handed over to the local administrators at Persepolis rather than to those at Susa. A similar explanation may pertain to the bird texts, as poultry seems to have been reserved for the table of the king or that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna. See Henkelman [forthc. 1] §§1, 2.5, 3, 4.

<sup>244</sup> The direct evidence consists of two types of documents: a Fortification-type Elamite tablet (MDP 11 308; see §2.1.3 with fn. 177 above), a second Elamite tablet, probably also Achaemenid (MDP 28 468; see *ibid.*), and a series of uninscribed tablets, tags or bullae (Amiet 1972 I: 284-7, n° 2202-3, 2226-31; II: pls. 189-91). The relevance of the first administrative tablet was already recognised by Goossens in 1949 (Goossens 1949: 38). On the bullae see Boucharlat 1990: 155; Garrison & Root 2001: 35. Other direct evidence comes from the Fortification tablets that record deliveries at Susa and that were obviously drafted at that location (cf. fn. 243 above; see also Briant [forthc. 1] §3). Indirect evidence consists of Neo-Babylonian references to the market and port of Susa, rations allocated for a journey from Susa to Babylon (cf. Briant *o.c.* §§3-4) and labourers sent to work at Susa where, undoubtedly, they were incorporated in a local administrative system even though they travelled with their own supervisors (on these labour gangs see now Waerzeggers [forthc.]).

Khūzestān or further east.<sup>245</sup> Finally, the Persepolis Fortification archive is very much a regional archive, focussed on mundane, local interests. It is the paperwork

<sup>245</sup> None of the places listed under ‘Susiana’ by Ptolemy has thus far been identified as a place name occurring in the Fortification texts; by contrast, there are at least 13 toponyms names listed under ‘Persis’ that do occur in the tablets (Metzler 1977; add Kurra = Κόρρα in *Geogr.* VI.4.6). Three places may be identified with GNs occurring in the relation of Assurbanipal’s eighth Elamite campaign (prisms A V.113-7 ~ F IV.55-9; see Aynard 1957: 50-1; Borger 1996: 51, 240); these places are probably in a northwest/southeast line. First **Dašer**, which seems to be the westernmost major town under purview of the Persepolis administration, may be identical to Assurbanipal’s (district of) Tasarra as assumed by EW s.vv. LÜ.*taḥ-ḥa-sar-ú-a*, *h.da-še-ir* and Vallat (1993a: cxliv, 54-5). Cf. Zadok 1981/82: 136 fn. 20 on Daḥḥašarua (see also Potts 2008 §6 on Tašu/en). Huhnur is mentioned next in the Assyrian text. This town, the same as Achaemenid **Hunar**, is now identified as Tepe Bormī in the Rām Hormoz plain (Nasrabadi 2005; cf. Henkelman 2007b, Potts *l.c.*). As Assurbanipal’s annals place Huhnur “at the border of **Hidali**,” and as Hidali itself is said to be “in the distant mountains” and “in the midst of the mountains” in Sennacherib’s inscriptions (Luckenbill 1924: 40-1 v.4-5, 88, 90; cf. Stolper 2004b), the town must be located somewhere to the east of Huhnur/Hunar (so, most recently Potts 2005a: 173-5 and 2008 §6 s.v. Hidali; cf. previously Hinz 1972/75b; Duchêne 1986). Thirdly, Assurbanipal’s Bašime, which can be located at the northeastern coast of the Persian Gulf (cf. Vallat 1993a: 36; Potts 2008 §6), may be compared to Achaemenid Bessitme. Not surprisingly, various ethno- and toponyms occur both in the Acropole archive from Susa and the Fortification tablets: the Neo-Elamite texts mention *parsip* (“inhabitants of Pārsa”) fourteen times and refer to places in the western highlands such as Hidali and Huhnur (see §1.4.2 fn. 29, §1.5.1 above). Other toponyms that occur in both archives may be located in the same region or further to the east (see references in Vallat 1993a s.vv.): **Ayapir** (= Īzeh), **Bakurran** (clearly in the Kāmīrūz region; see PF 1857 [cf. NN 2066 with PFS 0003]), **Dul(i)** (but perhaps not a GN; see EW s.vv. *h.du-li-ib-be* and *tu<sub>4</sub>-ul-li-in*), **Harku(pi)** (Fahliyān region, cf. NN 1277 with PFS 0004\*), **Kurdušum** (*idem*, linked with Harkupi in PF 1950 and with Dašer in NN 0802), **Rakkan** (Persepolis region; see, e.g., PF 0906 and PF 1136 with PFS 0001\* and cf. Sumner 1986: 23-5; Henkelman 2007a; Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.1.2.2), **Šala** (Persepolis region; see, e.g., PF 0943 with PFS 0001\*) and **Šullaggi** (probably = Σολόκη/Seleucia on the Hedyphon, to be located at Ġān-e Šīn in southeastern Khūzestān; cf. §6.6.6 fn. 981 below). To this list two place names mentioned by Atta-hamiti-Insušnak may be added: **Bessitme** (EKI 86:9, 11, 13; on the location see App.7.3 with fn. 1164 below) and **Gisat** (EKI 86:2; cf. *PBP* rev.1, 25; not far from Hidali, cf. §4.1.4). Finally, **Anšan** (= Malyān) is regularly mentioned in older Elamite sources and also in the Fortification tablets (see §4.4.3 fn. 817 below). Still older sources mention Tukriš (identified by some with **Tikraš**; see Vallat 1993a: 279 and §4.1.5 with fn. 736 below) and **Kullu** (EW s.v. *v.ku-ul-lu*; Vallat 1993a: 143 [“probablement sur le Plateau Iranien”]). On **Susa** see fnn. 243-4 above.

of a large but limited economic institution, not of the Persian state. There is therefore no need to assume that the authority of the directors of the Persepolis economy included the control over larger parts of the satrapy of Elam, a territory listed as a distinct unit in all the lists of countries in the royal inscriptions.

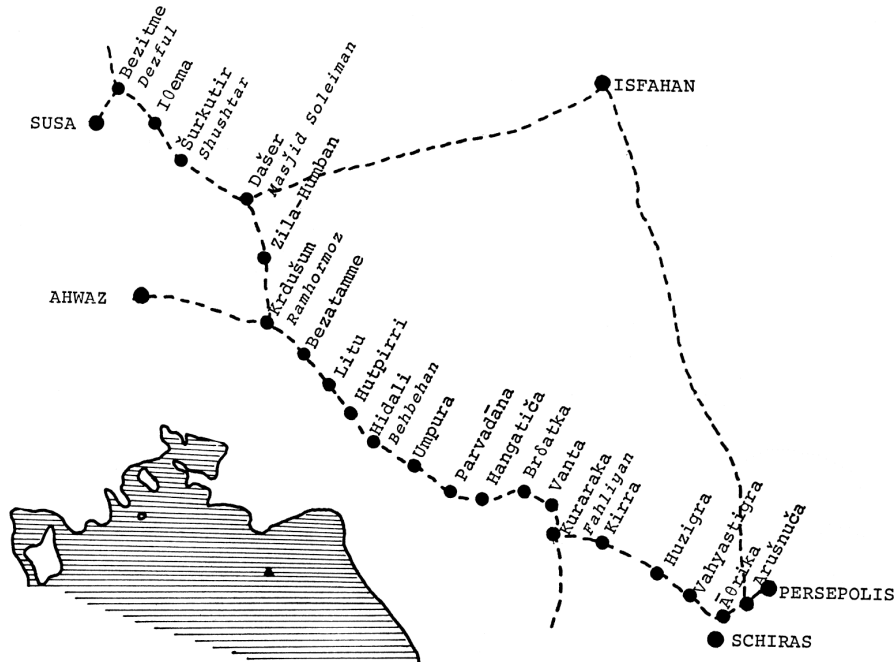


fig. 2.21: the royal road under purview of the Persepolis administration according to Koch (from Koch 1986: 133 fig. 1)

On the positive side, we know reasonably well how long the distance, along the ancient routes, from Persepolis to Behbahān and from there to Susa was. Persepolis and Susa are 500 km apart as the crow flies, but the ancient road measured, depending on its trajectory, 750 or 850 km.<sup>246</sup> Arfa'i has no more than ten stops on his map of the road (1999: 45), but names a few more in the text of his study.<sup>247</sup> Koch has 21 stops (1986) and Aperghis, who believes that there were two branches of the royal road between Persepolis and Susa, assumes 19 and 22 stops respec-

<sup>246</sup> See Tuplin 1998: 104 for the length of the ancient road. On the road system, in connection with the Fortification tablets, see also Graf 1994; Giovinazzo 1994a; Briant 1996: 369-76, 952-3. For a survey of trajectories proposed for the royal road from Susa to Persepolis see Potts 2008 (with bibliography).

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Hallock 1977: 131 who identifies nine stops in the Fahliyān region alone.

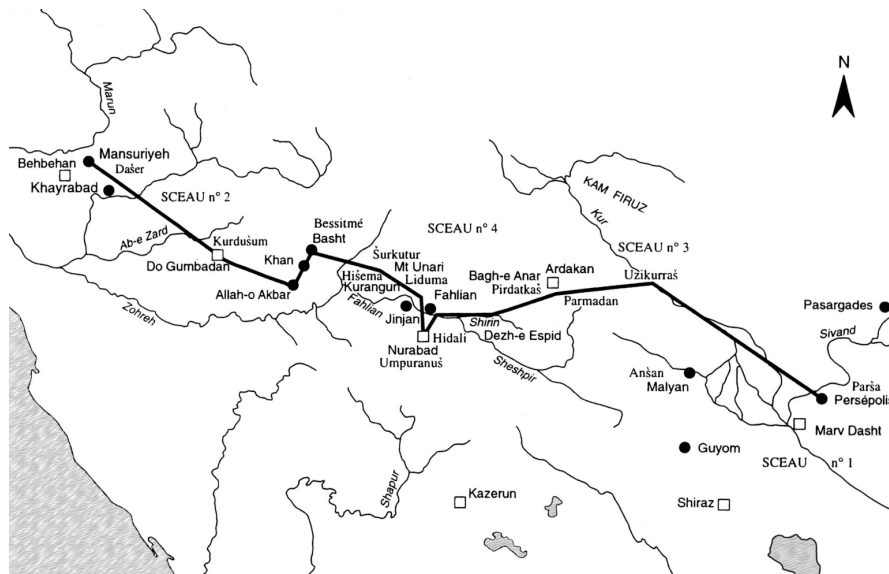


fig. 2.22: the royal road under purview of the Persepolis administration according to Arfa'i (from Arfa'i 1999: 45 fig. 1)

tively (1997a; 1999: 153-4).<sup>248</sup> The identifications proposed by each of these authors are debatable (cf., recently, Potts 2008), but that does not need to concern us at this point. I assume, for the moment, that the Fortification texts relate to a stretch of the royal road that had 20 way-stations. Based on what Herodotus says (V.52-3), the average distance between way-stations must have been 21 to 24 km (depending on the length of a parasang; cf. Tuplin 1998: 102), which roughly agrees with the distance of 26 km between the two Achaemenid way-stations near Persepolis identified by Kleiss (1981, esp. p.50).<sup>249</sup> A series of 20 stations would therefore have covered a distance of 420 to 520 km. Ergo: one could, when travelling twenty days from Persepolis in a northwesterly direction, reach the region of Behbahān or perhaps Rām Hormoz, but most definitely not Susa (cf. Tuplin *o.c.* 104-5). This observation is in agreement with the Greek evidence, which suggests 28 to 38, rather than 20 days for the Susa-Persepolis journey.<sup>250</sup>

<sup>248</sup> On the idea of two branches in this stretch of the royal road see also Mostafavi 1967; Hansman 1972: 118-20; Briant 1982a; Aperghis *ll.cc.*; Speck 2002.

<sup>249</sup> But the distance may sometimes have amounted to no more than 17-18 km, as Potts and Roustaei 2006: 182 suggest.

<sup>250</sup> Tuplin (1998: 102 fn. 106) calculates 28 days on the basis of Diodorus XIX.21.2 (24 days from the Pasitigris to Persepolis) and XVII.67.1 (4 days from Susa to the Pasi-

The only way to avoid the conclusion that lower Khūzestān was not controlled from Persepolis, is the assumption of an almost double average distance, of 37 to 43 km, between the way-stations.<sup>251</sup> Such distances are not impossible for an express service, but they do seem unlikely for the majority of travel parties. The longer distances also contradict the evidence cited above.<sup>252</sup>

In short, it seems likely that the western limit of the territory under purview of the Persepolis administrators was somewhere in the transitional zone from the highland to the plain. Khūzestān proper would then have been administered from Susa. Arfa'i (1999: 34) identified the Mārūn River as the natural border between the two administrative zones and this may well be correct. Note that the recent identification of Hunar, one of the westernmost towns controlled from Persepolis, with Tepe Bormī in the Rām Hormoz plain (cf. fn. 245 above) is a weighty confirmation of our thesis.

Incidentally, the above definition of the territory administered from Persepolis implies a shift in the spheres of influence between high- and lowland. In the Neo-Elamite period, at least up to the Assyrian raids of the 640s, the region of Hidali answered to the authority of the king of Elam at Susa (Henkelman 2003a: 184-5; *idem* 2003d: 254-5), but in the Achaemenid period it was controlled from Persepolis. The same is true for Šullaggi, which was administrated by the Elamite crown in the 640s (ABL 281, on which see §1.4.3 above), but controlled from Persepolis in the Achaemenid period. This phenomenon, which deserves to be studied at greater length, may imply a gradual development of Persian culture, built on Iranian and Elamite antecedents, in this crucial area (cf. Carter 1994). In this

tigris). Strabo XV.3.1 states that the distance from Susa to Persepolis is 4,200 stades (i.e. 140 parasangs if 30 stades equal 1 parasang [Hdt. v.53]). This would give roughly 750 to 800 km (depending on the length of the stade/parasang) or a journey of 29 to 38 days (assuming a daily average of 21 to 26 km [cf. above]).

<sup>251</sup> The alternative approach, *viz* the assumption that the stretch of the royal road controlled by the Persepolis administration had more than twenty way-stations, is implausible in view of the evidence from the Fortification tablets. If anything, the number of way-stations is likely to be lower, not higher, than twenty.

<sup>252</sup> Koch (1986: 147) points to the map, by Kleiss (1977), of known caravanserais in Iran. On the route from Behbahān to Šīrāz there are only nine caravanserais (though there are fourteen on the route *via* Nūrābād and Kāzerūn) and Koch considers this a confirmation of the thesis that her 22 way-stations cover the entire stretch from Susa to Persepolis. However, Kleiss surely did not claim that his map is a complete survey of caravanserais and some stretches in the network of caravan roads appear to be rather empty on it. Also, the speed by which mediaeval and early-modern caravans travelled is not necessarily the same as that of travel companies in antiquity.

context it may be remembered that *parsip* (inhabitants of Pārsa) at Hidali are implied by Acropole text S 238 from late Neo-Elamite Susa.<sup>253</sup>

The northern, southern and eastern territorial limits of the Persepolis economy are less debated, but not less problematic.

It is usually assumed that ancient Narezzaš is the same as modern Nīrīz and was the easternmost larger town in the Fortification network.<sup>254</sup> This would certainly make sense in terms of water systems: the Kūr and Pulvār rivers, which flow through the central parts of the region under the archive's purview, both empty into Lake Tašk, which is in turn connected to Lake Bakhtigān, on the eastern shore of which Nīrīz is situated (cf. fig. 2.1 on p.68 above).

It is not clear how far north, in the direction of Media, Parnakka's authority held sway. Kab(b)aš, on the road to Media and Sagartia, must have been one of the farthest outposts of the Persepolis economy. The name of the town is probably the same as that of Γάβαι/Gabae or \*Gaba, the ancient name of Esfahān. It is not clear whether Kab(b)aš was directly administrated from Persepolis, but it certainly was within its purview.<sup>255</sup> According to Strabo (XV.3.3), Gabae, "in the upper parts of Persia," was the site of a royal palace.

A second residence, coastal Ταόκη, perhaps not coincidentally bracketed together with Gabae by Strabo, may be the southernmost town mentioned in the archive.<sup>256</sup> It occurs in Elamite as Tamukkan, and is very likely identical with Taḥuka (Taḥmakka, Taḥumakka) on the Persian Gulf shore, known from contemporary Babylonian sources.<sup>257</sup> Despite being mentioned regularly, Tamukkan's

<sup>253</sup> The text is a receipt of a *tukli* by a certain Išpugurda (an Iranian name; cf. Mayrhofer 1971: 16; Tavernier [forthc. 2], 2.2.1.65) "of the Zampegirians" (identified as *parsip* in S 11: rev.1-2 and S 94: rev.13; on the name see Steve 1988) at Hidali (cf. Carter 1994: 75, Henkelman 2003a: 185 fn. 10 and §1.5.1 above).

<sup>254</sup> See §112-3 (with bibliography), where I followed Cameron (1948: 166) in basing the identification on the similarity of the two names and on the evidence for iron industry in both Narezzaš and Nīrīz. Yet, as Amélie Kuhrt pointed out to me (pers.comm.), the relevant text (PT 052) does *not* provide evidence for iron industry. In ll.4-5 <sup>GIŠ</sup> *ra-za-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra* (\**razakara*, "vine-dresser") is to be read instead of Cameron's *iz-ra-za-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra* (which he explained as OPers. \**zradakara*, "armorers"); cf. Gershevitch 1951: 136-7.

<sup>255</sup> For the identification and discussion of Kab(b)aš's position within the administrative network see Henkelman 2008.

<sup>256</sup> Strabo (*l.c.*) lists the royal residences of Susa, Persepolis and Pasargadae and continues with the observation that there are two other palaces besides these: ἤν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα βασιλεία τὰ ἐν Γάβαις ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω που μέρεσι τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ταόκην λεγομένην.

<sup>257</sup> The Iranian town of Taḥ(u)makka, its name reminiscent of the elamograph Tamukkan (for Old Persian \*Tauka), has long been taken as a different place (Zadok 1976a: 72;

inclusion in the internal sphere of the Persepolis economy is uncertain, if not unlikely. There are two towns with the name Tamukkan (corresponding to the two Taocae mentioned by Ptolemy).<sup>258</sup> Though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them, it would seem that coastal Tamukkan occurs only as a travel destination, typically of Egyptian, Skudrian, Cappadocian and Lycian *kurtas* (including stonemasons and painters), who may have been directed to the early Achaemenid palatial complex of Borāzğān (near Būšehr; see Boucharlat 2005: 236), possibly the site of ancient Tamukkan. By contrast, there are no receipts of rations, deposits of commodities, etc. that can be securely linked to coastal Tamukkan. This circumstance may be indicative of the status of the entire area covered by the modern Būšehr and Lārestān regions, which may well have fallen outside the direct purview of the Persepolis administration.<sup>259</sup>

Whatever the precise extent of the territory, one should beware of conceiving it as a continuous stretch of cultivated land directly controlled from Persepolis. What we have is a system of wider and narrower fertile valleys and a few larger plains. It is not necessarily true that the Fortification institution was present and active in each and every town and village. Moreover, especially in the Fahliyān region, one should reckon with semi-autonomous Ouxian, Elymaean and perhaps other tribes. Sections of these lived in the valleys, whereas other parts of the tribes would reside in the huge zones of pastoral land beyond those valleys.<sup>260</sup> As I have argued elsewhere, such tribes may have been an important ‘outside’ party with whom the agents of the Persepolis administration could exchange or trade surpluses (see ¶159-64). This interdependency can only be read from the tablets with some difficulty, but may have been a very vital feature of the region’s socio-economic fabric.

Tavernier 2007a: 397-8 [4.3.218-9]). Note, however, the form <sup>uru</sup>*taḥ-ú-ka*<sup>2ki1</sup> in BM 32619:12', probably denoting the town elsewhere known as Taḥ(u)makka, but this time explicitly located on the Persian Gulf shore (Wunsch 2003: 112-4). See Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.3 for the identification, as well as the additional arguments advanced by Tolini [forthc.] and the general discussion in Henkelman 2008. For classical sources on Ταόκη see below, fn. 258 and Henkelman 2008.

<sup>258</sup> Coastal Ταόκη: Ptol. *Geogr.* vi.4.2; cf. vi.4.3, viii.21.15; see Vallat 1993a: 273 with bibliography, and Briant 1996: 779-80. Inland Ταόκη: Ptol. *Geogr.* vi.4.7; cf. Hallock 1978: 115 and Sumner 1986: 23. In PF 1790, Tamukkan “of (the district) Ranmesa” is mentioned, in a context of a series of Fahliyān towns (i.e. probably inland Tamukkan).

<sup>259</sup> Compare also the evidence from classical sources, recently collected and commented by Potts [forthc. 4], on the islands in the Persian Gulf and the hyparchs installed there.

<sup>260</sup> On the relation between the Ouxioi and the crown see Briant 1982f: 57-112; *idem* 1996: 469, 747-53, 1048-9.

2.3.2. *Regions* – The area under purview of the Persepolis administration was subdivided into a number of regions. Three of these are relatively well defined because the regional director used a ‘regional seal’ (cf. §2.4.2.2) on tablets relating to a range of towns and villages in the territory under his jurisdiction (fig. 2.23). It should be noted that receipts of travel rations by individuals and groups on official mission travelling on the royal roads are never sealed by regional seals; the royal roads were obviously treated separately in the administrative system (cf. §2.4.2.2).

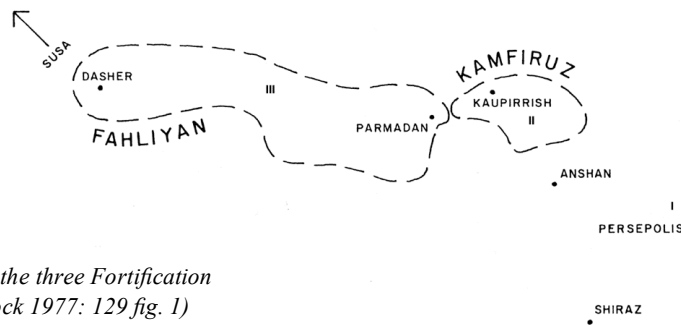


fig. 2.23:

*Hallock's sketch of the three Fortification regions (from Hallock 1977: 129 fig. 1)*

Seal PFS 0001\*, first used by Karkiš (Dar. 15-19) and then by Šuddayauda (Dar. 20-26), pertains to the ‘Persepolis region,’ a large area including Matezziš (in the Persepolis agglomeration), Batrakataš (Pasargadae), Tirazziš (Šīrāz) and Narezzaš (probably Nīrīz). Another seal frequently used, by Šuddayauda (whose name is mentioned in the seal inscription), in the Persepolis region is PFS 0032\*.<sup>261</sup>

Following the Kūr River northwestwards from Persepolis, one reaches the ‘Kāmfirūz region,’ clearly a smaller territory in comparison to the Persepolis region. The regional seal used here is PFS 0003, associated, among others, with the larger towns Kurra (perhaps Kóppα in Ptol. *Geogr.* VI.4.6) and Kaupirriš (presumably at or near modern Kāmfirūz). It is not clear who the user(s) of PFS 0003 was (were). A second regional seal for the Kāmfirūz region is PFS 0030.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>261</sup> PFS 0001\* (fig. 2.27 in §2.4.2.2), PFS 0032\* and the Persepolis region: Hinz 1971c: 283-4; Hallock 1977: 129-30; *idem* 1985: 595-6; Koch 1981b: 233-42; Sumner 1986: 18-20; Arfa’i 1999: 35 (identifying PFS 0042 as the seal for a southern sub-region); Aperghis 1999: 183-5; Garrison 2000: 127-9; Garrison & Root 2001: 272-4 (PFS 0001\*), 268-70 (PFS 0032\*). Contrary to what Koch (2005b: 438) claims, it is not stated in Henkelman 2003a: 209 fn. 99 that PFS 0001\* belongs to Miššabaduš, but rather that he is repeatedly found *associated* with texts sealed with PFS 0001\*.

<sup>262</sup> PFS 0003 and PFS 0030 and the Kāmfirūz region: Hallock 1977: 129, 131; *idem* 1985: 597; Sumner 1986: 20; Koch 1990: 290; Arfa’i 1999: 35-6; Garrison & Root 2001: 409-10 (PFS 0030). Cf. Krawulski’s characterisation of the modern Kāmfirūz region as particularly fertile (1978: 189).



The third region is known as the ‘Fahliyān region,’ after the Rūd-e Fahliyān in western Fārs, although it comprises more than this river’s basin *stricto sensu*. The territory is defined by long, sometimes narrow valleys running northwest/southeast. As appears from Fortification contexts, the royal road to Susa, which ran through some of these valleys, clearly was an important factor. In the east, the region starts at Parmadan, which might be situated in the Ardakān plain. Westwards, it includes the Mamasanī area, where Australo-Iranian surveys and excavations have taken place over the last few years (Potts & Roustaei 2006) and where at least 18 sites were occupied during the Achaemenid period (Potts 2008 §2). From here, the region continues westwards beyond modern Behbahān and probably ends at Tepe Bormī near Rām Hormoz (= Hunar) or a little further northwestwards. The regional seal used here is PFS 0004\*, an early-Persian heirloom seal used by Iršena.<sup>263</sup> Seal PFS 0002\*, used by Irtuppiya, is frequently associated with towns in the western Fahliyān region, and may also be considered as a (sub-)regional seal.<sup>264</sup>

Other possible regions are less clearly delineated. Hallock identified a northern region, defined by the road to Media that ran through it (1978: 109). On closer inspection, however, there seem to be two clusters of towns: a ‘sub-Fahliyān’ cluster west of Šīrāz and south(east) of the Fahliyān region, and a northern cluster of towns along the road to Media (cf. Apps.6.3, 6 and 7.4 below).<sup>265</sup> It may be that the road than ran from Media, *via* Kab(b)āš (Esfahān?) southwards to Tamukkan and the Persian Gulf is the key to understanding both clusters of towns. If the royal road is indeed a dominant factor in these areas, the absence of regional seals becomes understandable (cf. above).<sup>266</sup>

<sup>263</sup> PFS 0004\*/Fahliyān: Hinz 1971c: 281; Hallock 1977: 129, 131; *idem* 1985: 596-7; Sumner 1986: 20; Koch 1990: 240-1; Arfa’i 1999: 36; Aperghis 1999: 186; Garrison & Root 2001: 411-3. In a letter to Hallock (dd. 25/1/1971) Hinz expressed his amazement about PFS 0004\* and its inscription (“Huban-ahpi son of Šati-Huban”): “Unglaublich das Ir-še-na seinen Siegel von einem Elamer ererbt hat!” Cf. fig. 2.28 in §2.4.2.2.

<sup>264</sup> On PFS 0002\* see Hallock 1977: 131; Koch 1990: 241-2; Garrison 1991: 12-3; Arfa’i 1999: 36; Aperghis 1999: 181-2; Garrison & Root 2001: 66-7.

<sup>265</sup> Some of the towns mentioned in PF 2084 were associated by Hallock with Media (1985: 598), but actually seem to be located in the sub-Fahliyān cluster (Apps.6.3, 7.4).

<sup>266</sup> Anzamanakka (NN 2041:2-4, 5-7, 11-3), Kab(b)āš (NN 2261:4-8, 10-1), Mišaraš (NN 2290:19-20, 21-2), Marzina (NN 2349:1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-2, 13-5) and Harrušnuzzan (PFa 31:13-6; cf. Hallock 1978: 115; 149 fnn. 94-5) occur as stops on the road from Persepolis to Media. Kab(b)āš (NN 2261:19-21, 26-9) and Harrušnuzzan (PFa 31:2-4) are also stops on the road from Persepolis to Sagartia, i.e. presumably the same route. Of particular interest is NN 2261:16-8, a journal entry on people travelling from Sagartia to Kermān and stopping at Kab(b)āš. This suggests a northern location for Kab(b)āš, in the northeastern Fahliyān region or further north (cf. §4.4.3 fn. 816), and

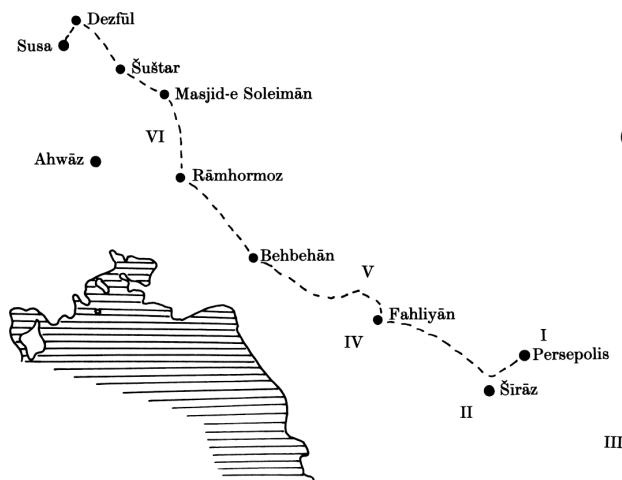


fig. 2.24:  
the Fortification regions  
according to Koch  
(from Koch 1987: 241 fig. 1)

Koch uses an alternative system with a total of six regions (“Bezirke”): 1. Persepolis, 2. Širāz, 3. southeast of Persepolis, 4. west of Persepolis, 5. northwest of Persepolis and 6. ‘Elam’ (1987; 1990; see fig. 2.24. above). Though Koch’s division is not consistently based on the regional seals (and therefore debatable at certain points), and though it assumes that the territory of the Fortification administration stretched all the way to Susa, it is essentially the same as Hallock’s system: 1.-4. largely correspond to the Persepolis region, 5. to the Kāmfirūz region (but shifted further northwest) and 6. to the Fahliyān region (shifted even further, far into Khūzestān). In this study, I will refer to Hallock’s, rather than Koch’s regions.

2.3.3. *Infrastructure* – The presence of the Fortification institution throughout the countryside was made tangible by the physical nuclei in its network. There were local ‘treasuries’ or centres of craft activities (*kapnuški*),<sup>267</sup> livestock stations

supports the identification of the town with Γάβαι/Gabae, the old name of Esfahān (cf. Henkelman 2008). The people travelling from Sagartia to Elam and receiving barley at Zanana (NN 2040:4-6) probably went *via* Persepolis (they carried an authorisation from the King). Zanana and the towns directly associated with it are probably to be situated west of Persepolis, in the sub-Fahliyān cluster (cf. App.7.6 below). On Tamukkan see Henkelman 2008 and §2.3.1 above.

<sup>267</sup> A site excavated by an Italo-Iranian team in 2005 in the Tang-e Bolāgi valley could be a good candidate. The site, TB 76, was occupied throughout the Achaemenid period and was strategically positioned: close to the network of canals and overlooking the plain. A house of sizable dimensions, adjacent to a large courtyard, and large storage vessels were found. In addition “the find of a loom weight, of several stone implements such as grinding stones, and of the two cylindrical bases with clear marks of working on their

(*nutannuš*), fortresses (*halmarriš*), various types of storehouses (e.g., *balum*, *kanti*, *ambaraš*), poultry farms, etc. There were probably also facilities for travellers, though there is no term for ‘way-station’ in the archive.<sup>268</sup> The institutional landscape furthermore comprised plantations (*partetaš*) and (royal) estates (*irmatam*, *ulhi*, *appišdamanna*). Such entities enjoyed a special status and, from the point of view of the Persepolis administration, may have belonged to a semi-external sphere.<sup>269</sup>

Temples are a rarity, at least in the texts. The evidence is limited to three texts, one of which records, however, an allocation of 9,405 qts. of wine ordered for the temple (<sup>AŠ</sup>*zi-ia-an*) at Hakurtiš (NN 2240). The amount of wine is among the fifteen highest in memorandum-type texts and this may indicate that the sanctuary was an economic institution of some size.<sup>270</sup> It is unclear how representative this case is. The scarcity of evidence on temples does not automatically imply that temples were rare or economically insignificant, but it surely does mean that they were not fully integrated in, or in regular contact with, in the Persepolis economy.

2.3.4. *Topography* – Although we know the land in which the Persepolis economy was set, it remains difficult to locate most of the towns and other nuclei in the administrative network on the map of southwestern Iran. The identification of Batrakataš as Pasargadae, Parsa as Persepolis, Anzan (Anšan) as Malyān, Ayapir as Īzeh, Tirazziš as Šīrāz and now Hunar as Rām Hormoz and Kab(b)aš as Esfahān (cf. §2.3.1) may be more or less certain, but this provides just the bare outlines of the topography of Achaemenid Fārs (cf. fig. 2.1 on p. 68). There are three strategies that can be deployed to refine this image. One is the comparison of ancient place names with mediaeval or modern ones. Thus, Kaupirriš is sometimes equated with modern Kāmfīrūz, Narezzaš with Nīrīz, Bessitme with Bāšt, Umpuranuš with Anburān, near modern Nūrābād.<sup>271</sup> Apart from etymological uncertainties, the main problem of this approach is that place names may be retained or repeated over time, whereas the actual location changed. When identifications proposed on the

upper surfaces, point to the existence of a settlement in which some sort of craft activity was carried out. The presence of some ornaments, bronze arrowheads and the fragmented alabaster vessel also give an indication as to the standard of living in the house” (Askari Chaverdi & Callieri 2006: 67).

<sup>268</sup> Kleiss 1981 describes the remains of two way-stations.

<sup>269</sup> See Briant 1996: 458-60, 475-8; cf. ¶151-3 on the institution’s semi-external sphere.

<sup>270</sup> On NN 2240 and other texts mentioning a *ziyan*, “temple” see App.3 below.

<sup>271</sup> See Arfa’i 1999 on these equations. The dissertation by the same author, on *The Geographical Background of the Persepolis Tablets* (Arfa’i [Arfaee] 2008) became available to me when the manuscript of the present study was already in its final stage and could therefore not be cited extensively.

above criteria are subsequently combined with internal arguments from the Fortification archive in order to locate yet other toponyms, the problems inevitably multiply. Potts' recent criticism (2008) of proposed identifications of towns in the Fahliyān region is therefore well-founded, even though some of the arguments based on contextual information from the tablets are, in themselves, valid.

Secondly, one may compare the geographical names to those known from the Graeco-Roman sources. The most telling matches are those between the tablets and Ptolemy's *Geography* since the longitudes and latitudes indicated in this work may provide a relative framework.<sup>272</sup> That (grave) uncertainties are inevitable in this line of research is obvious.

Finally, the third option, relating the textual material to the archaeological record, is not really an exact science either, but here at least the chances for future improvement seem very realistic. William Sumner first attempted to reconstruct part of the settlement system by identifying a hierarchy of towns in the texts and linking this network to the Achaemenid sites (settlements, irrigation works, etc.) identified in his surveys in the Kūr River basin (Sumner 1986; cf. the reflections by Boucharlat 2003b). Others have proposed identifications for individual cases, such as the location of Liduma at Tepe Sūrūvān/Ġīngīn/Qal'eh-ye Kalī (5 km northwest of Nūrābād), where a stone 'pavilion' and other Achaemenid remains have been excavated (Arfa'i 1999: 43).

Such 'pavilions' have been discovered at other sites as well: Farneškān, Borāzġān and, possibly, Tall-e Malyān, Lāmerd, Tepe Pahnu, Tall-e Zohak and Fīrūzābād (cf. fig. 2.1 on p. 68).<sup>273</sup> As Boucharlat points out, these constructions may have served more purposes than the fanciful term suggests: "il est très probable que le 'pavillon' représente une partie seulement d'un aménagement plus vaste et plus complexe" (2005: 235; cf. 272-4).

That the 'pavilions' were more than just that is now confirmed in the case of Tepe Sūrūvān/Ġīngīn/Qal'eh-ye Kalī by new Australo-Iranian excavations at the site (February 2007; see Potts *et al.* 2007 esp. 295-8). The excavators stress the monumentality of the site and point to fragments of fine stone tableware and a glass bowl as indicators of elite usage. At the same time, millstones and large amounts of less-fine pottery, including a "large quantity of heavy storage jar fragments" point

<sup>272</sup> See Metzler 1977. For a recent edition of the text see Humbach & Ziegler 1998.

<sup>273</sup> See Boucharlat 2005: 230-6, 272-4 with literature. The column bases found at Tepe Pahnu (not far from at Tepe Sūrūvān/Ġīngīn) were first presented by Cameron Petrie at *The World of Achaemenid Persia* conference in London (30/IX/2005). Note that, as Potts (2008 §6 s.v. Liduma) rightly notes, the identification of Ġīngīn with Liduma is far from certain. On the site see now Potts *et al.* 2007. On Farneškān see also Mostafavi 1967; Razmjou 2005b.

to economic functions. A possible conclusion would be that the site was used as an elite residence, possibly one of the places where food and drink were consumed “before the king,” but also as a place where such food commodities were stored and processed (brewing, grinding, etc.). Such a place would have been a centre of activity throughout the year.<sup>274</sup>

Though only excavations at the other sites with ‘pavilions’ mentioned can provide definitive answers, one may consider the possibility that all these structures had some economic function. In addition, some of them may well have been permanent administrative nuclei: dependencies of the Fortification institution charged with local storage, redistribution and accounting.

Future research on these and other sites, especially those currently being excavated in the Mamasanī region (cf. §2.3.2 above) and the Tang-e Bolāgi valley near Pasargadae (cf. §2.3.3 fn. 267 above), may eventually enable us to move beyond the virtual topography of the clay tablets and to reveal the real landscape of the Persepolis economy.

2.3.5. *Date* – The known corpus of Elamite Persepolis Fortification texts covers sixteen years, from the 13<sup>th</sup> through the 28<sup>th</sup> year of Darius I. The Aramaic texts belong to the same range of dates.<sup>275</sup> Both Elamite and Aramaic texts typically mention a month or series of months during a particular year; the day is indicated

<sup>274</sup> Cf. Potts *et al.* 2007: 298, “the extreme delicacy of the glass and the high quality of the fine stone table ware fragments (...) are consistent with usage, if only periodically, by an élite, possibly royal, clientele. Although the bulk of the ceramics recovered were not fine, and many sherds belonged to storage vessels of substantial dimensions, such material is to be expected at a site where not inconsiderable numbers of servants, local agricultural labourers and perhaps craftsmen, too, were resident, probably throughout the year. The presence of such support staff in no way contradicts the periodic arrival of élite visitors whose glass and stone plates, as well as opulent quarters, suggest that this was not a road house for the ordinary traveller. There may have been a royal storehouse, or even a distribution centre for ‘normal’ messengers located at or near Qaleh Kali, but the building indicated by the massive bell-shaped column bases, like the meals and beverages consumed in the exquisite glass and stone vessels, reflect the élite quarters at the site, not the sort of storehouse referred to so frequently in the Persepolis fortification texts.” See *ibid.* for a suggested connection with Fortification texts containing the phrase <sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA *tibba makka* (“consumed before the king”); this connection is elaborated in Henkelman [forthc. 1] §6.

<sup>275</sup> See Azzoni 2008 §1; Bowman considered a date as high as Dar. 4 for PFAT 001, but strong doubt on this reading is expressed by Azzoni (*ibid.*).

only rarely.<sup>276</sup> The king's name is never mentioned in date formulae, which explains how the pioneer team working on the tablets in the late thirties could initially conjecture that the texts belonged to the reign of Artaxerxes I (Poebel 1939).<sup>277</sup> This view was only corrected when tablets referring to orders by Darius were identified (Cameron 1942; Hallock 1942).

The earliest dated Elamite Fortification text, NN 1643, is from the first month of Dar. 13 (April 509 BC); the latest texts (e.g., PF 1212) date to the twelfth month of Dar. 28 (March/April 493 BC). There is one possible exception: NN 0001, an account text, pertains to years 8 and 9 (514/13-513/12 BC),<sup>278</sup> but it is not stated when the document itself was drafted. Regardless of this, however, NN 0001 in any case shows that the excavated corpus is only an excerpt of the original archive.<sup>279</sup> It is very likely that at least from the moment the building of the Persepolis terrace started, an archive was kept at the site.<sup>280</sup> Possible reasons for the selective preservation will be discussed below (§2.7.2).

Two sets of parallel month names were used in the Elamite Fortification texts: an Elamite and an Old Persian series (listed in Hallock 1969: 74); Akkadian (Aramaic) month names are used in the Aramaic Fortification texts. The months and years of the Persepolitan calendar cited throughout this study can be converted into Julian dates by means of the table below (excerpted and adapted from Parker & Dubberstein 1956: 30-1). The table gives the Julian equivalent (in Arabic numbers) to the first day of the Old Persian/Elamite month (in Roman numbers). Thus, the 4<sup>th</sup> month of Darius' 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year started on 7/17 (July 17<sup>th</sup>), 508 BC.

<sup>276</sup> There are about fifty cases, mostly in journals, accounts, letter orders and texts on travel rations. Even in these categories, however, the day that a transaction took place or a document was made is rarely indicated.

<sup>277</sup> The fact that the reigning king is not mentioned in the dates is explicable from the assumption that the intended life span of the tablets was short (cf. the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts, on which see §1.2 above).

<sup>278</sup> Though damaged, the reading <sup>AS</sup>*be-ur* *ap-pa* <sup>8</sup>*um-me-ma* in l.1 is virtually certain; <sup>AS</sup>*be-ul* *ap-pa* *9-um-me-ma* in l.3 is entirely clear.

<sup>279</sup> A few other accounts pertain to Dar. 13 or a later year, but refer to surpluses etc. from earlier years (PF 2087, NN 0759, NN 1481).

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Schmidt (1953: 41), "The fact that no earlier tablets have been discovered does not prove the absence of organized administration prior to that time. In our opinion it indicates simply that there was no administrative building on the Terrace proper. Temporary quarters for administration, storage, housing of workmen and soldiers must have existed in the vicinity of the site during its construction."

## 2.4. *Principles of administration*

2.4.1. *The main dividers* – There are three main criteria by which information is categorised in the Fortification texts: year, commodity and district. These criteria reflect the institutional layout of the Persepolis economy and the method of accounting.

2.4.1.1. *The administrative year* – The first of the three criteria is the clearest: foodstuffs are rarely issued for periods longer than one year. Also, the cycle of recording, auditing and compiling journals was repeated on an annual basis. Journals typically concern a single year. Whenever several years are treated in the same journal, these are treated in separate sections with individual subtotals and concluding lines. Accounts, the final products in the stream of data as we have it, regularly concern multiple years (six years in NN 2207) and there are indications that some categories of accounts were prepared over a three-year cycle. The accounts were based, however, on annual documentation and, as in the journals, individual years are always treated in separate sections.

2.4.1.2. *Commodity departments* – The second main divider is the type of commodity. There were special departments concerned with the receipt, storage and distribution of wine, beer, fruit, grain, livestock and poultry (extensively discussed by Hinz 1971c: 285-97). If a work group active in a certain town required barley and beer rations, two separate memorandum-type documents would be made to record the allocations. Different officials would seal the documents and these would later on be processed into separate journals and accounts.

2.4.1.3. *Districts* – Finally, the Persepolis economy is divided by a complex system of hierarchically organised regional and district jurisdictions. The system becomes visible by the distribution of seals, toponyms and personal names. Overall, the organisation of the transactions recorded in the tablets was executed and controlled by two complementary branches of government, that of ‘storage & supply’ and that of ‘logistics & rationing.’<sup>282</sup> In both branches authority descended from the general director and the central administration at Persepolis to three larger regions (and perhaps some other clusters of towns), and from there to larger and smaller local districts centred on larger towns and including a series of satellite villages and hamlets. For the most part of the period covered by the Fortification archive,

<sup>282</sup> See Aperghis 1999: 158-88 for a detailed discussion of this organisational principle. Aperghis (*ibid.* 192) concludes that the system of cooperating organisational branches is comparable to what is called ‘matrix management’ in modern business terminology.

Parnakka acted as general director; he may have been preceded by Irdumartiya (Artavardiya) and, eventually, succeeded by Abazana (Aspacanā, Aspathines).<sup>283</sup>

A regular town had one, sometimes several, official(s) responsible for supplying wine or beer, and one (several) for grain and flour. Commodities, from the new year's harvest or from other storages, were regularly put at the disposal of suppliers, a transaction regularly expressed by the phrase *kurman* PN-na, "for allocation by PN."<sup>284</sup> The same phrase is used, more often, when commodities were issued to individuals or groups, in which case it means "allocation from PN." Supply officials were thus responsible for the stock and flow of commodities, but

<sup>283</sup> Parnakka's first appearance is in Dar. 15 (NN 2164), his last direct appearance in III/25 (e.g., NN 0233; later he is mentioned, perhaps significantly, as having assigned a group of workers in a letter order from *Ziššawiš*, PF 1828, pertaining to X-XI/25). The name of 'Parnak' (<sup>HAL</sup>*pār-na-ik*), whose designation was *šamakara* (perhaps *\*savakara*, "profit maker"?; pers.comm. J. Tavernier) and who was based in Hyrcania (NN 2512, dated VII/28), either refers to a different individual or indicates a radical career change; in any case it does not prove that Parnakka was still in function as general director at this time. Similarly, PT 004 (undated), which mentions a Parnakka among the recipients of silver, does not prove that the same Parnakka was meant and that he was still general director (other individuals in the list receive higher amounts of silver; see also Hallock 1985: 589 fn. 1). The matter of Parnakka's predecessor and successor is not resolved. Ašbazana was in place as general director by IV/28 (PF 1853, NN 1359), but it is not clear what happened in the two preceding years. Irdumartiya's profile is diffuse in general. There are indications, but not conclusive evidence, that he was the acting director up to Dar. 15. His reappearance, now in receipts of wine rations with elaborate colophons, in X/26 (PF 0689, PF 0690, NN 1127, NN 1983) may indicate that he was (re-)installed as director, but this is not a certainty either. See §123-6 with bibliography (add Garrison [forthc. 4]); in the same study it is argued that Ašbazana is the same as Aspacanā mentioned in a caption (DND) on Darius' tomb as the king's *lipte kuktira* (Elam.), or *vaṣabara* (OPers.), i.e. "garment bearer," or "chamberlain" (see also §§3.4.5.6, 3.7.2.3 fn. 653, 4.1.5, 4.4.2). This title finds its equivalent in Akk. *ustarbaru* (< *\*vastrabara*, 'Median' form of *vaṣabara*), a title amply attested for officials acting as the crown's agent on various levels, ranging from simple estate managers to individuals with their own 'house.' It is possible that the formal expression of Aspacanā/Ašbazana's position, and consequently that of Parnakka, was the title '*vaṣabara* of the king.'

<sup>284</sup> Though it is a general convention to render SAL in the word for allocation as *mín* (*kur-mín*), there is actually no basis for it. Based on the variant spelling *kur-man*, and on the frequently occurring inflected forms of the verb *kurma-* (*kur-ma-ak*, *kur-ma-áš*, *kur-ma-iš*, *kur-ma-ka<sub>4</sub>*, *kur-ma-u-ut*), it is better to read *kur-mán* (as Steve 1992: 163 already suggested). The forms *kur-me* (PF 0285, PF 0417, PF 02046), and *kur-mi* (PF 0248) are very rare and probably reflect /kurm/. The reading of the unique variant *kur-me-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>21</sup>* (NN 1346) is uncertain; if correct, it may reflect /kurmen/ or /kurmp/.



not, e.g., for the feeding of workforces as such. For this the representatives of the second governmental branch were responsible: the officials characterised by the terms *šaramanna* and *damanna*.<sup>285</sup> These were, minimally, provisioners at whose command commodities (of every kind) could be set aside in, or released from the suppliers' stores as rations for the individuals, workforces, and animals 'under their responsibility' or 'assigned by them' (the provisional interpretations of *šaramanna* and *damanna* used throughout this publication). Their function seems comparable to that of a *ptpkn* (\**piθfakāna*-), "an official in charge of providing rations."<sup>286</sup>

<sup>285</sup> The exact meaning of *šaramanna* and *damanna* is hard to establish. (PN) *šaramanna* was taken by Cameron (1948: 50-1) as a conj. III gerund or infinitive of passive aspect, with auxiliary *-ma* expressing future action, as in <sup>DIS</sup>ú *še-ra* [<sup>AS</sup>DUB]<sup>MES</sup> *tal-li-ma-na*, "I ordered the inscription to be written" (XV<sub>e</sub> 23-4). Still, Cameron eventually opted for "[P]N is responsible" as a provisional interpretation. Hallock (1965b; cf. 1969: 754) took the form as a conj. III 'infinitive' (participle) and proposed "PN apportioning" on the basis of the form *šara* in DB<sub>e</sub> II.58 – in a context that requires "I cut off" – and in comparison with Akk. *parāsu*, which can also mean "to cut off" and "to apportion" (cf. CAD P 165-71 q.v.). He subsequently explained the variant form *šarama* as a conj. I infinitive with, and *šara* and *šarana* as conj. I and III infinitives without *-ma*. *šarara* and *šaramap* could accordingly be seen as nominalised forms, "the apportioner(s)." Stolper elaborated Hallock's position by analysing the phrase *parāsu ša* <sup>LU</sup>*šarnuppu* in ABL 281 as "apportionment to *šarnuppu*," taking the last word as a loan from Elamite \**šarnup*, i.e. [šara.nu.p], "persons entitled to apportionment" (1978a: 264-5; cf. §1.4.3). Hinz's radically different solution takes *šaramanna* as a cognate of the postposition *šara*, which had been explained as "unten" by Friedrich (1949: 15-29), hence PN *šaramanna* means "in Unterstellung dem [P]N" (1950b: 351; cf. *idem* 1967b: 74 fn. 30; Steve 1967: 18), though Hinz later allowed for "[für ihre Verpflegung] ist [PN] zuständig" (1971c: 282; cf. EW s.vv. *šá-ra-ma*, *šá-ra-man-na*), which is closer to Cameron's interpretation. It is not impossible to harmonise these various views: Cameron was undoubtedly right in taking *šaramanna* as a gerund (or rather supine), whereas Hallock's "to apportion" for *šara*- seems convincing. This gives "to be apportioned (by PN)." Yet, Hinz (1962b: 111) is also undoubtedly right in interpreting Neo-Elamite KI<sup>MES</sup> *ru-uk-ku-ra* ... <sup>AN</sup>UTU *ir šá-ra-ra* – note the parallelism of [ir ukku.r] and [ir šara.r] – as "... auf der Erde ... unter der Sonne..." (pace Hallock 1965b; cf. §4.2.2 fn. 766 below). It is indeed tempting to take PN *šarara* as "under PN" ([PN šara.r]), i.e. under PN's responsibility. Some scribes may actually have understood the phrase as such, particularly since the *šaramanna* official was *de facto* responsible for (the rosters and rationing of) a group of workers, animals, etc. in a certain district. PN *damanna* and PN *dama* have been less discussed; Hallock (1969: 279) interpreted the phrases as "PN placing," i.e. "assigning" (see also EW s.v. *da-man-na* and Lewis 1994: 23 fn. 37).

<sup>286</sup> See Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] 209 (also Shaked 2004: 38). *ptpkn* officials collect commodities for distribution to servants (*ibid.* C4:10, 25; see also C1:47).

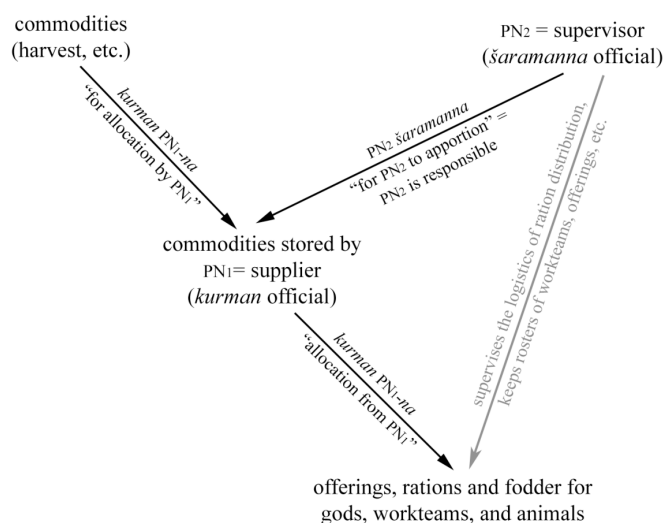


fig. 2.25: *kurman*  
and *šaramanna*

At a higher level, there were regional directors with a function similar to that of the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials, sometimes designated as *kurdabattiš*, “chief of workers.”<sup>287</sup> They are recognisable by the use of ‘regional seals,’ i.e. seals used in connection with places throughout a larger area (see §2.3.2 above). Plausibly, they and their subordinate *šaramanna* officials were also responsible for keeping rosters of workforces<sup>288</sup> and organising and directing the work performed by them, but this is not the sort of information recorded in the Fortification texts.

2.4.2. *Sealing protocols* – One of the most informative, yet also one of the most complex features of the Persepolis bureaucracy is that of seal use and protocols of seal use.<sup>289</sup> Given the large body of texts at hand, seals are often the first indicators

<sup>287</sup> The designation is used for the regional directors Karkiš and Šuddayauda (both PFS 0001\*) and Iršena (PFS 0004\*), but also for other *šaramanna/damanna* officials whose rank and seal use is less clear: Mišparma (e.g., PF 0158), Bakadad(d)a (e.g., PF 0159), Zimakka (NN 0161, NN 1847) and Datukka (NN 0161). Cf. Briant 1996: 439-40.

<sup>288</sup> Note that, in the Persepolis economy, such documents would have listed men, women and children. Rations for *kurtaš*, workers, were typically basic and always individual, they were certainly not intended to feed a whole family, as was normally the case in contemporary Sippar and Uruk (cf. Jursa 2008).

<sup>289</sup> On the sealing protocols see Hinz 1971c: 272-3, 298-301; Hallock 1977; Garrison 1988: 167-70; Jones 1990; Lewis 1994: 29-31; Root 1996: 12-5; Garrison & Root 1996/98: 8-11, 15-6; *eidem* 2001: 11-3 and *passim* (the commentaries on the sealing protocols of individual seals are a very useful tool); Aperghis 1998: 55-6; *idem* 1999; Vallat 1997d.

of a pattern. Decoding that pattern is not always an easy and straightforward process, however. There are two reasons for this: we cannot read all the information implied by the seals and we cannot, as yet, fully grasp the mechanisms behind the various sealing protocols.

2.4.2.1. *Counter sealing* – The “most normal and comprehensible usage” (Hallock 1977: 127), that of counter-sealing, involves a supplier and a recipient. The latter is often a traveller, or the guide of a travel party, who receives foodstuffs for himself and/or the men and women in his party from a supply official at one of the stops on the royal roads. The transaction is documented on a small tablet and formalised by two seal impressions: the supplier applies his seal (‘supplier seal’) on the flat left edge of the tongue-shaped tablet and the recipient adds an impression of his personal seal on the reverse or any other surface, thus acknowledging receipt. The left-edge seal was important for administrative and filing purposes. In the counter-sealing protocol, seals were either consistently impressed on the left side, or exclusively on other sides; exceptions to this rule are rare. The left-edge seals probably functioned as a first step in the identification and classification of the message conveyed by a tablet. Reading the text inscribed on the tablet was probably not always necessary.

The counter-sealing protocol is not limited to the Elamite tablets, but occurs on the uninscribed and Aramaic tablets as well (Garrison 2008 §6.2; Dusinberre 2008 §1; cf. §§2.2.2, 2.2.4.1 above), clearly with the same convention of distinguishing between seals reserved for the left edge, and seals reserved for other surfaces (for possible implications see §2.5.5.2 below).

There are a number of complications regarding the protocol described here. A supplier seal may have been used simultaneously by more than one supplier (‘office seal’), or consecutively by an official and his successor. Conversely, especially high-ranking suppliers and other officials could use several seals, sometimes for different parts of their professional responsibility. Seals could be replaced, sometimes by an (exact) copy of the original (‘replica seals’). Offices may also use more than one seal, sometimes virtually exact duplicates, at the same time.<sup>290</sup>

A variant to the counter-sealing protocol involves a supplier seal impressed on the left edge and the seal of a *šaramanna* or *damanna* official on the reverse or another surface of the tablet. The *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials were a kind of labour and ration managers responsible for workforces in a particular area (see §2.4.1.3 above). As Aperghis rightly notes in his discussion of the subject (1998: 55-6; 1999: 158-88), the sealing by the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials certified delivery of commodities to a storehouse (to be kept at their disposal) or receipt

<sup>290</sup> On duplicate and replacement seals, see Garrison & Root 1996/98: 9; Garrison 1998.

from the storehouse on behalf of groups of workers. Quite often, the sealing was deemed to provide adequate information and the name of the *šaramanna* or *damanna* official was not mentioned in the text.

Both variants of the counter-sealing protocol occur with texts on commodities for cultic use. Seal PFS 0044s, used by an anonymous *šaramanna* official<sup>291</sup>, occurs on the reverse of PF 0367 and the lower edge of PF 0765. Both texts are receipts, one of barley and one of flour, supplied by Kullili, who has sealed the left edge of each tablet with his seal (PFS 0134). The texts have different recipients: Umartiya, who used the flour for *lan* offerings and Kitindu, who exchanged the barley for sacrificial animals “for the gods.” On these tablets, the receiving officials did not impress their personal seal: receipt was acknowledged *via* seal PFS 0044s, the seal of the official under whose responsibility they operated. A second example is PFS 0061, a supply seal used by Umeya and Babaka for various grain allocations and, once, by Kurabada for a beer allocation. It is found on PF 0377 and NN 1885, both receipts (of *tarmu* and beer) by Tiya “for the gods.” Tiya impressed his personal seal, PFS 0091, also known from other texts, on the reverse of each tablet to acknowledge receipt.

2.4.2.2. *Single-seal texts* – A second protocol is that of a single seal impressed on the tablet. Like counter-sealing, this protocol is found among Elamite, Aramaic and uninscribed tablets alike (see Garrison 2008 §6.1; Dusinger 2008 §1).

Among the Elamite tablets (and, plausibly, among the uninscribed tablets), there are various sub-types, which have in common that the seals used represent a higher-ranking or overarching authority and are not restricted to a single kind of commodity (like the supplier seals). A first subtype is that of the seals used by members or agents of the royal house and royal domain. As Hallock notes (1977: 127-8), such seals mostly appear alone, even on texts acknowledging receipts, presumably because the higher authority of the recipient made the impression of the supplier’s seal administratively redundant.<sup>292</sup> Examples are PFS 0038, the personal seal of the royal woman Irtaštuna (Artystone; fig. 2.26), PFS 0036\*, the

<sup>291</sup> PF 1102 mentions Uštana as *šaramanna* official. The seal on the reverse was previously read as PFS 0044s (Hallock 1969: 320; Garrison & Root 1996/98: 53; Root 1998: 271), which led to the identification of this seal (on which cf. Root *o.c.*) as that of Uštana (Aperghis 1999: 176). A recent collation by Garrison had now revealed that PFS 1693s is impressed on PF 1102 (pers.comm.), thus cutting the direct link between Uštana and PFS 0044s.

<sup>292</sup> See Hinz 1971c: 298-301; Garrison 1991 (also on the seals of Parnakka and other members of the administrative elite); Aperghis 1999: 164; Garrison & Root 2001: 11-2.



fig. 2.26: composite line drawing of PFS 0038,  
the seal of Irtaštuna, by M.B. Garrison

seal of the steward of the royal woman Irdabama, and PFS 0093\*, used exclusively on texts documenting the allocation of livestock for consumption at the court.<sup>293</sup>

Parnakka, who directed the Fortification administration, also needed no counter-sealing when he impressed his seal (PFS 0009\*; PFS 0016\* [fig. 2.9 in §2.2.4]). This is also true for other (but not all) high-ranking officials and members of the elite, such as Parnakka's deputy Ziššawiš (PFS 0083\*; PFS 0011\*).<sup>294</sup>



fig. 2.27: composite line drawing of PFS 0001\*  
(Persepolis region) by M.B. Garrison

A third subtype of the single-seal protocol is that of the seals representing regional jurisdictions. As we have seen (§2.3.2), seal PFS 0001\* (fig. 2.27) occurs with a wide range of places in the Persepolis region, PFS 0003 relates to the Kāmfrūz region and PFS 0004\* (fig. 2.28) to the Fahliyān region. These 'regional seals' again did not

normally require counter-sealing. Interestingly, the regional seals, though fre-

<sup>293</sup> PFS 0038: Garrison & Root 2001: 83-5 (with bibliography). PFS 0036\*: *ibid.* 71-2 (*idem*). PFS 0093\*: de Miroschedji 1985: 285-7; Garrison 1991: 3-7, 14-5; *idem* 1996a: 29-31; *idem* [forthc. 1]; Garrison & Root 1996/98: 6-7, figs. 2a-c (with bibliography); Vallat 1996a: 392; Henkelman 2003a: 190 fn. 32, 193-4; *idem* [forthc. 1] §2.5; Waters [forthc.] (stressing the importance of the broken-bow motif on the seal). See fig. 1.9 in §1.5.3 above.

<sup>294</sup> Seals: Garrison [forthc. 4], with bibliography.

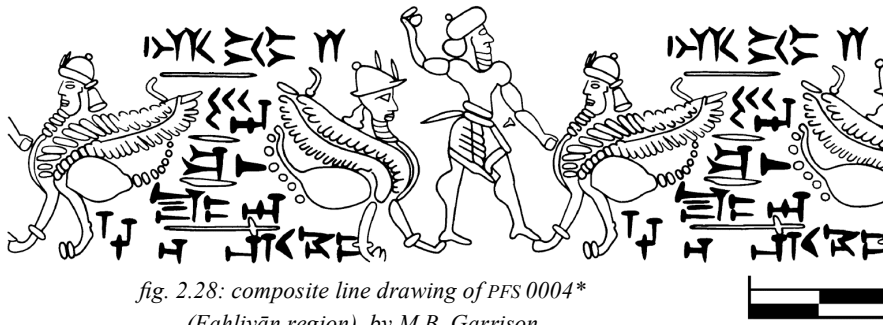


fig. 2.28: composite line drawing of PFS 0004\*  
(Fahliyan region), by M.B. Garrison

quently used, have a very focussed scope: in *ca.* 85% of the cases, they are impressed on receipts of food rations for individuals, animals and (mostly) groups of workers.<sup>295</sup> The use of regional seals on texts relating to cultic activity is limited to three cases only.<sup>296</sup> Rations for travellers are conspicuously absent in texts with these seals – the royal road apparently was a separate responsibility.<sup>297</sup>

There are also a number of seals that appear mostly, or exclusively, on accounts and journals. Some of these ‘accounting seals’ always appear alone, such as PFS 0120, others appear sometimes in pairs and sometimes alone (PFS 0027\*; PFS 0108\*). Accounting seals probably were used by auditors and their staff.<sup>298</sup>

A fifth and final sub-type of the single-seal protocol is that of the letter orders. These documents were, logically, only sealed by the addressor or his/her

<sup>295</sup> The percentage is based on 376 texts with either seal PFS 0001\*, PFS 0003 or PFS 0004\*. 319 of these can be counted as ration texts. I have excluded some uncertain cases. Hallock (1977: 129) arrives at 90%.

<sup>296</sup> PF 0742, PF 0743 and PF 0744 (all with PFS 0003). Another case of the single-seal protocol applied to a memorandum-type tablet relating to cultic activity is PF 0375, which has impressions of PFS 0181\* (collation M.B. Garrison; pers.comm.). This seal may belong to Zinini (cf. PF 0106, PF 0496). Probably the same Zinini is collocated with PFS 0603 in PF 0354 (barley for Napiriša), and this seal is applied in the single-seal protocol as well, suggesting that Zinini was an official of some rank.

<sup>297</sup> There is one text, PF 1333 (sealed with PFS 0004\*), which Hallock considered to be a travel text (category Q). The amount of flour issued, 39 qts., is rather high for a travel ration, however. Also, the supply official, Irištimanka, does not provide travel rations in any of the twenty other texts that mention his name. Less fatal, but noteworthy, is the observation that no *halmi*, “sealed document” is mentioned (about 86% of documents on travellers mention a *halmi*). I am therefore disinclined to regard PF 1333 as a document relating to travel rations. The phrase <sup>ASr</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-tin-na-a-ku iz-zí-man-ra could actually refer to the flour received: “he (I.) is/will be issuing it (at) Kutinaku” (cf. the frequent expression *araš izzimak*, “it is/was being issued at the storehouse”).

<sup>298</sup> On accounting seals see Aperghis 1999: 162-3.

secretary.<sup>299</sup> Still, the application of the single-seal protocol is significant here too, as letter orders apparently were the prerogative of members of the royal house and high-ranking officials such as Parnakka and Ziššawiš. The seals impressed on them state that authority. By analogy, the type of ‘label’ using the term *lišni*, “let [PN] deliver,” which actually is a concise order, also is impressed with only one seal (cf. §2.5.4 below).

2.4.2.3. *Multi-seal texts* – There is a sealing protocol involving up to six different seal impressions. This is frequently attested with texts on the deposit of commodities (“barley was deposited on the account of PN”). As Hallock rightly notes, the use of, e.g., four seals indicates that four jurisdictions are involved (1977: 132), but how this worked in practical terms is not clear as yet.<sup>300</sup> It is possible that a three-seal protocol should be defined as a distinct sealing pattern; tablets with three different seals – with recurring combinations of seals – are found among the uninscribed and Elamite documents (cf. Garrison 2008: 17-20). Tablets on cultic activities seldom have more than two seals: only two three-seal texts are known in the available sample.<sup>301</sup>

2.4.2.4. *Pre-sealed texts?* – An intriguing problem is that of the moment of sealing. Garrison and Root (2001: 30; cf. Root 1996: 21, fig. 2.5) observe that the tablets were sealed before they were inscribed:

It is abundantly clear that the inscribed tablets were sealed before the text was written. Repeatedly, the surface preparation for the inscription invades the area of the seal impression and the subsequently applied cuneiform characters invade the seal image.

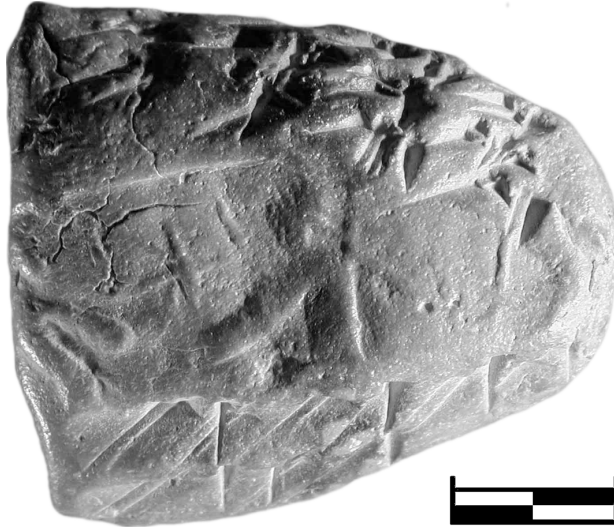
The phenomenon described here may seem perplexing because it appears to contradict the use of seal impressions for authorisation and verification; sealing an empty tablet would seem like signing a blank cheque. Yet, as Garrison and Root propose (*ibid.* 31), the text may have been written directly after the impression of the seal, in the presence of the seal holders. This may indeed be part of a solution to the problem, but more information is needed to understand, from an admini-

<sup>299</sup> PF 1850, PF 1851 and NN 2578 are letters by two addressors (Mamannuš and Kanzaza; explicit in PF 1850) and therefore have two seals (PFS 0020, PFS 0053).

<sup>300</sup> See Hallock 1977: 132 and Aperghis 1999: 188-9 for suggestions.

<sup>301</sup> These are PF 0741 (receipt of flour by Dayurisa for a *lan* offering) and PF 0773 (receipt of wine by Narišanka for *lan* and Mariraš). Neither the seals impressed on PF 0741 (PFS 0864, PFS 0865, •PFS 0866) nor those on PF 0773 (PFS 0900s, PFS 0901, •PFS 0902) have as yet been identified elsewhere.

strative perspective, why the authorities would and could allow pre-sealing. How general was the practice? Are there special groups of texts involved? Does it affect left-edge seals as much as non-left-edge seals?<sup>302</sup>



*fig. 2.29: PF 1780 reverse,  
with seal impression of PFS  
1560 partly erased by text  
(photograph PFAP)*

At any rate, the Elamite Fortification texts are not the only tablets reported to have been pre-sealed. Bowman (ms. p. 42) suggested the same for the Aramaic Fortification tablets and is followed in this by Azzoni (2008 §8). Similar observations have been made for Mesopotamian archives. Thus, Herbordt explains the varying size of the ‘ruled seal space’ in the text of Neo-Assyrian business documents by assuming pre-sealing (1992: 37, cf. 41). On these tablets too, the text sometimes invades the seal image. A comparable practice can be observed on the Neo-Babylonian land sale contracts discussed by Baker and Wunsch (2001: 204).

<sup>302</sup> Hallock (1969) already noted 18 tablets in which two or three lines in the middle of the text are left blank and used for the seal impression. In some of these cases, the text stops in the middle of a word and continues after the seal impression (PF 1284, PF 1327 and PF 1438), which suggests that the seal was applied first. The other cases noted by Hallock are: PF 0826, PF 1046, PF 1061, PF 1251, PF 1297, PF 1318, PF 1322, PF 1330, PF 1381, PF 1495, PF 1527, PF 1529, PF 1542, PF 1579 and PF 1780. It is interesting to observe that all but two (PF 1046 and PF 1061) of the 18 tablets relate to travel.



## 2.5. *The process of administration*

2.5.1. *The normal run of things* – There is a broad consensus about the principles of the data flow within the Fortification administration (cf. Jones & Stolper 2008 §3). Most commentators, with the exception of Vallat (see §2.5.3 below), assume that the memorandum-type documents were written and sealed locally, in the storehouses or regional administrative centres whence they were collected and sent to Persepolis to be controlled and summarised in journals and accounts.<sup>303</sup>

A grain supplier would, for example, issue barley to travellers, workforces and individuals from his stock of barley, *viz* what was left over from the previous administrative year plus what came in as the new year's harvest. He did so in response to the sealed *viatica* carried by the travellers, oral or written commands of the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials and, occasionally, letter orders from the upper hierarchy. In each case a document recording the allocation and receipt of barley was written, perhaps with a copy for the recipient. The original was sealed according to either the counter-sealing or the single-seal protocol. In response to local surpluses and shortages, barley could also be sent to or received from other storehouses throughout the year. Then, if the supply official had a surplus at the end of the year, he would seek to reduce it as much as possible and exchange it, in most cases presumably with third parties, for durable goods such as pack animals (which would be added to the institution's assets).

Finally, the memorandum-type documents were collected, perhaps after a first audit on the spot. Travelling accountants may have written assessments of the income, outgoing and net surplus of individual storehouses (cf. Koch 1990: 220-3; Brosius 2003: 274-8) and/or may have acquired evidence from the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials. This information, together with the memoranda, was sent to Persepolis to be filed (with the help of Aramaic dockets and labels; cf. §§2.2.2, 2.2.5) and subsequently controlled by accountants and auditors and processed into journals and accounts. Journals typically gather information on a single district.

<sup>303</sup> Hallock 1973b: 320 ("most of [the Elamite texts; WH] were written elsewhere and sent to Persepolis for accounting purposes"); *idem apud* C.G. Starr 1976: 220-1; *idem* 1977: 132 (cf. §2.5.2 below); *idem* 1985: 589, 607; Koch 1986: 134-5; *idem* 1990: 217-23; Jones & Stolper 1986: 248; Jones *apud* Garrison 1988: 181-2; *idem* 1990; Garrison & Root 2001: 30-1; Brosius 2003: 266-7, 278-81. Lewis (1994: 24) assumes that even the journals and accounts were made on the spot, but that seems to overstate the role of the local distribution centres and to deny the involvement of the central authorities in the audit process. Moreover, as Jones (*apud* Garrison 1988: 181-2) remarks, the journals are larger and thinner than the memorandum-type documents, hence more susceptible to breaking and ill-suited for transportation from local offices to Persepolis.

They present a list of up to 42 entries (PF 1947), taken from the memoranda, in a more or less fixed order. Cultic activities are almost invariably listed first, mostly followed by entries relating to the royal domain, and then by other entries. Some entries are based upon letter orders and it seems that such documents are referred to when an entry contains the phrase “(in accordance with) a sealed document (*halmi*) from PN” (cf. §§2.5.4-5).<sup>304</sup> The journal is concluded by summary information (including the names of the officials involved) and, regularly, a colophon stating the date it was drafted, the number of the tablet (in case of a series), and the name of the *šaramanna* official. In terms of archival science, journals belong to a class of documents known as ‘registers,’ i.e. volumes containing copies of a series of interrelated yet independent originals (cf. Muller, Feith & Fruin 1920: 141).

It should be stressed that the situation in which a given transaction is documented in a known memorandum *and* paraphrased in a known journal entry is extremely rare.<sup>305</sup> It is statistically improbable that this circumstance is due to the incompleteness of the available sample. Two inferences can be drawn from this. First, memoranda were most probably discarded and their clay recycled once they had been processed. Secondly, the memoranda that we have were probably never processed into journals (cf. §2.7.2 below).

Accounts represent the final stage in the accounting process, at least as far as we can trace it. They were compiled partly on the basis of the credit and debit information from the journals and partly from independent data, presumably gathered by the travelling auditors at the local storehouses, livestock stations, etc., and perhaps from information originating from documentation kept by the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials. Some of this data may have been written on waxed writing boards. Like the journals, accounts were set up according to a standard order, with varying protocols for different types of accounts (see Brosius 2003). Quite regularly, accounts pertain to more than one year, suggesting that parts of the account-making was done in a biennial or triennial cycle.<sup>306</sup> The administrative process would be concluded by the filing of the journals and

<sup>304</sup> Sometimes the journals contain notes on the absence of a sealed document for a certain transaction. NN 0548 concludes with the wry remark that accounts pertaining to the place Dakamanuš had been taken by a certain Parnadadda, probably an accountant or auditor, who suddenly died in harness: *tuppi ak halmi inne nimak*, “his tablets and sealed documents are not extant!”

<sup>305</sup> Hallock 1978: 113 fn. 12 lists only three examples (PF 1223 = PF 1944: 32-36; PF 0989 = NN 2342: 11-17 and PF 0306 = PF 1957: 2-4. He selected PFa 29 for publication (*ibid.* 127-30) precisely because this journal includes ten entries that paraphrase known memoranda and is therefore quite exceptional.

<sup>306</sup> Accounts dealing with operations in the three-year period Dar. 15-17 are well represented: there are 35 cases or about 15% of all accounts.

accounts, again with the help of Aramaic dockets and labels, but also by tablet shape and summary lines in Elamite (cf. §§2.2.2, 2.2.5 above).

The function of the accounts may not have been, or not only have been, to account for the streams of commodities, but rather to monitor the work of the administrators. Jones & Stolper (2008 §5) advance arguments to this effect, arguing that the apparent 10 or 12 years' period of keeping accounts and the efforts needed to make the accounts at Persepolis (rather than on the spot) point to a strongly perceived need of centralised verification. From this, it is tentatively concluded that the motive may have been political: "responding to a need to knit a regional system of fortresses, storehouses, estates and villages – a system that certainly existed before the reign of Darius and probably existed before the Achaemenid imperial expansion – into a network under palace control."

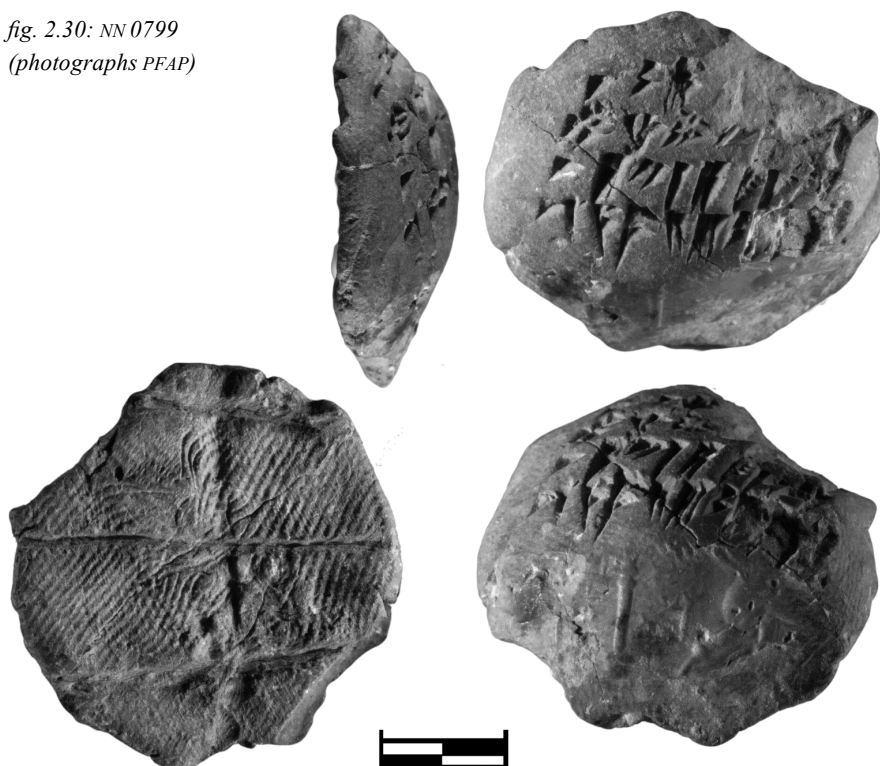
The above model is largely self-evident, yet there remain a number of debated and problematic issues. These will be treated in the following sections.

*2.5.2. Identification of text groups* – If the supplier had consistently impressed his personal or office seal on the left edge of the memorandum-type tablets, they could conveniently be collected and kept separate in the administrative process. But what if tablets were sealed only with a regional seal (single-seal protocol)? Hallock believed that in the case of the single-seal protocol, both with seals belonging to members or agents of the royal house and with regional seals, the memorandum-type texts would have been written centrally, at Persepolis, "after deliveries were made, on the basis of the information provided by the carriers" (1977: 128, cf. *ibid.* 130; 1985: 596). It should be stressed that Hallock at the same time held that tablets sealed according to the counter-seal protocol were written on the spot and sent to Persepolis (cf. §2.5.1 fn. 303 above).

As Jones has pointed out, it really stretches credulity to believe that oral information could be a regular source for the single-seal tablets: the whole Fortification archive is aimed at providing reliable documentation for accountability and verification (Jones 1990).<sup>307</sup> The solution he proposes is that tablets collected at a given local unit, say a grain storage, would be put in a leather or cloth bag, which was closed off with a cord and a small piece of clay on which a seal would be impressed (*ibid.*; cf. Root 1996: 14). Some of the objects identified by Hallock as 'labels' may actually have functioned as such: they have a special form (circular), some have cord and fabric marks on their reverse (not to be confused with the strings *in* most tablets), an inscribed seal impressed on the obverse, and a short text starting with *tuppi hi*, "these tablets [pertain to] ..." followed by the commodity, place, year, and, sometimes, the supplier (cf. §2.2.5). Such circular

<sup>307</sup> Cf. also the scepticism expressed by Lewis (1994: 30).

*fig. 2.30: NN 0799*  
*(photographs PFAP)*



tags are very rare, presumably because most of them were destroyed after the bags were opened in Persepolis. Few as they are, however, they may solve the riddle of the single-seal texts: the information conveyed by 1) the grouping of tablets in a single bag, 2) the seal impression on the tag and 3) the text on the tag would accurately guide the accountants and auditors at Persepolis as to which tablets should be processed as a single group and to what administrative unit they pertained. Conveniently, tablets did not have to be read and categorised anew upon delivery in Persepolis, but were ready either to be processed immediately into a journal or to be filed (in the bag or another container).

The above does not solve another question raised by the use of regional seals. Given the fact that these seals relate to a whole range of towns within the seal holder's region, one wonders whether the seal travelled or the tablets were issued centrally, from a regional office. The former possibility seems impractical (cf. Aperghis 1999: 186). Rather, we may imagine that a regional director had up-to-date rosters (probably on waxed writing boards) of the work teams and individuals under his command. Based on this information he issued orders to a supplier. Once the required commodities had been issued, the scribes of the regional director would write and seal a receipt that was sent to the same supplier. He, in turn, would

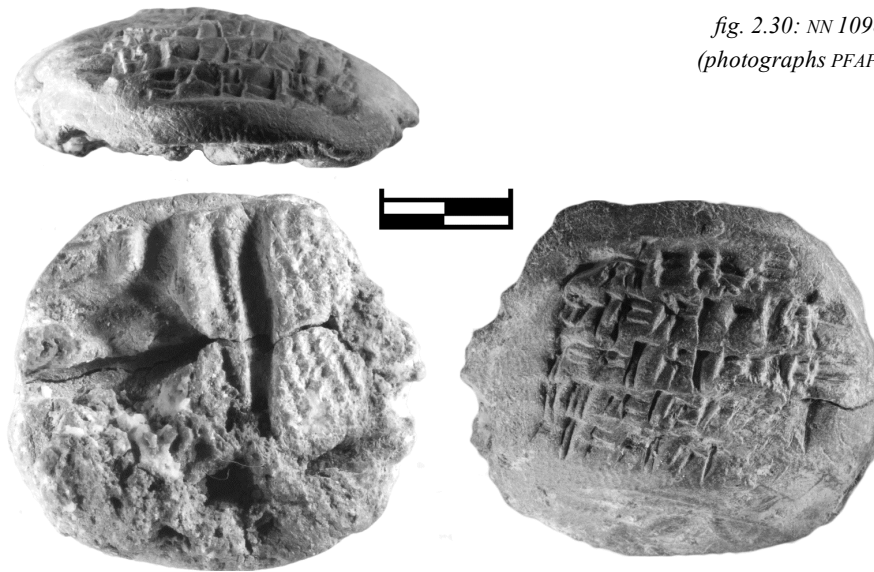


fig. 2.30: NN 1098  
(photographs PFAP)

keep the receipt as proof of the commodities he had issued and eventually hand it over to the person collecting the memorandum-type documents pertaining to his storage facility.

2.5.3. *An alternative model* – As mentioned above (§2.5.1), the idea that the memorandum-type tablets were written and sealed locally and then brought to Persepolis to be processed into journals and accounts has been rejected by Vallat (1997d; cf. 1994a: 267-71). Vallat holds that *all* memoranda were copies of Aramaic documents, that they were written at Persepolis and that they were sealed purely for identification and filing purposes. This bold theory is based on a divergent interpretation of the colophon of the letter orders and on the observation that almost all letter orders have string holes on both sides of the flattened left edge.

The colophons of the letter orders will be discussed below (§2.5.5.1); for the moment, suffice is to say that they regularly contain the phrase  $PN_1$  *talliš* ... *dumme*  $PN_2$ -*ikkamar dušda*. Vallat (1994a: 270; 1997d: 171) translates this as:

$NP_1$  a enregistré (litt. “écrit”) [en élamite sur la tablette d’argile] ... (après) qu’il eut reçu le double [= *dumme*, en araméen] (du *halmi*) de  $NP_3$ .

In other words, he supposes that a sealed letter order (*halmi*; cf. §2.5.5.1 below), in Aramaic, was issued, that a copy of it (*dumme*; cf. *ibid.*) was sent to the Elamite scribe and that this document was translated into Elamite. Subsequently, Vallat

continues, the Elamite document was tied to the Aramaic copy by means of the string ends protruding from the clay tablet.<sup>308</sup> In short, the Elamite letter order was a copy of a copy and was reserved for internal use by the administration. As for the seals impressed on the duplicate letter orders: “la seule raison plausible” (1997d: 172) would be to facilitate consultation of the document within the archive. All this provides an answer to the question where the documents were written: at Persepolis, a conclusion taken to pertain not only to the letter orders, but also to all the memorandum-type documents (*ibid.* 173).<sup>309</sup>

Ainsi, si la plupart des lettres ont été écrites à Persépolis, on peut imaginer que toutes les tablettes en forme d’ovale aplati, munies de ficelle et portant des déroulements de sceaux-cylindres [i.e. practically all memorandum-type documents; WH] ont également été confectionnées là. C’est vraisemblablement à partir de documents sur peau provenant des différents entrepôts que les scribes élamites constituaient les archives sur des tablettes d’argile.

The above implies that 93% of the 4,845 Fortification tablets in the available sample are copies of copies and that the 1,148 seals identified thus far (Garrison & Root 2001: 7) were kept at Persepolis and served filing purposes only. Also, Elamite would have had no independent status in the administration, but was only used for translations of Aramaic documents. That the authorities still took the trouble of creating an Elamite archive seems to surprise even Vallat himself (*ibid.*):

Les Achéménides, pour les besoins de leur administration tatillonne, ont créé un système unique d’archivage que ne leur surviva pas, abandonné probablement en raison de sa trop grande complexité.

Arguments against Vallat’s theory – apart from the observation that the intricacies of Achaemenid administrative practice deserve to be taken more seriously – are

<sup>308</sup> Cameron thought of a similar protocol with regard to the Treasury tablets, but with the difference that he assumed that an Aramaic *original* was tied to the clay tablet (1948: 53-4). Altheim already pointed out the grave difficulties inherent in Cameron’s view (1953: 188-9).

<sup>309</sup> Vallat (1997d: 171-2) suggests that Hallock hesitated and changed his opinion about the place where the texts were written. This is a misunderstanding of what Hallock intended to say, however. In fact, he always assumed that regular memorandum-type documents with two seals (counter-sealing protocol) were written on the spot and afterwards brought to Persepolis (1977: 132; 1985: 589, 607). It was only with regard to the single-seal texts that he considered the possibility that they were written (as originals, not as copies!) at Persepolis (1977: 128, 130; 1985: 596). As we have seen, there is a feasible alternative for the single-seal texts (§2.5.2).

legion (cf. §107). First of all, if all transactions were ordered and recorded in Aramaic and if copies of those documents were deposited at Persepolis, there would naturally be no need whatsoever to copy everything once more, laboriously, into Elamite. Secondly, Vallat may be right that some seals were not personal seals, but belonged to an office (“bureau”). This is not the same, however, as saying that they were not used for authentication or verification. Moreover, the set-up sketched by Vallat does not seem to allow for real offices with executive power, only for groups of clerks handling (copying) specific parts of the documentation.

The idea that at least 1,148 seals were kept in Persepolis and merely served filing purposes is of a colossal improbability, for it implies ‘copyists’ handling baskets full of seals – apparently carved for them in various styles by various artists and workshops – which they applied according to curiously intricate sealing protocols... Such a system would not facilitate, but only burden the filing system.<sup>310</sup> It also leaves unexplained why the irregularly shaped memoranda were not sealed (cf. §2.2.5), why some Elamite documents were tied to containers (cf. §2.5.2), or why there are thousands of uninscribed, sealed tablets. Moreover, the seal on the left edge of the tablets, particularly important for identification as Vallat acknowledges, would not be visible if a scroll of parchment were tied to this surface.

It is true that the string holes present a perplexing problem, but the assumption of Aramaic originals is not the only, and certainly not the most attractive solution to it (cf. §§2.5.5.1-2 below). If virtually all Elamite texts were copies of Aramaic texts, one would have expected a substantial number of Aramaic loanwords.<sup>311</sup> There are Akkadian loans, such as *basbas* (*paspasu*, “duck”), *šukurru* (*šukurru*, “lance, spear”) and *paru* (*parû*, “mule”), but their number is limited and they need not have been loaned *via* Aramaic. Such words are often pre-Achaemenid loans: *šukurru* and *paru* already occur in the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts and were probably taken over directly from Akkadian. Another objection is that it would be mysterious why, after translating from the Aramaic, one would add Aramaic dockets to the Elamite texts if those were tied to the Aramaic scrolls, it would be inexplicable why the clay tablets inscribed in Aramaic have string holes too: were these documents copies of Aramaic copies, or copies of Elamite copies of Aramaic copies?

<sup>310</sup> Also, it would be inexplicable how seal PFS 0007\* could have been impressed on MDP 11 308, the Elamite Fortification-like tablet from Susa (cf. Garrison 1996a).

<sup>311</sup> Similarly, Altheim considered Cameron’s hypothesis of Aramaic originals underlying the Elamite Treasury tablets as unlikely, among other arguments on the basis of the dearth of Aramaic loanwords (1953: 188-9).

2.5.4. *Prescriptive and descriptive documents* – Though Vallat’s model of the Persepolis administration is unconvincing, it rightly raises the question of the status of the letter orders. Most of our documentation is descriptive and written after a transaction had taken place. We have receipts and other types of memoranda documenting and authenticating the receipt, distribution, withdrawal or exchange of commodities as well as the journals and accounts based on them. The paperwork needed to keep the institution running, on the other hand, is largely absent and this in fact accounts for many of the questions we find ourselves confronted with.

There are three types of prescriptive documents, and, perhaps, a fourth, which has not been identified before. One category is that of writing boards covered with wax on which running lists of workers and specialists, their age and ration profile, or rosters for regular activities and the deployment of work teams were kept.<sup>312</sup> Other regular activities, such as monthly offerings may also have been organised by such standing orders. Secondly, travellers on an official mission carried a authorised document referred to as *halmi* (“seal,” “sealed document”) or *miyatukkaš* (OPers. \**viyātika-*, “viaticum”).<sup>313</sup> One such document, in Aramaic, survives as the famous letter of Aršāma (AD 6), the satrap of Egypt, ordering supply officials along the royal road to issue rations to his agent.<sup>314</sup> Travellers would keep their *viaticum* for the duration of their journey (after which it was, perhaps, handed in). Thirdly, the Persepolis authorities could issue letter orders in response to situations and requests that were irregular in the broadest sense, i.e. incidental allocations, special operations, gifts, etc. (cf. Hallock 1969: 7).

Of the three types of prescriptive documents listed above, only the letter orders survive. Most of these, about 60%, were issued by the director of the administration, Parnakka, or his deputy Ziššawiš. Other addressors, including the

<sup>312</sup> For the use of such writing boards by the Persians see Briant 1992a (commenting on Ael. *Var.Hist.* XIV.12). On their use in Achaemenid Babylonia see San Nicolò 1948; MacGinnis 2002; Stolper 2003; Jursa 2004: 170-8.

<sup>313</sup> It may be that the travel authorisation carried by traveller was not only sealed by the king, satrap or other official who sent him on an official mission, but also by the traveller himself. The collocation of the two seal impressions would legitimise the traveller’s seal within the administrative system and enabled the traveller to sign the receipts for provisions received at the way-stations. It would reduce the risk of fraud, because a thief would not be able to cash a stolen *viaticum*, unless he had also stolen the seal. At the same time, the procedure would explain how suppliers and the Persepolis administration at large dealt with the hundreds of ‘foreign’ seals entering the region under their purview. Root (2008 §2.13) proposes that travellers had to register their seals through a demonstration impression kept at Persepolis, but that would only work for travellers coming from, not travelling to, the residence.

<sup>314</sup> Text: Porten & Yardeni 1986: 114-5. See Lewis 1977: 5-6; Briant 1996: 377-80.



royal women Irdabama and Irtaštuna, may all be high-ranking officials or members of the elite (cf. §2.4.2.2 above). This may account for the fact that some of the letters are written in a more complex or even verbose style that it bears a marked contrast to the terse notes on most of the memorandum-type texts.<sup>315</sup> The addressee is often a department head (such as Harrena, the director of livestock) or a regional director (Šuddayauda, Iršena, Irtuppiya). An example of an ‘irregular’ operation is the allocation of 2,000 qts. of wine to Irtaštuna (PF 1795).

The question is what functional role the letter orders, as we have them, could have played. Vallat considers them as archival copies that were written and filed at Persepolis, i.e. as documents that never actually circulated in the institution. Hallock considered this option too, but rejected it as it implied an effort that “would hardly be justified” (1969: 52). He argued that the addressor could have kept a record of his orders in the form of brief notations (in a running register) instead of full copies. In any case, it seems very problematical that Parnakka or any other official would authenticate a copy by his seal, thus giving it a legal power not expected for an archival duplicate. Conversely, if the letters are originals, it would at first sight seem strange that they were found at Persepolis. For Vallat this constitutes the prime argument for his claim that the letters were copies. Yet, it is equally possible that the letters were actually dispatched to their addressee and, after effectuation of the order, kept by the supplier who may have added his own document to confirm completion of the order. Hallock supposed that this second document was a second tablet, but even that is not necessary. As Jones surmises (1990), the letter order may just as well have been included, along with regular receipts, in the sealed bags that were sent to Persepolis. In this case the only additional document is the sealed tag attached to the leather bag. Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, a clay tag may have been formed around the string protruding from the letter order tablet on which the seal(s) of the responsible official (supplier or the *šaramanna* official) was impressed.<sup>316</sup> Such a procedure gave the clay tablet the same advantage as a parchment scroll written in Aramaic: the possibility of

<sup>315</sup> A fine example is Fort. 6764, the famous letter on livestock for Irtaštuna (see Cameron 1942 and Hallock 1969: 52).

<sup>316</sup> This attractive idea was proposed by Hinz for the letter orders in the Treasury archive: “Nach meiner Auffassung stellen bestimmte im Schatzhaus zu Persepolis gefundene *labels* oder *bullae* die zu den Schatztäfelchen gehörigen ‘Quittungen’ da. (...) Ich stelle mir vor, daß beim Zahlungsvorgang der Vizeschatzward die beiden Schnur-Enden der Zahlungsanweisung zusammenknoten und in einen Tonklumpen einschließen ließ. Auf diesen haben dann die Empfänger des Geldes, zuweilen auch noch gewisse Beamte, ihr Ziegel abgerollt oder aufgedrückt” (1971c: 272). Hinz assumes that two loose string ends protruded from the tablet, but the knot often seems to be inside the tablet, so that outside part of the string would be continuous (Hallock 1969: 77; cf. Root 1996: 12).

adding information. In either case (inclusion in a sealed leather bag or addition of a clay tag), the letter order would effectively change from a prescriptive to a descriptive document and, once in Persepolis, it would be treated as a receipt that could be summarised as an entry in a journal.<sup>317</sup> This solution would also account for the fact that letter orders (as opposed to real letters, in rectangular format) are tongue-shaped, as the normal memorandum-type documents are (cf. §2.2.5).

As stated above, the preserved letter orders refer to cases that are all somewhat irregular. The procedure of more regular orders is largely invisible to us, but a glimpse may be found in a series of documents that have hitherto escaped attention. These texts, a fourth category of prescriptive documents, all have a formula with *lišni* (“let him deliver”). Hallock classified them as ‘labels,’ but they actually are concise orders. There are 27 *lišni* tablets, all conical in shape, dealing with barley or flour and impressed with either PFS 0003 or PFS 0030.<sup>318</sup> There are several (near-)duplicates among the texts.<sup>319</sup> An example is PF 1873 (duplicate: NN 1916):

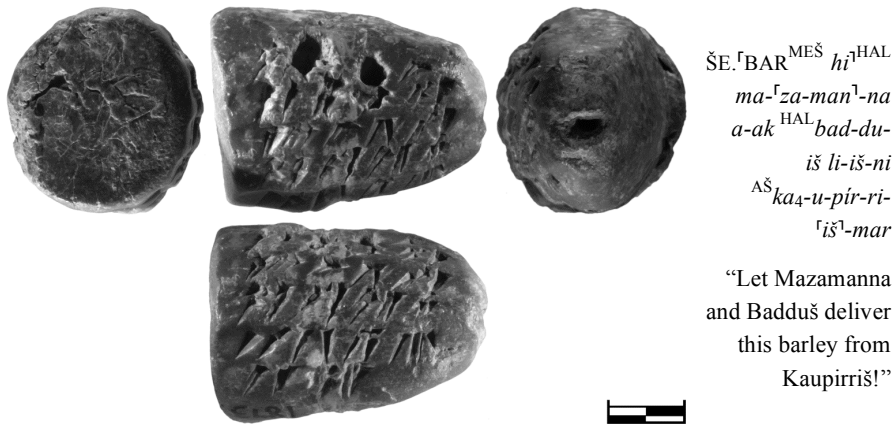


fig. 2.32: PF 1873 (photographs PFAP)

<sup>317</sup> Or, in the terms employed by Jones & Stolper (2008 §2.1), the letter orders were written as pre-primary documents that “anticipate and authorize acts that generate primary records,” but after effectuation of the order they are kept as primary records that, like the usual memoranda, document the particulars of a given transaction.

<sup>318</sup> PF 1862, PF 1863, PF 1864, PF 1865, PF 1866 (fig. 2.19), PF 1867, PF 1868, PF 1869, PF 1870, PF 1871, PF 1872, PF 1873, PF 1874, PF 1875, PF 1876, NN 1233, NN 1323, NN 1340, NN 1791, NN 1792, NN 1793, NN 1794, NN 1795, NN 1916, NN 2429, NN 2437, NN 2461. PF 1592 (with PFS 0003) may be related; the text states that Ullabazziš received barley and ground it, and then continues with *gal baktiyapna lišni*, “let him deliver it as rations for the people of Baktiš.” On the *lišni* texts see also Jones & Stolper 1986: 252.

<sup>319</sup> Same text repeated on four *lišni* tablets: NN 1792, NN 1793, NN 1794 and NN 1795.

In all *lišni* texts (one of) the addressee(s) is a person otherwise known as supplier; in the above case this is Mazamanna. The place name mentioned should logically be the location of his storage facility and this is indeed the case with Kaupirriš and Mazamanna (cf., e.g., PF 0743). The location (or person) to which the grain is to be delivered is not disclosed in any text except, perhaps, PF 1869.<sup>320</sup> Other details, such as the purpose or the amount of the commodity are also not stated and this rules out the possibility that the *lišni* texts were attached to containers of grain. Rather, they may have been attached to documents, or bags with documents, listing the amount(s) of grain, the recipient(s), the location, the moment or period of delivery and, in case of a work team, the ration scales (so Hallock 1969: 54). In fact, these may have been the orders sent by the regional director to local supply stations (cf. §2.5.2 above): both seals used on the *lišni* tablets, PFS 0003 and PFS 0030 are regional seals of the Kāmfrūz region (cf. §2.3.2 above). The procedure may be summarised as follows: the regional director, based on the ration lists at his disposal, issued documents listing the required barley or flour, its purpose and prospective recipients and sent those, along with a *lišni* text bearing his seal, to the supply station. There, the requested barley was issued, after which receipts were written and sealed, following the single-seal protocol, by the regional director. These receipts were kept by the supplier and eventually collected in a sealed bag and sent to Persepolis.<sup>321</sup> Caution is once more warranted since it cannot be established how representative the known, narrowly defined group of *lišni* documents really is. The frequent duplicates indicate that such texts were a regular phenomenon in the Kāmfrūz region, but that is not necessarily true for other regions. Another problem is the presence of the texts at Persepolis. It would seem logical that *lišni* documents normally would *not* be sent there, alone or along with the memoranda.

<sup>320</sup> This text reads: [let PNN deliver this barley] *kaupirrišma* ŠE.BAR<sup>MEŠ</sup> *appa mazzimazzikkamar*. Hallock translates: “Let ... deliver this barley at Kaupirriš, barley which (is) from the *mazzimazzi*” (1969: 513). But it seems more attractive to translate: “Let PNN deliver this barley; (it is) barley from the *mazzimazzi* at Kaupirriš.” *mazzimazzi* may mean “withdrawal” (Hallock 1969: 729; EW s.v. has “Reserve-Bestand”), so it could denote a specific part of the barley stored at Kaupirriš.

<sup>321</sup> There are a number of matches between *lišni* texts and receipts. Compare, for example, PF 1873 (quoted above) with PF 2039, documenting “barley, allocation from Mazamanna, from Kaupirriš” that was received by Cappadocian workers.

2.5.5. *Of colophons, strings and scrolls* – As mentioned above (§2.5.3), the colophons of the letter orders form the main argument used by Vallat to support his theory on document circulation. The matter will be discussed in more detail in the section below (§2.5.5.1). In addition, alternative solutions for the use of the knotted strings inserted in virtually all tongue-shaped tablets will be suggested (§2.5.5.2). We end this survey of administrative practices with a few remarks on the role of Aramaic (§2.5.5.3).

2.5.5.1. *Colophons* – More than half the letter orders (about 60%) are issued by Parnakka or Ziššawiš, the director and deputy director of the Persepolis administration. These letters are, with just a few exceptions, the only ones that have a ‘long’ colophon naming the scribe as well as the official(s) involved in transmitting the order. The exceptions are the letters by Irdumartiya and Ašbazana, who may both have held the position of general director (before and after Parnakka respectively; cf. §2.4.1.3 above). It follows that letter orders with ‘long’ colophons are restricted to the inner hierarchy of the administration. Letters sent, for example, by the royal woman Irtaštuna (Artystone) or by department heads, like the livestock chief Harrena, apparently did not require the procedure reflected by long colophons.

Long colophons also occur on a few categories of memorandum-type documents, mainly inventories of livestock (as tax) and receipts of rations by Parnakka, Ziššawiš, Irdumartiya and Ašbazana. That these four officials are always involved in these, can be deduced from the very consistent use of their seals.<sup>322</sup> This underlines the notion that texts with long colophons come from a very restricted part of the administration, i.e. the director’s and the deputy director’s offices.

There are three elements that may be included in a long or short colophon. Always represented is PN<sub>1</sub> *talliš(da)* (“PN<sub>1</sub> wrote”) or, occasionally, the more extensive *halmi hi* PN<sub>1</sub> *talliš(da)* (“PN<sub>1</sub> wrote this sealed document”).<sup>323</sup> In 29 cases this constitutes the whole (short) colophon. In the remaining 181 cases, the (long) colophon belongs to one of the following types:

<sup>322</sup> PFS 0009\* and PFS 0016\* are used by Parnakka, PFS 0011\* and PFS 0083\* by Ziššawiš, PFS 0071\* by Irdumartiya and PFS 1567\* by Ašbazana. The only exception is PF 0317 (PFS 0079); see Hallock 1969: 52. On the seals see Garrison 1998: 117-22 (PFS 1567\*), 126-8 (PFS 0011\*, PFS 0083\*); *idem* 2000: 141 (PFS 0011\*), *idem* [forthc. 3] (PFS 0011\*), *idem* [forthc. 4] (PFS 0011\*, PFS 0083\*, PFS 0071\*); Garrison & Root 2001: 92-4 (PFS 0016\*, with references), 404-6 (PFS 0009\*, *idem*).

<sup>323</sup> NN 0863, NN 1615, NN 1727 and NN 2061.

- A PN<sub>1</sub> *talliš(da)*, *battikamaš(še)* PN<sub>2</sub> *liš(da)*  
 PN<sub>1</sub> wrote; PN<sub>2</sub> delivered (its) *battikamaš*
- B PN<sub>1</sub> *talliš(da)*, *dumme* PN<sub>2</sub>-*ikkimar duš(da)*  
 PN<sub>1</sub> wrote; he (PN<sub>1</sub>) received the *dumme* from PN<sub>2</sub>
- C PN<sub>1</sub> *talliš(da)*, *battikamaš(še)* PN<sub>2</sub> *liš(da)*, *dumme* PN<sub>3</sub>-*ikkimar duš(da)*  
 PN<sub>1</sub> wrote; PN<sub>2</sub> delivered (its) *battikamaš*; he (PN<sub>1</sub>) received the *dumme* from PN<sub>3</sub>

The term *battikamaš* (OPers. \**patigāma-*) means “message” or “instruction.”<sup>324</sup> In one case the phrase *battikamaš(še)* PN *liš(da)* seems replaced by *hi tubaka* PN *turnaš*, “PN knew about this” (PF 1790), a formula well-known from Aramaic administrative texts from Achaemenid Egypt and Bactria.<sup>325</sup> If the two formulae are indeed more or less equivalent, it implies that the person who delivers the *battikamaš* is “cognisant of the order,” i.e. the official supervising its effectuation.

Elamite *dumme* is harder to explain; interpretations range from “instructions, order, report” to “copy, duplicate, draft.”<sup>326</sup> Lewis suggested that the word is a loan from Aramaic *t̰m* or Akkadian *tēmu*, “order, report” (1977: 10-1 fn. 38). At first sight, this seems attractive since *t̰m* occurs regularly in Aramaic letter orders from the Achaemenid period, such as the aforementioned Aršāma letter (§2.5.4 above). Yet, as Stolper notes, the suggestion is problematic given the vowel /u/ in *dumme* (1984b: 305 fn. 17). The problem remains unsolved for the moment,

<sup>324</sup> See Henning *apud* Gershevitch 1951: 142 fn. 1; Hallock 1969: 51, 743; Hinz 1971c: 310 (“Relatio, Beurkundungsbefehl”); *idem* 1975a: 186; Tavernier 2007a: 410 [4.4.3.13]. Note that EW s.v. *bat-ti-qa-maš-še* (followed by Tavernier 2007: 461 [4.4.21.1]) reconstructs \**patigāma-šai*, with the Old Persian possessive rather than the Elamite possessive *-e*. Tavernier 2008 §3.2 argues that an equivalent of the formula with *battikamaš* is a formula with PN *šeraš*, “PN ordered.” The latter indeed occurs in the same position in some letter orders from the Treasury archive (PT 006, PT 007, PT 008), but seems to refer to very specific, different contexts in the Fortification archive.

<sup>325</sup> On the significance of PF 1790 see Hinz 1971: 310-1 and Lewis 1977: 10 fn. 38. Full discussion, with references, in Tavernier 2008 §3.2 (including Demotic evidence; see now also S.H5 DP-434 from Saqqara, discussed by Smith [forthc.]). Bactria: Naveh & Shaked [forthc.], 23-4 and *passim*.

<sup>326</sup> Cameron (1948: 83-4) opted for “receipt” (from *du-*, “to receive”), but this cannot be the meaning of the word given the contexts in which it occurs, as Hallock has argued (1969: 51). Instead, Hallock proposed “instructions, information, order.” Stolper (1984b: 305 fn. 17) suggested “copy, duplicate, draft” (accepted by EW s.v. *du-me* [withdrawing Hinz’s “Auftrag,” 1971c: 310] and by Tavernier 2008 §3.2). Note that Hallock (*l.c.*) and Vallat (1994a: 270) considered *dumme* to be a noun (*dum*) with possessive *-e*, i.e. [dum.e]. Vallat translates “son double” (cf. §2.5.3 above).

though an explanation might be found in the Akkadian versions of the royal inscriptions.<sup>327</sup> Be that as it may, it would seem that “order” is the most likely interpretation of *dumme*. This appears from the only context other than a colophon in which *dumme* (spelled *du-me*) occurs, in PFa 30. There, “draft” is impossible, “copy” possible but less likely, and “(Aramaic) order” preferable.<sup>328</sup>

It is abundantly clear that mention of both *battikamaš* and *dumme* was not required for understanding the message: only 37 texts have a colophon of type C, against 75 for A and 69 for B. This also explains why the *battikamaš* formula disappeared during the reign of Xerxes, as appears from the colophons of letter orders in the Treasury archive (cf. Tavernier 2008 §3.2).

Based on the fact that the agents delivering the *battikamaš* or issuing the *dumme* are consistently attached to the director and the deputy director, Hallock surmised that the colophons of types A-C all refer to the preparation of the Elamite letter order, not to its delivery to the addressee (1969: 51-2).<sup>329</sup> A second clue for understanding the colophon is the fact that about half of the individuals issuing *dumme* have Babylonian or West-Semitic names.<sup>330</sup> This suggests that we are dealing with “Babylonian scribes (working) on leather,” the description used in the Fortification texts for scribes writing Aramaic (cf. §2.2.2 above).

<sup>327</sup> Perhaps *dumme* is a loan based on Akk. *tu’umu*, forms of which appear only in the Akkadian versions of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions. From the context in which these appear, the meaning “to bid, to command” can be derived (~ *framāna*, “commandment,” in DN<sub>ap</sub> 57). The verb, apparently a peculiarity of ‘Iranian Akkadian,’ might, in turn, be a cognate of the regular verb *tēmu* (cf. CAD T 500 s.v. *tu’umu*). If valid, this solution would solve the phonetic problems in Lewis’ suggestion.

<sup>328</sup> The relevant lines of PFa 30 read as follows: <sup>8</sup> 3 HAL *am-ba-du-iš hi-še* 4 HAL *ak-ka-ia-še* SLKAK<sup>MES</sup> *ku-ti-ip* AS *da-at-ti-iš-ma-ráš-be ir-ba-en la-ki-* <sup>9</sup> *ip* AS *da-ti-iš* AS *ra-mi-te-be mu-ša-iš me-ni du-me-ma ši-nu-ip* AS *ha-da-ráš za-ti-iš ku-iš* HAL *EŠŠANA* <sup>10</sup> *ši-nu-ik hu-pi-be gal du-iš* 6 *na-an*. I interpret this as “<sup>8</sup> 30 (qts. of wine), Ambaduš by name (and) his 4 companions, lance-bearers, road-counters (inspectors), <sup>8-9</sup> (who) were previously sent, <sup>9</sup> (who) inspected the road (at) Ramitebe, (and who) subsequently, in accordance with his (i.e. A.’s) order, came (to) Hadaraš <sup>9-10</sup> (and) waited until the King came, <sup>10</sup> they received (it) as rations (during) 6 days.” See also EW s.v. *du-me-ma* (“weisungs-, befehls-gemäß”).

<sup>329</sup> Accepted by Hinz 1971c: 308-11; EW s.vv. *bat-ti-qa-maš-še, du-me*; Lewis 1977: 10-2; Stolper 1984b: 305-6.

<sup>330</sup> Stolper 1984b: 305-6 with fn. 20 (the importance of these names was already pointed out by Dandamaev 1972b: 17, 26) and Tavernier 2008 §3.2, who lists the following Babylonian/West Semitic names: Aplaya, Barīk-Tameš, Bēl-iddin, Bēl-ittannu, Itti-Bēl, Laqip, Nanā-iddin, Ribaya, and Ta‘laya.

A likely scenario, based on the above assumptions, is that the office of the director and deputy director issued an instruction in the name of Parnakka or Ziššawīš. One official attached to the office took charge of it and communicated it to a ‘Babylonian’ scribe who wrote the order down in Aramaic.<sup>331</sup> This order, presumably to be kept in the (deputy) director’s archive, was handed to a second scribe who would produce an Elamite text from it. In this scenario, the terms *battikamaš* and *dumme* describe different aspects of the same principle: *dumme* may denote the physical document, whereas *battikamaš* refers to the order recorded on it.<sup>332</sup> After the Elamite text had been prepared and sealed with the (deputy) director’s seal, it was dispatched to the addressee (or perhaps, in some cases, given to the prospective recipient, who could show it to the addressee). Eventually, after effectuation of the order, it would come back to Persepolis as a receipt (cf. §2.5.4).

Comparable Aramaic administrative texts from Achaemenid Egypt typically state the name of the scribe, and the official responsible for the effectuation of the order, using the formula: PN *yd’ t’m’ znh*, “PN is cognisant of the order.” As recently reiterated by Tavernier, this reflects a similar scenario: an official responsible for the effectuation of an instruction by, e.g., Aršāma, would communicate it to an Aramaic scribe, who produced the written order.<sup>333</sup> The formula used corresponds in part to the *battikamaš* and *dumme* formulae in the Elamite colophons: *t’m* is comparable to *dumme*, whereas PN *battikamaš(še)* PN *liš(da)*, “PN delivered (its) instruction,” is a functional equivalent of “PN is cognisant of the order.” The difference is that the Aramaic documents mention only one scribe, whereas the Elamite colophons imply two: the official issuing the *dumme* and the scribe of the eventual Elamite letter order. As Tavernier rightly observes, this difference is easily explained by the extra language level in the case

<sup>331</sup> Tavernier 2008 §3.2 stresses that the original order was in Old Persian, and was dictated by Parnakka or Ziššawīš. Given the complicated content of many of the letter orders, it would seem likelier, however, that the director and deputy director gave general instructions or delegated certain dossiers to their staff, who had access to rosters and other documentation necessary to formulate the precise order. That letter orders start with the formula “to PN speak, Parnakka/Ziššawīš speaks as follows,” is a convention that expresses the authority of the (deputy) director, not necessarily that he actually dictated the whole text.

<sup>332</sup> Hinz describes the *battikamaš* and the person delivering it as ‘relatio’ and ‘relator’ (1971c: 310). The term *\*patigāma-* occurs once, as *ptgm*, in document A1:4, among the recently discovered Bactrian documents (Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] 55, 73).

<sup>333</sup> Tavernier 2008 §3.2. See also Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] 23–4 on colophons in the Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Bactria in which, as the editors point out, the scribe and the official “cognisant of the order” may often be the same person.

of the letter orders in the Fortification archive (Tavernier *l.c.*, also discussing an example involving a Demotic scribe).

A fourth element may be introduced at this point: as pointed out above, an *halmi* is sometimes mentioned besides the name of the scribe, the *battikamaš* and the *dumme*. Taken literally, an *halmi* is a “seal” as appears from seal inscriptions starting with *halmi*, and from two letters in which Parnakka explains that his former seal has been lost and replaced by a new one (PF 2067 and PF 2068).<sup>334</sup> In a more developed sense, an *halmi* can also be a “sealed document.” The *viatica* carried by the travellers on the royal road were denoted as *halmi* (cf. §2.5.4 above). Such *viatica* may often have been Aramaic parchment scrolls with a sealed clay bulla, but sealed clay tablets could also be known as *halmi*. Because *halmi* were issued only by officials with executive power, the term may also be rendered as “authorisation.” Now, a number of letter orders state *halmi hi lika*, “this sealed document/authorisation is/was delivered.” The statement often is preceded by the date of delivery. In my view, the *halmi* phrase can only mean that the document as we have it is the authorisation itself – not its copy – and that this Elamite document was actually delivered to the addressee.

There is actually some proof for the circulation of clay tablet *halmi*. Parnakka, for example, issued letter orders regarding monthly rations to be issued to Zitrina/i. Two journal entries refer to such *halmi* by Parnakka, in accordance with which commodities were issued to this same Zitrina.<sup>335</sup> Another case is that of *tiddabattišbe* (“fortress commanders, fortress guards”) at Persepolis, whose rations are issued based on letter orders from Parnakka that were subsequently excerpted and listed in journals.<sup>336</sup> A third example concerns Ziššawiš, who issued letter

<sup>334</sup> Seal inscriptions with *halmi* are found on PFS 0081\*, PFS 0261\* and PFS 0389\*; cf. Garrison 2006: 71 (with references). Apart from PF 2067 and PF 2068, some other texts seem to refer to the impression of a seal as well. PF 1988 concludes by PN ... *halmi inni haraš*, “PN did not impress a seal.” NN 0896 has *halmi hi PN harašda*, “this seal PN applied” (cf. §2.2.4 fn. 217). NN 0394 mentions, in broken context, *ʾzaʾl-iš-šaʾ hal-mi ha-ra-ʾišʾ*, “he applied *zaššaʾ* seals” (R. Schmitt [letter dd. 20/XII/2007] informs me that a connection of *zašša* with OPers. \**caθru-*, “four,” is unlikely, despite *zaššuma* for \**caqu(š)va-*, “fourth”). For the range of meanings of *halmi* compare Akk. *kunukku*, “seal, seal impression, sealed clay tablet, sealed letter” (CAD K 543-7 q.v.).

<sup>335</sup> PF 1788 (letter order, 60 qts. of wine, III/17), PF 1789 (*idem*, II/18), NN 2493:12-4 (journal entry, 360 qts. of wine III-IV, VII-X/19), NN 0644 (letter order, 9 head of sheep/goats, III-V/20), NN 2071:16-9 (journal-entry, 120 qts. of wine, III-IV/20). That these are not exact matches is logical because letter orders were discarded and recycled once they had been paraphrased in a journal (cf. §2.5.1 above).

<sup>336</sup> NN 0425 (letter order, 580 qts. of wine for 9 men, II-III/18<sup>3</sup>), NN 1100 (*idem*, 250 qts. of wine for 8 men, V/18?), NN 1202 (*idem*, 290 qts. of wine for 9 men, VIII/18), NN 0458



orders on rations for Babylonians storing grain at Barniš; again we have a journal entry that refers to such an *halmi*.<sup>337</sup> In short, letter orders must have been kept by the addressee, collected periodically, and returned to Persepolis for accounting.

The case of memorandum-type documents with long colophons is a bit different, because these documents were not sent but produced on the spot. To understand this, one has to remember that Parnakka and Ziššawiš travelled regularly through the territory under their sway. At a given location they, or their staff, would issue instructions for the allocation of their daily wages. After effectuation of these, a text would be drafted to acknowledge the receipt. It would include a colophon stating the date on which “this *halmi* was delivered” and Parnakka’s or Ziššawiš’s seal would be impressed on the tablet. Then, the document was handed to the responsible supply official,<sup>338</sup> who would keep it as an authorised receipt until it was collected for processing at Persepolis.<sup>339</sup>

It should be stressed that the above scenario, with Aramaic orders underlying Elamite documents with long colophons, is restricted to the highest officials in the administration and pertains to a mere 5% of the Elamite Fortification texts. The consistent absence of long colophons in letters from other individuals (royal women, department heads) is most likely explained as indication that these letters were drafted in a less complex procedure, most probably directly in Elamite. The same seems true for the vast majority of the Fortification tablets that have no colophons (short or long) linking them to the director’s office.

(*idem*, 250 qts. of wine for 8 men, IV/19), NN 2071:1-5 (journal entry, 290 qts. of wine for 9 men, II/20), NN 2071:10-5 (*idem*, 290 qts. of wine for 9 men, III/20). On *tiddabattišbe* (< OPers. \**didāpatiš*, “commander of the fortress”) see Tavernier 2007a: 419 [4.4.7.32]; the Elamite equivalent is *halmarraš nuškip* (e.g., PF 1812).

<sup>337</sup> NN 1036 (letter order, [x] qts. of barley for [x] workers, [x]/[x]), PF 1811 (letter order, 185 qts. of wine for 37 workers, VII/16), Fort. 2008-101:1-4 (journal entry, [x] qts. of barley<sup>?</sup> for 156 workers, I-II/[22<sup>?</sup>]), Fort. 2008-101:9-12 (*idem* for 122 workers, III-V/22), Fort. 2008-101:13-5 (*idem* for 24 workers, IV-V/[22<sup>?</sup>]), Fort. 2008-101:19-22 (*idem* for 164 workers, VI-VII/[22]), Fort. 2008-101:23-5 (*idem* for 178 workers, [x]/22), Fort. 2008-101:31-3 (*idem* for 19 workers, I-II/22), PF 1821 (letter order, 2,240 qts. of barley for 124 workers, III/23), PF 1822 (letter order, 3,355 qts. of barley for 158 workers, XI/23), NN 1839 (letter order, 3,310 qts. of barley for 161 workers, VII/25).

<sup>338</sup> An interesting case is PF 0666: “180 qts. of flour, allocation from Zinizza, Parnakka received as rations, in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year, 3<sup>rd</sup> month, at (the village) Dandakran. Puktezza wrote (this document), Mannunda delivered its instruction; this *halmi* was delivered at Hidali.” Hidali probably was the administrative centre closest to Dandakran, hence the delivery of the sealed receipt at that location.

<sup>339</sup> Note that there are number of labels referring to *halmi*; cf. §2.5.5.2 fn. 344 below.

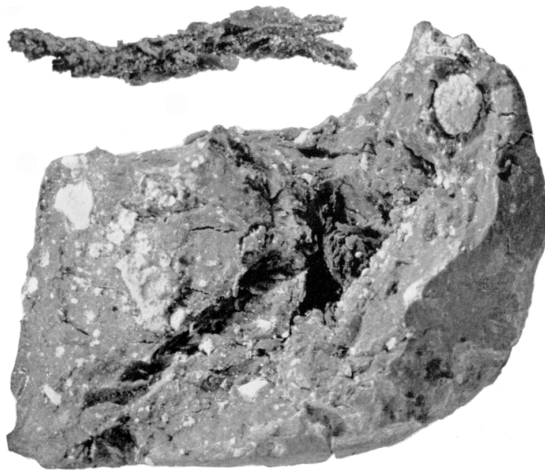
As we have seen (§2.5.3 above), Vallat takes a different perspective on the letter orders and on the memorandum-documents in general. He accepts that *battikamaš* and *dumme* were steps in the process of creating an Elamite letter order, but he interprets *dumme* as “double,” i.e. as copy of the original Aramaic letter order, for which he reserves the term *halmi*. The *dumme* would be translated into Elamite and subsequently both documents were tied together and stored, whereas the original stayed with the recipient (1994a: 267-71; 1997). This is hardly believable given the phrase *halmi hi lika*, “this sealed document/authorisation was delivered,” used regularly in letter orders and other texts with colophons.<sup>340</sup> Moreover, the evidence adduced above shows that it was the (clay tablet) *halmi* that was excerpted into a journal (not the *dumme*) and the word *halmi* in this context refers to Elamite letter orders and memoranda with long colophons. Apart from these and other objections raised above, one may ask what the advantage of the procedure proposed by Vallat would be in terms of accountability and control. As an exact, archival duplicate of the Aramaic text, the Elamite tablet would not constitute an extra check in the administrative process.<sup>341</sup> This would remain true if we assume that the Elamite tablet was sent as a letter order, returned to Persepolis as receipt and was tied there to the Aramaic original. Rather, one may imagine that the director’s office kept a record of its orders by filing the Aramaic *dumme*. Such a director’s archive would be useful as independent evidence against which the information from the letter orders, when processed (along with normal memoranda) into journals and accounts, could be checked.

Even in the unlikely case that letter orders and other texts with colophons were tied to Aramaic parchment scrolls, this would certainly not mean that *all* memorandum-type texts were tied to such scrolls. I think one should simply admit that, whenever there is no long colophon (or any other clue) pointing to an Aramaic original, there is no Aramaic original. All the documents that are not based upon direct orders from the office of the director or deputy director (i.e. 95% of the edited sample) were apparently directly drafted in Elamite.

<sup>340</sup> Vallat himself had to concede (1994a: 270 fn. 63) that *halmi* is often followed by *hi*, “this.” I cannot see how the expression can be reconciled with his hypothesis that these documents were copies. We should credit the Persepolis scribes with at least a minimal amount of intelligence: if they were making archival duplicates, they would have written “authorisation,” not “this authorisation.”

<sup>341</sup> Compare Hinz’s scepticism with regard to Cameron’s theory on the Treasury tablets (1971c: 272 fn. 39).

2.5.5.2. *Strings* – The discussion on the implications of the (long) colophons brings us back to the vexed question of the string holes. For why, if not for holding Aramaic originals, were virtually all tablets (except journals and accounts) formed around a piece of string? There are, as far as I can see, three possible answers. The first is that the strings had no function at all, but just represent a method of forming clay tablets.<sup>342</sup> This seems not very likely, however, because the strings can hardly have been instrumental



*fig. 2.33: a broken Fortification tablet with string impression and piece of string (enlarged)*  
(from Cameron 1948, pl. 46)

in the actual shaping of the tablet and there is no good precedent from Iran or Mesopotamia. Also, it would be inexplicable why for example the smaller account texts were not formed according to the same principle and why the irregularly-shaped tablets often have just one string hole in a surface other than the left edge.

A second possibility is that the strings were used to suspend the tablets from rods, as a filing system that would leave the seal on the left edge of the tablets visible for the archivist and that would make easy consultation possible.<sup>343</sup> Yet, while not as such unlikely, there is no evidence from Persepolis (such as holes in the walls of archive rooms), nor any precedent from antiquity that would support this hypothesis. Moreover, pottery fragments found together with the Fortification tablets rather suggest storage of small tablets in jars, a common practice in the ancient Near East (see §2.6.3 sub H).

Probably the most viable explanation of the insertion of a knotted string in the tongue-shaped Elamite, Aramaic and uninscribed tablets is that it was a general means to enhance the functionality of the clay tablet by creating the possibility of adding information. This hypothesis does not imply that the strings were *always*

<sup>342</sup> Jones *apud* Garrison 1988: 182; Johns 1901: 19.

<sup>343</sup> Cameron 1948: 25-31 (but preferring the theory of tablets bound to Aramaic documents); Hinz 1971c: 272 (texts tied to uninscribed tablets and suspended from rods); Vallat 1997d (tablets and Aramaic scrolls tied together *and* suspended from horizontal rods). Cf. the remarks by Root 1996: 12.

used, nor that they were invariably used to add the same type of information according to the same protocol.

Hallock assumed that Elamite labels starting with *halmi hi* (“this is the *halmi* [pertaining to ...]”) were attached to journals and accounts by means of the strings.<sup>344</sup> In fact, the practice may have been much more general and may involve the large group of uninscribed, sealed tablets that constitute a considerable part of the total Fortification find (cf. §§2.1.4, 2.2.4.1 above). Like the tongue-shaped Elamite memoranda and letter orders, the great majority of the uninscribed tablets has string holes on either side of the flattened left edge. There are perhaps as many as 4,700 uninscribed tablets, against roughly 7,500 tongue-shaped Elamite memoranda and letter orders. In the overall context of the Fortification archive, the circumstance that these two bodies of tablets with string holes are of comparable size seems significant and would, if only intuitively, seem to suggest that the uninscribed and Elamite tablets were attached to one another by means of the strings. One could imagine that a second string was pulled through the loop of the first string, protruding from the Elamite tablet, that it was knotted, and that a second tablet was formed around it, on which additional seals were then impressed.

Unfortunately, the above hypothesis (as originally formulated by Henkelman 2006b: 94-6) can only be substantiated, if it all, by circumstantial evidence. Moreover, it may project too much uniformity on a possibly wide range of patterns in the use of strings in Elamite and uninscribed (and Aramaic) tablets. Garrison’s recent evaluation of the uninscribed corpus (2008) revealed that sealing protocols on these tablets are very much similar (also in terms of percentages) to those found on the tongue-shaped Elamite tablets. At the same time, however, he found that only 17 seals found on the Elamite tablets recur on the uninscribed ones and that these cross-over seals do not include the important seals of the director, deputy director and regional directors. This led Garrison to conclude that the uninscribed tablets represent a parallel rather than a dependent stream of administrative data, and that the uninscribed tablets should be seen as a corpus that

<sup>344</sup> Hallock 1969: 54; cf. Root 1996: 12-3 and Garrison & Root 2001: 30. Compare Hinz’s similar theory on the Treasury tablets (1971c: 272-3; cf. §2.5.4. fn. 316 above). The labels Hallock refers to are mostly unsealed. An example is PF 1906: “This is/are the sealed document(s) of barley at Nukšama, in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year, allocation(s) by Irdamišša.” Such labels may either have been used on bags containing documents transported to Persepolis or for filing purposes at Persepolis. At least one *halmi* label is sealed and has the impression of a knotted string on its reverse (Jones & Stolper [ms.] commenting on NN 0567). See also Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2004: 45-8 on possible functions of uninscribed tablets in Persepolis and elsewhere.

did not supplement the Elamite texts, but that existed alongside it. Hence, in Garrison's words (*ibid.* §8),

For the moment, these [...] observations have led me away from seeing the uninscribed tablets as functioning in tandem with the Elamite texts, whether as tags attached to bags of Elamite texts, tags attached to the Elamite tablets themselves, or tablets destined for Elamite texts (but never actually inscribed). The uninscribed tablets would appear to represent the recording of a type of transaction that, for reasons that are lost to us, did not require textual annotation.

Undoubtedly the problem of the strings in the Elamite, uninscribed and Aramaic tablets will continue to frustrate scholars for some time to come. Still, I remain convinced that the uninscribed tablets offer at least part of the solution. The clues they provide come, in the first place, from their document status and the observation that they were found interspersed with the Elamite and Aramaic tablets and, secondly, from the contextual evidence on the cross-over seals.

As explained above (§2.2), the Fortification archive represents a complex, multilingual phenomenon in which seal impressions and tablet shapes should be considered as 'languages' used besides and in combination with Elamite and Aramaic. Another way of saying this would be to introduce the archive as a logical system that combines non-repeatable with repeatable data. Non-repeatable data are found in prescriptive and descriptive statements on (trans)actions taking place within the Persepolis economy; these are unique in the sense that they pertain to a given period, a given location and a particular lot of a given commodity, the combination of which cannot be repeated in time and space. In the Fortification archive, such statements are expressed in Elamite and Aramaic. Documenting alone is not enough, however: non-repeatable data has to be organised into a structured system for purposes of survey, control and accounting. This categorising is done by associating statements on unique (trans)actions with the tags of repeatable data, *viz* tablet formats, seal impressions, and sealing protocols. These formal criteria refer to such categories as *type* of action, administrative context, document status, identities and jurisdictions involved. The whole archive could be described as a machine that organises a steady flow of unique data by tagging it according to fixed categories, using document shapes and seals as its instruments. In this model, the sealed, tongue-shaped Elamite or Aramaic tablet is the smallest self-sustained functional element because it documents an unique (trans)action and simultaneously categorises it within a larger administrative network, including confirmation of the jurisdictions involved. In other words, the sealed, tongue-shaped Elamite or Aramaic tablet is an administrative *record* in the full sense of the term, i.e. documenting a transaction, serving as authorised legal evidence of that transaction, and handled as such within an administrative and archival system.

By contrast, the uninscribed tablets cannot, as such, represent self-sustained documents. They may serve as legal evidence, but they are not, by themselves, administrative records. They are dependent documents because they convey only repeatable data expressed by tablet shape, seal impressions and seal protocols. These may suffice to describe a very specific *type* of transaction, as well as the parties and jurisdictions involved, but they do not describe a non-reproducible transaction *per se*. This is clearly illustrated by the fact that several uninscribed tablets in the sample analysed by Garrison have the same seal or seals, impressed according to the same sealing protocols.<sup>345</sup> Without additional data on the transactions to which they pertain, no distinction could be made between such tablets and, in consequence, they would therefore remain meaningless duplicates.

If an uninscribed tablet does not have the same document status as a sealed Elamite tablet and could only function as a 'record' in tandem with other information, we have to assume that it was somehow linked to that information, be it by attachment to a container with a certain quantity of a stored or sent commodity (i.e. with the actual lot of flour, wine, etc. expressing the additional information), by inclusion in a container with other documents expressing date and location, or by binding it to an Aramaic parchment scroll or to an Elamite or Aramaic tablet.

By analogy, the unsealed Elamite tablets also must be seen as dependent documents. Though their distinct shapes (cf. §2.2.5 above) would still provide part of the parameters needed for categorisation within the system, they lack confirmation of the jurisdictions involved by means of seal impressions. They are unauthorised documents, hence not full administrative records and not self-sustained elements in the administrative and archival system.

As mentioned before, the uninscribed tablets were found interspersed with the Elamite and Aramaic tablets. This has important implications for the function of the uninscribed tablets. The Fortification find probably does not represent a dump of discarded clay documents, but a real (yet inactive or intermediary) *archive* that was stored as such (cf. §§2.6-7 below). Also, the rooms where the archive was found were too small to house great numbers of jars or bags holding commodities. Together, these two observations imply, first, that the unsealed tablets were probably not intended as tags attached to commodity containers, and, second, that the uninscribed tablets must somehow have been associated with written documents in the Fortification archive, be it clay tablets or lost Aramaic parchment

<sup>345</sup> PFUTS 0003 is impressed five times each on PFUT 0848-101, PFUT 0848-103 and PFUT 0849-101 (single seal protocol). PFUT 0694-101 and PFUT 0695-102 both have impressions of PFUTS 0089s, PFUTS 0102s and PFUTS 0097s (multi- or three-seal protocol). See Garrison 2008, App. 2 for the distribution of seals.

scrolls. The latter option is not very likely, though, since the shape of the uninscribed tablets and the way the string ends protrude from the tablet seem ill-suited for closing parchments scrolls (cf. Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2004: 47-8).

A second important clue comes from the cross-over seals found on the uninscribed tablets. More specifically, the seals applied on the left edge of a tablet in the counter-sealing protocol are relevant here. Such seals are usually supplier seals, whereas the second seal (on the reverse or any other surface) is that of the recipient or the *šaramanna* official (cf. §2.4.2.1 above).

There are three seals that appear both on the Elamite and the uninscribed tablets, that are always impressed on the left edge, and that are used in the counter-sealing protocol. These seals are PFS 0024, PFS 0048, and PFS 0625s.<sup>346</sup> They were used by supply officials whose names – and this is the crucial point – also appear on *unsealed* tablets with Elamite memorandum-type texts. Katukka, for example, occurs in nine Elamite texts sealed with PFS 0048 as a grain supplier issuing barley and flour to travellers on the road to Susa (e.g., PF 1360, PF 1362, NN 0385). But he also appears in 29 unsealed texts (27 of which deal with travel rations), again as a grain supplier of a way-station (e.g., PF 1345, PF 1355, NN 0382). The information on suppliers using cross-over seals, like Katukka, may be summarised as follows:

<i>supplier</i>	<i>seal used</i>	<i>occurrences with seal</i>	<i>occurrences without seal</i>
Mirayauda <sup>347</sup>	PFS 0024	28 (travel: 16)	5 (travel: 3)
Bakumira	PFS 0048	9 (travel: 1)	7 (travel: 7)
Katukka	PFS 0048	9 (travel: 9)	29 (travel: 27)
Mauzišša	PFS 0625s	2 (travel: 1)	5 (travel: 5)

table 2.4: suppliers using cross-over seals in sealed and unsealed Elamite texts

It appears that unsealed Elamite texts appear regularly in association with suppliers holding cross-over seals: against 48 sealed texts, there are 46 unsealed ones in table 2.4 above. Also noticeable is the high number of texts relating to travel, especially among the unsealed texts: 42 out of 46 (91%). Among all Elamite memoranda in

<sup>346</sup> On PFS 0024 and PFS 0048 (first used by Bakumira, then by Katukka) see also App.7.5-6 below (with references). Note that PFS 0048 occurs on the Aramaic Fortification tablets as well (Dusinberre 2008 §4). The case of PFS 0095 (also attested on Aramaic tablets) is atypical. The seal appears on the left edge of PFUT 0855-104, in the counter-sealing protocol. Among the Elamite tablets, PFS 0095 mostly occurs as a left-edge seal as well, but once it is impressed on the upper edge (PF 1029). It occurs with a variety of different suppliers of fruit, grain and flour. See also Garrison & Root 2001: 97-8.

<sup>347</sup> I have no photograph of Fort. 1631 (Mirayauda, flour to travellers); the text is not included here.

the available sample, there are about 500 unsealed tablets,<sup>348</sup> *ca.* 160 of which pertain to travellers and travelling animals (Hallock's categories Q and S3). Put differently, of *ca.* 160 unsealed memoranda relating to travel, 42 (26%) mention a supplier whose seal occurs among the uninscribed tablets. This observation is in itself already remarkable, but it gains more weight in view of the circumstance that the analysed sample of 110 uninscribed tablets represents only 2-3% of the total of this corpus.

There is an additional circumstance that may be of relevance here: stamp seals are relatively numerous among the uninscribed tablets: about 29% of the analysed seals, against only 15% among the Elamite tablets. However, as Garrison observes (2008 §8), stamp seals are more numerous among the Elamite travel texts. In fact, almost half the stamp seals found on Elamite tablets seem to belong to recipients of travel rations. That being so, one is tempted, with Garrison (*ibid.*), to explain the high number stamp seals on the uninscribed tablets as another indication of a connection with the royal road system.

Taken together, the above clues lead me to believe that the uninscribed tablets are dependent documents that were probably used to add information to textual documents and records. The hypothesis on the use of strings for connecting Elamite and uninscribed documents may be too unspecific and too general to be of practical use. I remain convinced of its relevance, however, in the particular case of counter sealing. Where this pattern is found in the uninscribed tablets, the left-edge (cross-over) seal belongs to a supplier who, in the Elamite tablets, regularly occurs on unsealed tablets. These tablets are of a distinct shape, mostly conical. In contrast to the tongue-shaped tablets (with two string holes on either side of the left edge), the conical tables have one string hole in the right tip. Based on the available evidence, I would suggest that such unsealed memoranda were bound to an uninscribed tablet, thus forming a unit with the same document status as the tongue-shaped, sealed Elamite and Aramaic tablets: an authorised, administrative record.<sup>349</sup> In such a unit, the text may be described as an unauthorised testimony that gains legal status by means of a probative attachment, *viz* the uninscribed tablet.

I repeat that not all uninscribed tablets would necessarily have been used in such a practice, but it would certainly seem worthwhile to investigate other groups of unsealed Elamite tablets, the officials mentioned in these texts and the seals elsewhere connected to those officials in order to see whether there are similar

<sup>348</sup> This number excludes unsealed journals and accounts, which presumably have a different background than the unsealed memorandum-type documents. Note that journals and accounts do not have string holes.

<sup>349</sup> The tongue or pyramidal shape of the uninscribed tablets may be of importance here (cf. §2.2.5 fn. 229 above).



connections to the uninscribed corpus.<sup>350</sup> Those Aramaic tablets that do not qualify as independent documents (cf. §2.2.2 above) should also be drawn into the equation.<sup>351</sup>

If anything, the above discussion may have shown the importance of the strings included in the inscribed and uninscribed tablets. Though it will take much more research to reach firmer ground, I think that at least the *possibility* that tablets were, in certain cases, bound together by means of the strings is hard to deny. Thus, for the moment, I am inclined to see the standard inclusion of strings in Elamite, Aramaic and uninscribed tongue-shaped or pyramidal tablets as a means to enhance the functionality of the clay tablet. If necessary, but not always, additional information would be added and could be changed at any moment. In other words, the string gave clay tablets the same advantage of rewritability that Aramaic

<sup>350</sup> A few additional cases may be briefly mentioned here. Seal PFS 0142 (on which see Root 1991: 20-1, 26) occurs once as a left edge counter-sealing seal on PFUT 0687-104. Among the Elamite tablets, it recurs in the counter-sealing protocol, but it also appears with two other seals and is sometimes impressed on the reverse of the tablet (see Garrison 2008 §6.2). PFS 0142 appears with flour and grain, but also with *nukdu* (PF 1147) and with wine (NN 2014). Given this complex usage, it is hard to assign the seal to a particular individual or office. It is conspicuous, however, that two of the suppliers collocated (and, probably, directly associated) with PFS 0142, Mindukka and Pirratamka, are officials that also occur as suppliers in memorandum-type texts on unsealed tablets. Minduka appears in two such texts (both on travel rations), and Pirratamka, our dear “sigillophobe,” whom we encountered before (§2.2.5), appears in no less than 47 unsealed texts (all relating to travel). PFS 0142 also occurs on the Aramaic tablets (Dusinberre 2008 §4). Another case is that of PFS 0520, which occurs in the counter-sealing protocol on PFUT 0855-104 and PF 0246, in the last case collocated with grain supplier Turpiš, who also appears in three unsealed texts, including a deposit of *tarmu* (PF 0642). Finally, PFS 0078 appears on the obverse and reverse of PFUT 0696-101 in the counter-sealing protocol (the left edge is sealed with PFUTS 0132s). By contrast, the seal is always used in the single-seal protocol on the Elamite tablets; it seems to belong to the *šaramanna* official Karkiš (PF 1042, PF 1043) and is frequently, if not always, associated with wine rations for small groups of workers of the royal woman Irdabama (on the seal see Brosius 1996: 139-41 and Henkelman [forthc. 1] §3). Karkiš, again as *šaramanna* official, also occurs in six unsealed texts on wine rations for larger groups of *kurtaš*. PFS 0078 also occurs on the Aramaic tablets, once in the single-seal protocol (on the obverse, reverse, and left/flat edge), twice in the counter-sealing protocol (on the obverse and reverse); see Dusinberre 2008 §4.

<sup>351</sup> A possibly relevant case is that of PFS 0070s, a cross-over seal that also occurs on the Aramaic tablet PFAT 188 (Dusinberre 2008 §4 and pers.comm 30/04/2008). It was used by a grain supplier called Dakka. This same Dakka appears in three unsealed Elamite texts (PF 0454, PF 0681, NN 0952).

parchment scrolls had. One may also compare the tradition of inscribed clay envelopes encasing clay tablets; such envelopes could be broken and replaced by new ones with new, supplementary information.

That the binding of documents was indeed practised within the administration appears from four documents that use inflected forms of the verb *rabbā-*, “to bind,” the object being a clay tablet (*haltap*) or a sealed document (*halmi*). Unfortunately, however, the contexts are too unclear to be of much help here.<sup>352</sup>

2.5.5.3. *Scrolls?* – More enigmas are easily found when it comes to the functioning of the archive. What to do, for example, with PF 0323, which documents the receipt of flour and then continues with <sup>AS</sup>KUŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup> *sika*, “it was recorded<sup>?</sup> on leather”? Why was the transaction recorded on parchment, when did this happen, and how unique was this procedure?<sup>353</sup> The main problem behind cases like this is that we can still not really fathom the full extent of the use of Aramaic in the archive.<sup>354</sup> It is reasonably certain the director’s and deputy director’s archives were in Aramaic, as were many of the *viatica* of the travellers. But why are there also Aramaic documents, the Aramaic tablets and dockets, *within* the Fortification archive in the strict sense? And were there other such ‘internal’ Aramaic documents, but written on parchment, like, perhaps, the one referred to in PF 0323?<sup>355</sup> Apparently there

<sup>352</sup> PF 1954 states that *halmi inni rabbaka*, “a sealed document was not tied (to x),” but the context is hard to understand. The same holds true for the context of *halmi* [... ..] *rabbaka* in NN 1059:52-3. Two other texts, PF 0231 and NN 1871, have *haltap hi battiziknuše rabbaka ŠA-mi dak*, “this tablet was tied to its copy and deposited together (with it)” (see also EW s.v. *h.hal-tap*). *battizinuš* (OPers. *\*paticagniš*, “copy” [Gershevitch *apud* Hallock 1969: 677; Hinz 1975a: 186]) and its Elamite equivalent *sapsap* occur irregularly in the Fortification texts; none of the contexts necessarily suggest that the copy (or the original) was in Aramaic rather than Elamite. The evidence does not imply that making and/or handing out copies of documents was a general practice. Rather, there were apparently certain special circumstances that demanded that an official kept the original for further use within the administrative chain.

<sup>353</sup> Brosius 2003: 280 suggests, on the basis of this text, that two copies of each memorandum were made at the storehouses and that one of these might be in Aramaic, depending on the locally used convention. The text is quite exceptional, however, not only for mentioning a parchment document, but also for naming two different suppliers. I would therefore hesitate to read general practices from it.

<sup>354</sup> Similarly Hallock 1969: 4, defining the question as “essentially unanswerable.”

<sup>355</sup> The only two other cases that I could find are PF 1986:31-2 and PFa 27, in both of which the relation between Aramaic and Elamite document is not entirely clear to me. PFa 27 is a letter from Irdabama to the accountants in Šullaggi. The text reads as follows: <sup>obv. 1</sup>

<sup>DIŠ</sup> *mu-iš-ši-<sup>r</sup>in<sup>1</sup> zik<sup>0</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>ip<sup>AS</sup> šu-ul-lak<sup>1</sup>-gi-<sup>3</sup> na ap tu<sup>4</sup>-ru-iš<sup>4</sup> <sup>rSAL</sup>ir-da-ba-ma na-an*

was a certain cross-over between Elamite and Aramaic. Direct and indirect references to it are incidental, however, and do seem to pertain to special rather than regular circumstances. A systematic inventory of all Elamite colophons and references to the bureaucratic process in combination with a study of the Aramaic dockets and tablets will undoubtedly shed more light on this matter. Meanwhile, however, there is every reason to defend the position that the Persepolis administration circulated Elamite tablets for the vast majority of its operations relating to the handling and distribution of food commodities and that the Fortification archive is the direct result of this, not a quite unlikely collection of copies from copies.

## 2.6. *Were the Fortification tablets discarded?*

2.6.1. *Archive or dump?* – Ever since the discovery of the Fortification tablets, there have been doubts as to the nature of the find as a real archive. The excavator, Herzfeld, assumed that the documents were “no longer used” and therefore “walled up in a small room” in the Fortification area (1941: 226), but did not consider them to be dump or construction fill. His deputy, Krefter, recalls with more precision that the tablets had been deposited in a hidden space near the staircase in a tower in the Fortification wall (1979: 23). Less clear is Herzfeld’s successor, Erich Schmidt, who thought that the tablets had been removed from the Treasury building sometime after 494/93 BC (the date of the latest PF texts) “to be stored (or discarded) in rooms of the fortification” (Schmidt 1953: 41). It may have been his suppositions that inspired Hallock when he wrote the following (1973b: 320):

The Persepolis fortification tablets were not found in their original place of deposit, but in the fortification wall, where they had been used as fill. There is therefore a theoretical possibility that they do not include all the types of text present in the original archive, or that they misrepresent the proportional quantities of the various types of text.

KI+MIN<sup>5</sup> r<sup>SAL</sup> <sup>1</sup>ú še-ra<sup>HAL</sup> pír-ma-<sup>6</sup> r<sup>ak</sup> <sup>7</sup>šá mar-šá-bar-ra-na<sup>7</sup> r<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>ME 50<sup>GIŠ</sup> kur-ri-ma<sup>8</sup> ŠE.BAR<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AS</sup>ul-hi<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>9</sup>ú-ni-na-ma-mar<sup>10</sup> ku-ut-te<sup>AS</sup> <sup>11</sup>tup-pi<sup>11</sup> KUŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>12</sup>ra-<sup>12</sup> r<sup>ku</sup> <sup>13</sup>x tu-ba<sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>ka<sup>4</sup> bat-ti-ka<sup>4</sup>-maš hu-<sup>14</sup> ud-da-man-ra<sup>HAL</sup> <sup>15</sup>nu-mi<sup>15</sup> <sup>AS</sup>hal-mi zí-ia-iš-šá mu-<sup>16</sup> iš-ši-um-me hu-ut-taš. I understand this to mean: “Speak to the accountants of Šullaggi, the woman Irdabama speaks as follows: “I ordered, for Pirmakša the quartermaster, 1,500 qts. of barley from my House. He (P.?) will be making a parchment document concerning Raku[...] (as) instruction. You (pl.), inspect the sealed document(s) and make its account!” (on the text see also Henkelman [forthc. 1], §3). On PF 1986 see Hallock 1973b: 322 with fn. 14.

Hallock's main interest in his 1973 paper was the mapping of the Fortification tablets in terms of over- and under-represented text categories and clues for the existence of other archives at Persepolis.<sup>356</sup> His remarks on the use of the tablets as construction fill are probably to be seen as an attempt to explain the apparent selectiveness of the find, or from a misunderstanding of Herzfeld's report ("walled up"). As Root argues, Hallock's claims do not reflect an independent archaeological observation and seem to misinterpret the architectural layout of the Fortification system (1996: 7). In fact, there are several important clues that the tablets were stored in spaces reserved for this purpose and that they form an administrative unity that was not discarded but intentionally preserved. Most of the arguments have already been treated by Jones (1990), Root (1996: 6-9) and Garrison & Root (2001: 26-9); they will briefly be reviewed below (§2.6.3), alongside a few additional arguments (§2.6.2, §2.6.3 E, H, J).

2.6.2. *Box numbers* – After their discovery in Persepolis, the Persepolis tablets were stored in 2,353 boxes and transported to Chicago (cf. §§2.1.1-2 above).<sup>357</sup> Arno Poebel relates the following on this (1938: 133-4 fn. 132):

The Persepolis tablets arrived at the Oriental Institute packed in consecutively numbered boxes, each containing from one to more than twenty tablets. On approximately the first 2,200 boxes had been placed, in addition to the box number, also a number, or group of numbers, to be assigned to the tablets contained in each box. The tablets were not, however, individually numbered. Thus, e.g., the twenty-four tablets contained in Box 631 were designated merely as 3157-3180. In the Institute individual numbers within such groups have up to the present been assigned only to those tablets which have been taken out for the purpose of study.

Apart from box numbers and tablet numbers the labels on the original boxes also give a brief description of the tablet shapes present in each box along with a series of symbols representing tongue-shaped tablets, uninscribed tablets, etc.<sup>358</sup>

<sup>356</sup> PF 0335 was identified by Hallock as a list of tools (1973b: 321, 323). Though I doubt whether this is correct (it would seem to be a list of gifts), it is true that the (unsealed) document seems out of place among the Fortification texts. On the text see now Basello [forthc. 3].

<sup>357</sup> The original boxes have by now been replaced by plastic containers. Each of these contains the contents of one original box; the tablet descriptions, curiously written in French, on the original boxes have been copied on new labels. The descriptions are also registered in a hand-written catalogue.

As the tablets were stored in the boxes at Persepolis, it seems unlikely that they had been sorted prior to their shipment. Elspeth Dusinger has recently pointed out that Herzfeld had a keen interest in the archive, already identified various seals and tablet shapes, and isolated Aramaic tablets and the single Phrygian text (2005: 150-61). Almost certainly, however, he did not read the texts and organise them on the basis of their content.<sup>359</sup> It may be remembered that the tablets were still uncleaned when Hallock started working on them (cf. §2.1.2 above). Even if, however, attempts at reading the material had already been undertaken at Persepolis, the available time would have been much too short for identifying thematic groups (cf. §2.1.1 above). As appears from the diary of Krefter, tablets were still being excavated in July 1933, whereas packing already started in early August. In other words, the way the texts are distributed over the consecutively numbered boxes may well reflect the order in which they were discovered. This agrees with the observation that fragments resulting from old breaks and belonging to the same tablet are regularly stored in the same or consecutively-numbered boxes.<sup>360</sup> It also agrees with the responsibility felt by Herzfeld for the preservation and publication of the archive as a unity (Dusinger *o.c.* 157-8).

In theory, the box numbers could provide essential information on the filing system of the Fortification archive. In reality, it is not easy to discern patterns in the distribution of tablets in the 2,353 boxes. This is probably the reason why Hallock considered the box numbers “arbitrary” (1969: 2) and why he did not print these numbers in his publication of the Fortification tablets.<sup>361</sup>

Yet, though the image is indeed diffuse, there are some residual patterns in the box numbers. An example is box 377, which contains, among others, PFa 22

<sup>358</sup> Some, but not all boxes also have numbers (written in blue) on the back end. These numbers do not seem to correspond to the box numbers in any obvious way, and may not, unlike the box numbers, reflect the find circumstances.

<sup>359</sup> As C.E. Jones informs me, Hallock privately told him that to the best of his knowledge the tablets had not been organised into series before or after they were put in boxes.

<sup>360</sup> Hallock was aware of this; he observes, for example, that a possible non-joining fragment of NN 0760, a broken account text in box 627, was found in box 628. Boxes with multiple fragments, often of the same text, are legion but Hallock normally did not comment on those because he selected better-preserved tablets for edition. Other cases noted by Hallock include NN 1936 in box 1117 with a fragment in box 1118; NN 2040 in box 1196 with a fragment in box 1189; NN 1132 in box 830 with a fragment “from lower right edge still tightly stuck to another tablet in box 830.”

<sup>361</sup> Hallock did keep a list of the box numbers of all published tablets, however. Moreover, he increasingly became aware of the significance of the box numbers as certain notes in the manuscript with his unpublished transliterations suggest. Thus, he remarks on Hitikka in NN 1214 that the name also occurs in NN 1217, from the “same box.”

and PFa 23. Both texts deal with the same group of *šikak kutip*, “lance bearers” (cf. Henkelman 2002: 16-7) and record an equal amount of wine. The designation *šikak kutip* is thus far attested in sixteen texts in the edited sample. There are probably more such lance bearers to be discovered in the unedited texts, but it seems likely that the total number of attestations will never be very high. With a total number of some 12,000 Elamite texts in 2,353 boxes it can hardly be a coincidence that two closely related texts on *šikak kutip* are stored in the same box. Along the same lines it seems very significant that among 63 letter orders from Parnakka 13 couples (i.e. 26 texts) are stored in the same box or (nearly) consecutively-numbered boxes:

<i>box(es)</i>	<i>letter orders with Parnakka as addressor</i>		
319	PF 1793 (to Harrena)	+	NN 0037 (to Bakadada)
385, 386	NN 0425 (to Uštana)	+	NN 0426 (to Uštana)
539	NN 0644 (to Harrena)	+	Fort. 2512 (to Harrena)
722	PF 1795 (to Yamakšedda, wine carrier)	+	NN 0974 (to Maraza, <i>idem</i> )
821	NN 1100 (to Uštana)	+	NN 1101 (to Harrena)
899, 901	PF 1807 (to Maraza)	+	NN 1352 (to Šuddayauda)
916	PF 1788 (to Datapparna)	+	PF 1803 (to Marriyaka)
964, 965	NN 1509 (to Yan[...] & [...]rakka)	+	NN 1511 (to Maraza)
1008, 1010	PF 1802 (to Irištīmanka)	+	PF 1799 (to Iršena)
1031, 1033	PF 1791 (to Harrena)	+	NN 1665 (to Harrena)
1050	PF 1809 (to Miduš)	+	NN 1752 (to Maraza)
1062, 1063	NN 1775 (to Irtuppiya)	+	Fort. 6764 (to Harrena)
1169	PF 1808 (to Maraza)	+	NN 0061 (to Maraza)

table 2.5: letter orders by Parnakka in the same or consecutively-numbered boxes

Though letter orders are slightly larger than memoranda (cf. §2.2.5), they look very much the same. It is therefore not likely that the excavator sorted Parnakka’s letter orders by their shape. Rather, the frequent find of such documents in the same or consecutively-numbered boxes reveals that they were stored together in the original archive, perhaps in the same container. More examples are given in table 2.6. below; the selection is by no means exhaustive.

Finally, there is a remarkable concentration of journal and account texts in certain groups of boxes. Very noticeable is the concentration of 129 journals and accounts (more than a third of the total) in boxes 1445-1492.<sup>362</sup>

<sup>362</sup> There may be more journals and accounts in these boxes: the figures given are only those of the edited tablets. A complete cataloguing of all the remaining tablets and fragments will undoubtedly correct the numbers of accounts and journals for each box, but that there is a marked concentration in certain groups of boxes is undeniable.

<i>box(es)</i>	<i>texts</i>	<i>common elements</i>
2	PF 0171, NN 0089	deposits of <i>tarmu</i> (emmer), PFS 0008
46, 47, 48	PF 1643, PF 1730, PF 1739, PF 1740, PF 1742, NN 0097, NN 0099, NN 0100	allocations of barley by Manukka for birds and horses
46, 47	PF 0801, PF 0802, PF 0800	allocation of barley by Bakadada, PFS 0077*, received by Manukka
269	PF 1754, NN 0335, NN 0337	allocation of grain by Bakadada for birds
376	NN 0401, NN 0402	wine allocated for personnel of the <i>abbamuš</i>
394, 395	NN 0440, NN 0442	barley at the storehouse of Tušin, PFS 0794
500	NN 0563, NN 0564, NN 0565	barley allocated by Hašina, seal N 0025
534, 535	PF 0551, NN 0623	allocation of barley by Ammamarda at Hišema
537	NN 0638, NN 0640	wine allocated for personnel of the <i>abbamuš</i>
549	NN 0664, NN 0666	flour allocated by Katukka, PFS 0048, both texts use <i>daduya</i> (* <i>daθv(i)ya-</i> , “one tenth”), elsewhere only in PF 1696
555	NN 0681, NN 0684	flour for travellers, <i>halmi</i> from Bakabana
675, 676	NN 0802, NN 0803	flour for travellers, <i>halmi</i> from Bakabaduš, PFS 1047
690	PF 0950, PF 0953	allocation of barley by Bakatanduš for workers at Uranduš
704	PfA 19, NN 0900, NN 0904	receipt of flour and wine by various lance bearers
824	NN 1108, NN 1110	allocation of flour by Pirratamka to Basaka, seal N 0061
832	PF 0760, NN 1138, NN 1140, NN 1141	allocation of wine to Yašda for <i>lan</i>
838	PF 1301, PF 1305	allocation of flour by Barušiyatiš for travellers
888	PF 1369, NN 2322	allocation of flour by Miduš to travellers, PFS 1047
895	NN 1331, NN 1333	allocation of barley by Ansaš for livestock, PFS 1533
898	PF 0984, PF 1734	allocation of grain by Bakabada, PFS 0032*, PFS 0042
927	PF 1116, PF 1118	allocation of wine by Bakauš to Manyakka
941	NN 1460, NN 1463	allocation of wine by Zakamukka to Ziššawiš
995	PF 0656, NN 1569	allocation of livestock by Harbezza to Parnakka
1032	NN 1659, NN 1661	allocation of beer by Anzaduš
1052, 1053	NN 1712, PF 1224	allocation of barley by Ašbašuptiš to Šedda
1067	NN 1792, NN 1793, NN 1794, NN 1795	“let Mazamanna deliver this barley”
1067	Fort. 6830, Fort. 6833	allocations of flour to travellers
1067	NN 1796, NN 1799, Fort. 6832	allocations of barley and flour by Bakadada
1174	NN 2131, NN 2135, NN 2136	allocations of wine by Parnizza
1182, 1183, 1187	NN 1990, NN 1995, NN 2008	allocations of grain by Bakabada at Tamukkan
1189	PF 1121, PF 1122	allocation of wine by Kuduka to Maukka
1507	NN 2421, NN 2423	royal fruit at Rappittanna
2113, 2115	PF 0263, PF 0729	allocations of wine by Ašbaštiya
2128	PF 0461, PF 0636	allocations of <i>tarmu</i> and barley by Hatarbanuš at Hakartiš

table 2.6: related texts in the same or consecutively-numbered boxes

One may suspect that the excavator picked out journals and accounts because of their distinct shape. But why would he have done so? The boxes with such texts are not different in size, they just contain fewer tablets. Given the above observations and the evidence presented in tables 2.5-6, I would be inclined to view the concentration of journals and accounts again as a remnant of the original organisational and filing system. At this point it may be remembered that Krefter noted in his diary that the “beste Tabletten” were found “oben auf der Treppe” (cf. §2.1.1 above), possibly referring to the larger and more attractive journals and accounts. If his remark means that such tablets were found more or less separately, it would explain their concentration in certain boxes.

We may conclude that the order by which the tablets were stored in boxes by Herzfeld’s team reflects, in a crude and diffuse way, patterns of organisation and filing. The number of thematically related documents in the same or consecutively-numbered boxes is just too high to be explicable from mere coincidence. I am inclined to see the evidence from the box numbers as argument supporting the assumption that the Fortification tablets were not dumped but carefully stored in the location where they were found. That the distributional patterns are not clearer must be the result of the collapse of the shelves on which the tablets were stored, if not the collapse of a second storey (assumed by Herzfeld 1941: 226). It cannot be excluded on the basis of *this* evidence that baskets or cases of no longer relevant, thematically interrelated texts were brought from elsewhere to the Fortification wall to be dumped there. This second theory might also account for the residual patterns described above. As we shall see, however, additional arguments favour the former rather than the latter possibility (cf. §2.6.3 below).

At any rate, the residual patterns in the distribution of thematically related tablets in the boxes are conspicuous, but also too irregular to be a reliable primary argument for identifying groups of texts. At best, identical or consecutive box numbers can be an additional, circumstantial argument in such identifications. On the positive side, it is possible, if not likely, that with an increased number of edited texts the distributional patterns will eventually become clearer.

**2.6.3. Tablet rooms in the Fortification system** – In addition to the evidence from the box numbers, various arguments can be invoked to show that the Fortification tablets, as they were found, were not randomly discarded materials used as fill, but a stored archive:

- A As Margaret Root (1996: 7; cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 27) remarks, the term ‘Fortification’ is often misunderstood. That tablets were found in structures that were part of the defence system does not necessarily imply that their function was that of construction fill. The Persepolis Fortification is in fact a double wall with an elaborate casemate system. As Herzfeld’s sketch of the tablet’s find spot



(see Garrison & Root 2001: 25) clearly indicates, the tablets were found in constructed spaces within that system, not in the wall itself. Dumping discarded tablets in spaces that were built with a specific goal (administrative or otherwise) does not seem to make sense.<sup>363</sup>

- B Herzfeld reported that the tablets had been “walled up in a small room” (cf. §2.1.1 above), which may indicate that they were not only stored, but purposely sealed. Krefter’s description of the find spot as “in einer verborgenen Nische” (*ibid.*) may equally refer to the circumstance that the tablet space was secured. Razmjou, quoting oral reports on the Fortification find, recently confirmed that the tablet space(s) were “bricked up in antiquity” (2008 §1).
- C Although the Fortification find includes tens of thousands of objects, the total volume in clay is quite modest since most of the tablets are very small. The whole collection probably amounts to no more than a few cubic meters.<sup>364</sup> Gathering redundant tablets and transporting them to the Fortification wall to be used as fill would hardly be worth the effort given the vastness of the defence system. Re-using the clay for making new tablets would probably have been a more economic solution.<sup>365</sup>
- D Iranian excavations in the northeastern sector of the Persepolis terrace (1952/53), revealed “two courtyards and several rooms reserved for accountants” (Sami 1954: 78-9). These rooms were interpreted as especially designed for accounting practises, on the basis of small openings in the walls separating the rooms that may have been used for passing on documents for further processing by the

<sup>363</sup> A very similar case is that of the Hittite tablets from ‘Gebäude E’ in Hattusa (Boğazköy). Here, too, theories that the tablets were used as fill in the defence system are untenable and, as a consequence, the distribution of the tablets as they were found in various rooms may well reflect their original archival order, as Alaura (1988) has shown (I owe the reference to Theo van den Hout). Root (1996: 7) compares the Fortification find to archival sealings found in chambers in the fortification system of Parthian Artaxata.

<sup>364</sup> I owe this observation to Charles Jones (pers.comm.).

<sup>365</sup> On the appreciation of refined clay and the recycling of clay tablets see Faivre 1995. Faivre (*ibid.* 62-3) identifies only two circumstances in which tablets may be used as construction fill: when an archive has become a dead archive or when the administrative process is abruptly discontinued (as in the case of a hostile invasion). It is questionable whether the Fortification texts constitute a dead archive (see esp. §2.7 below); usage as construction fill after a hostile attack may be excluded in the case of Persepolis.

accountants or scribes in the next room.<sup>366</sup> The excavator, Ali Sami, confidently spoke of a “record office” (1954: 78). Though Razmjou (2008 §1) has cast doubt on the assumption that Sami was speaking about the same location as that where the tablets were found, the relevance of the find as indication of administrative activities in the north-eastern sector of the terrace remains.

- E The Fortification find includes ten cylindrical clay objects, that have no text or seal impressions.<sup>367</sup> They seem to have been formed by cutting a long clay roll into equal pieces. Such cylindrical pieces of clay could be flattened and formed into regular tongue-shaped tablets. As such they may suggest that the archive as we have it is not a selection of discarded tablets, but an archival unity including blank documents. The same is true for the empty tablets without seals or text recently identified by Garrison (2008 §6.5).
  
- F There was at least one service entrance in the northern Fortification wall. It has been repeatedly suggested that an access existed in the northeastern corner of the Fortification wall, directly adjacent to the rooms where the tablets were found.<sup>368</sup> The existence of a northeastern gate has, however, been forcefully denied by Krefter (1971: 88), who was personally involved in the excavations at this part of the terrace. At any rate, there certainly was an access in the *northwestern* section of the wall, described in detail by Kleiss.<sup>369</sup> From this entrance one could easily reach the system of rooms and corridors in and adjacent to the northern

<sup>366</sup> In Ali Sami’s words (1954: 79): “In between each pair of rooms, openings 10 centimetres wide were constructed to enable two accountants or two secretaries in adjoining rooms to consult one another. These openings resemble such small hatchways between rooms as are customary to-day in government offices and banks, so that officials can communicate with one another.” On Sami’s testimony see also Garrison & Root 1991: 27-8. Note that the openings of 10 centimetres are big enough to allow passage of virtually all PF texts.

<sup>367</sup> The objects are stored in box 1444. The original description of the box’s contents is: “1 tablette et 10 pièces de terre crue (peut-être de tablettes inachevées et non écrites).”

<sup>368</sup> Jones 1990, “A combination of oblique references in this correspondence [between Herzfeld and James Henry Breasted; WH], combined with some other circumstantial evidence and a liberal dose of common sense indicates to me, at least, that the find spot of the Archive, at the point where the platform abuts the mountain, was adjacent to a service entrance onto the terrace, and that the Fortification Archive is associated with this entrance.” Cf. Mousavi 1992: 209, “Also at the northeastern corner, where the platform joins the mountain, carved sections of the mountain beyond the platform indicate the existence of facilities there.” See also Root 1996: 7, Garrison & Root 2001: 28 and Schmidt 1953: 64 (sceptical).

<sup>369</sup> Kleiss 1992: 157-8; cf. Krefter 1971: 88; Tilia 1978: 18, fig. 4; Mousavi 1992: 208.

Fortification wall, as well as the rooms east of the terrace, without entering the ceremonial part of the residence.<sup>370</sup> As Root (1996: 7; cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 28) observes, there is good precedent for the location of archives dealing with the movement of commodities within direct vicinity of access routes or gates (cf. Veenhof 1986: 8; Pedersén 1998: 242).

- G Based on the scanty photographic evidence from the excavation, Charles Jones inferred that the tablets were horizontally layered and grouped by size when they were found in 1933. He also refers to evidence of burning between layers of tablets (mentioned in a letter by Herzfeld), perhaps pointing to a storage system with shelves or baskets.<sup>371</sup> An entry in the diary of Krefter seems to confirm that the “beste Tabletten” were found separately (see §2.1.1 above).
  
- H In agreement with Jones’ and Root’s inference that the tablets may have been stored in some kind of containers is Razmjou’s report (2004b: 9; cf. *idem.* 2008 §1) of pottery fragments found among the Fortification fragments in Tehrān. Some of these pottery fragments were still attached to tablet fragments. A correlation between tablets and ceramic fragments seems logical: groups of smaller tablets may have been stored in jars.<sup>372</sup> Alternatively, tablets may have been stored in the same room with containers holding some commodity handled by the administration, but this seems less likely in the light of the long tradition of separate rooms for storing tablets and especially the lack of space in the two rooms in the Fortification wall.
  
- I Also in line with Jones’ suggestion is that the only two other soundings in the Fortification system at Persepolis have both yielded administrative artefacts. Schmidt excavated “a number of uninscribed clay tablets, moulded in the same shape as the Treasury tablets with Elamite inscriptions” in the Fortification complex on the east side of the terrace (1953: 209, figs. 82, 86e; cf. 1957: 4-5). Tadjvidi found 52 small circular clay bullae or tags, each with a single seal-impression, in one of the towers of the northeastern Fortification wall on the Kūh-e Rahmat. Nearby, “the broken remains of a pottery vase, which must originally have contained the fifty-two seal impressions” were found. Some of

<sup>370</sup> The existence of a postulated entrance in the southeastern corner of the terrace (Schmidt 1953: 64; Krefter 1971: 88), from which the rooms in the northern Fortification could also have been reached, is denied by Tilia 1978: 17.

<sup>371</sup> Jones 1990; see also Garrison 1988: 161; Root 1996: 8; Garrison & Root: 28.

<sup>372</sup> Storage of tablets in jars is a well-attested phenomenon. See Veenhof 1986: 13; Root 1996: 8 with references.

the tags are impressed with a seal that also occurs on some of the Treasury tablets (PTS 28).<sup>373</sup>

- J The argument, used by Hallock, that the tablets were used as fill and that the available sample may therefore not include all the types of documents present in the original archive (see §2.6.1 above) can easily be reversed. Precisely the fact that the contents of the Fortification texts are very coherent and focussed in subject matter and that intrusions from other archival branches (such as PF 0335, on which §2.6.1 fn. 356 above) are very rare, supports the case of storage as archive, for one of the prime characteristics of a real archive (in contrast to a depot) is its *organic* unity.<sup>374</sup> Had the texts been discarded as dump or used as construction fill, a more mixed corpus would have been logical, for there would be no reason to dump the documents of a particular branch of the administration separately.

None of the above arguments is in itself enough to refute the thesis of a discarded archive. Their cumulative value is undeniable, however, while on the other hand there are no good arguments in support of the idea that the tables were thrown away and/or used as construction fill. Complete certainty on the matter is beyond our reach in the absence of precise excavation records, but it is preferable to work with the assumption that the Fortification tablets were stored, not discarded, and that what Herzfeld found was an archive, not a dump of redundant documents. Moreover, it seems likely enough that the northeastern Fortification, as well as the structures east of the Persepolis terrace were used for administrative activities and therefore had an independent access *via* the opening in the northwestern Fortification. The two sealed tablet spaces are probably to be considered as parts of this larger administrative complex.

<sup>373</sup> Tadjvidi 1970: 187; *idem* 1976: 196-7, n° 140-48. See also Garrison & Root 2001: 34; Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2004: 41-2.

<sup>374</sup> Cf. Muller, Feith & Fruin 1920: 5-6, “an archive is an organic whole, a living organism, which grows, forms and deforms itself according to fixed principles.”

### 2.7. *The Fortification texts as an ancient archive*

2.7.1. *Dead or alive* – The assumption that the Fortification tablets were stored, not discarded, and therefore constitute a real archive, leaves one important question unanswered. If we say that the tablets are an administrative unity and were intentionally stored, it means that they answer to the definition of an archive as “the whole of the written documents, (...) officially received or produced by an administrative body or one of its officials, in so far as these documents were intended to remain in the custody of that body or that official.”<sup>375</sup> Yet, the observation that we are dealing with an archive does not, in itself, say anything about its purpose at the time it was stored. Modern archival science distinguishes two basic categories: ‘living’ or ‘working’ and ‘historical’ or ‘dead’ archives.<sup>376</sup> The difference between these categories may be defined as follows (Van den Hout 2005: 281):

A living archive is what any administration of current affairs builds up and needs in order to fulfil its administrative functions. After documents have lost their immediate relevance for the present administration and have become inactive, they will either be discarded or moved elsewhere from the ‘living’ to the ‘historical’ archive.

Now, at first sight, it may seem as if the Fortification archive represents a ‘working’ archive frozen at a particular moment of its living existence. We have

<sup>375</sup> Definition by Muller, Feith & Fruin 1920: 1, quoted from the English translation in a study by Van den Hout (2005: 280) on the nature of the Hattusa tablet collections. Note that the fact that a collection of documents is incomplete does not alter its characterisation as an archive. Muller, Feith & Fruin (*ibid.*) emphatically state that even a small number of documents remaining from a originally larger body still constitute an archive (the term ‘section’ is only used if other parts of the archive are extant and known). See also Jursa 2005: 57-9 (with references).

<sup>376</sup> As Van den Hout 2005: 282 fn. 23 notes, the term ‘historical archive’ is problematical in case of ancient bodies of documentation as it suggests storage for historical or historiographic reasons. ‘Dead archive’ seems more neutral, as it leaves open the possibility of mere indifference as to the reason for preservation. This is, of course, especially relevant for mundane economic corpora like the Fortification tablets (though, I do not believe that this archive was really ‘dead’). On the other hand, ancient economic archives may contain truly historical elements: retroacts, or older documents with a relevance to the current affairs of an administration and the subject matter of its archive(s) (see Muller, Feith & Fruin 1920: 79-80). It may be suggested that the late Neo-Elamite *Persepolis Bronze Plaque*, found in the Treasury at Persepolis, was in fact kept there as retroact and had a relevance for the current rights and obligations of the Gisat sanctuary and its administrators (cf. §4.1.4 below).

documents of various kinds ranging from simple memorandum-type notes and letter orders to the higher administrative categories of journals and accounts. The whole very much gives the impression of the complete paperwork of an administration at work. Upon closer inspection, however, the unbalanced chronological build-up of the archive contradicts the assumption of a real working archive (cf. §2.7.2 below). This is a factor that may point to deadness, which would make the Fortification archive comparable in this respect to the Ebabbar archive as described by Jursa (2004: 148-9, 163-7, 193). On the other hand, there are also reasons to believe that the archive, as it was stored, was not considered irrelevant, even though it had no bearing on current affairs. ‘Dead’ or even ‘historical’ is therefore perhaps not the most accurate term; instead one may opt for ‘intermediate,’ ‘inactive’ or, more romantic, ‘dormant.’ An ‘intermediate archive’ may be provisionally defined as a corpus of documents that is withdrawn from a working archive and that has lost its direct administrative functions, but that at the same time retains its relevance as a body of evidence and that therefore remains the responsibility of an administrative organisation or its overarching authority, which takes appropriate measures to ensure its integral preservation.

*2.7.2. The chronological build-up of the archive* – The Elamite Fortification tablets date to Dar. 13-28 (509-494 BC), but as much as 46% percent of the 4,091 year dates in 3,853 dated tablets – some tablets date to two or more years – are Dar. 22 and Dar. 23. More than 64% of the dates below belong to Dar. 21-24. The early years, Dar. 13-20 are underrepresented in the available sample (26%). Less than 10% of the dates are from the last four years of the archive, Dar. 25-28. Similarly, but slightly different, the bulk of dated Aramaic Fortification texts is from Dar. 23-25 (Azzoni 2008 §1).

Hallock already noted the uneven chronological distribution of the Elamite texts (1969: 74) and surmised that it “evidently reflects changes in the economic operations and in the accounting methods.” This idea is more attractive than the suggestion that tablets from other years were stored or dumped at another location. A clearer picture emerges if we compare the total percentages of dates for each year in a) all text categories with the percentages of dates in b) memorandum-type texts, c) letter orders, d) journals and e) accounts:<sup>377</sup>

<sup>377</sup> The table gives percentages based on numbers of dates in texts, not on dated texts as such. The reason is that some texts, notably accounts, date to more than one year. In such cases, both years have been included in order to avoid arbitrary choices. This does not affect the percentages. For the consistency of the argumentation, I have excluded labels, since their status in the administrative process is not entirely clear and since the group of labels seems to include different types of documents. Like memoranda, labels

year	a. all texts 100% = 4,091	b. memoranda 100% = 3,404	c. letter orders 100% = 147	d. journals 100% = 108	e. accounts 100% = 352
13	0.24% (10)	0.12% (4)	0% (0)	0% (0)	1.70% (6)
14	0.44% (18)	0.24% (8)	0% (0)	1.85% (2)	2.27% (8)
15	1.86% (76)	0.50% (17)	2.72% (4)	4.63% (5)	<b>13.64% (48)</b>
16	2.35% (96)	1.03% (35)	1.36% (2)	3.70% (4)	<b>16.19% (57)</b>
17	3.47% (142)	1.88% (64)	6.12% (9)	5.56% (6)	<b>16.76% (59)</b>
18	5.92% (242)	4.49% (153)	<b>9.52% (14)</b>	<b>13.89% (15)</b>	<b>15.91% (56)</b>
19	6.04% (247)	4.58% (156)	<b>7.48% (11)</b>	<b>15.74% (17)</b>	<b>16.19% (57)</b>
20	5.82% (238)	4.94% (168)	<b>7.48% (11)</b>	<b>18.52% (20)</b>	<b>9.09% (32)</b>
21	<b>8.02% (328)</b>	<b>8.58% (292)</b>	3.40% (5)	<b>13.89% (15)</b>	2.84% (10)
22	<b>21.71% (888)</b>	<b>24.44% (832)</b>	<b>12.90% (19)</b>	<b>13.89% (15)</b>	1.99% (7)
23	<b>24.34% (995)</b>	<b>27.00% (919)</b>	<b>25.85% (38)</b>	5.56% (6)	1.42% (5)
24	<b>10.17% (416)</b>	<b>11.40% (388)</b>	<b>15.65% (23)</b>	0.93% (1)	0.28% (1)
25	4.33% (177)	4.73% (161)	5.44% (8)	0.93% (1)	0.85% (3)
26	0.56% (23)	0.59% (19)	0.68% (1)	0% (0)	0.28% (1)
27	1.81% (74)	2.03% (69)	0.68% (1)	0.93% (1)	0.57% (2)
28	2.93% (120)	3.50% (119)	0.68% (1)	0% (0)	0% (0)

table 2.7: distribution of year dates

The evidence presented in table 2.7 above shows that, whereas memoranda (column b) are heavily concentrated in years 21-24, the bulk of journals (column d) pertains to years 18-22 and the great majority of accounts (column e) to years 15-20. Letter orders (column c) take a middle position: there is a concentration in years 22-24, but there is also a relatively high presence in years 18-20.

If one assumes that memorandum-type documents were normally discarded (recycled) as soon as they were processed into journals (cf. 2.5.1 above), the above percentages become understandable. If one assumes that accounts were the final administrative stage that made the journals also redundant, the numbers work even better. In this scenario, one would indeed expect more accounts in the early years, followed by a period with relatively high numbers in journals and then by a period with many memoranda. The memorandum group still had to be processed and was therefore preserved.

As for years 24-28, the image is not as clear-cut, but there is still a conspicuous difference in the percentage of memorandum-type documents dated to

are concentrated in years 21-24, but the numbers are a bit different: 20.51%, 17.95%, 24.70% and 4.27% respectively. The account text NN 0001, which mentions years 8 and 9 (see §2.3.5 above) has been left out because its implications are uncertain.

this period (10.85%), and the percentages of journals (1.86%) and accounts (1.70%) for the same years. This once again suggests that the memorandum-type documents were preserved for future processing into journals and accounts. That we have the documents means that this final accounting was never done.

The surviving memorandum-type documents from the early years (Dar. 13-20) are probably highly selective. Especially texts dated to the first four years may have been preserved by oversight. That slightly higher percentages of letter orders than memorandum-type documents are preserved in Dar. 17-20 is probably due to the special subject matter of the letter orders, which made their preservation worthwhile (cf. the clustering of Parnakka's letter orders in certain boxes; see §2.6.2 table 2.5).

In a recent analysis of the Ebabbar archive from Sippar, Jursa observes a comparable phenomenon: an increased density of documents in the archive's middle years, with a decrease of documents representing higher stages of accounting (lists, balanced accounts) in later years. On the basis of this evidence he concludes that the Ebabbar archive is 'dead' (Jursa 2004: 164-7, 193).

Though this may be partly a matter of terminology, it would seem that the Fortification archive cannot really be 'dead' in the strict sense. Journal entries very rarely paraphrase extant memoranda, much less than could be statistically expected within the available sample. As stated before (§2.5.1 above), this most probably implies that processed memoranda were normally discarded and recycled after their processing into journals. In other words, the memoranda as we have them are not really discarded, but, for the largest part, unprocessed documents. Such ephemeral documents as the memoranda quickly lose their immediate relevance on current affairs, but at the same time they represent unique and authorised evidence and therefore retain an independent importance as long as they are not processed. Seen against that background, the term 'dead' does not seem adequate as a characterisation of the Fortification archive; the suggested 'intermediate' or 'inactive' would seem preferable.

Why the processing of the memoranda never took place is unclear: perhaps some administrative problem or far-reaching event occurred shortly after Dar. 22-23, which prevented the completion of the administrative cycle. One could speculate that the end of Parnakka's directorship was a, or perhaps the, defining factor in this.

Parnakka does not occur after III/Dar. 25 (cf. §2.4.1.3 with fn. 283 above). The situation is unclear for the next two years, but by IV/Dar. 28 Ašbazana seems to have been in function as general director of the Persepolis economy (PF 1853). He retained his job at least until VII/Xer. 3, as is apparent from the Treasury Archive (PT 014). No Fortification tablets beyond XII/Dar. 28 survive.

Together, this evidence allows for the following hypothesis: an administrative problem occurred after Dar. 23, probably somehow related to



Parnakka's disappearance as general director in the first half of Dar. 25. A definitive successor, Ašbazana, took up the position of general director in the first half of Dar. 28. At the end of his first administrative year, it was decided that unprocessed memoranda and journals would not be processed after all and that a major part of 'Parnakka's archive' was to be removed from the working or 'living' archive and stored in two small rooms in the Fortification wall. These rooms were bricked up to ensure the integral preservation of the 'intermediate' or 'inactive' archive so that it would be available, in case of need, as a body of authorised evidence on the performance of officials in past years of the administration's existence. A limited number of documents from the two years between Parnakka and Ašbazana, as well as some others from the latter's first administrative year were also removed in the same operation, presumably because they had been processed, or because Ašbazana wanted to make a clean start at the beginning of his second administrative year.

The above scenario plausibly implies that the Fortification tablets remained stored in the sealed spaces in the Fortification wall throughout the rest of the Achaemenid period. The upper floors of the Fortification wall may have collapsed at the time of the Macedonian invasion, thereby partly obliterating the order of the tablets, but the collection as such was apparently not disturbed and perhaps never seen by the Macedonians or anyone until 1933 AD.

One last point still needs to be clarified. The hypothesis of an administrative problem occurring after Dar. 23 does not mean that the administrative system as such did not function well. Hallock already noted the time-lag between the date at which some accounts were drafted and the administrative years to which they pertain (1977: 132). This is particularly true for accounts with seal PFS 0012a: in five cases such documents were composed in year 20 or 21, but pertained to years 15-17. It could be suggested that this delay was the result of understaffing and eventually led to a break-down of the system in Dar. 24. Yet, a time-lag as visible in the five accounts just mentioned is not a regular phenomenon. Normally, when texts mention both a date of composition and the year(s) to which they pertain, there is a lapse of only one, rarely two years between those two dates. Seen in this context, the late processing of material from years 15-17 by the accountant or office using seal PFS 0012a is rather to be seen as the cleaning up of a few remaining, old dossiers from the archive – a sign of calm and controlled operations, rather than a manifestation of an overburdened system.<sup>378</sup>

<sup>378</sup> It may be noted that the Treasury archive, dating from the Dar. 30 through Art. 7 (492-458 BC), is different from the Fortification archive in that it spans a longer period and has tablets from the reigns of three different kings, but at the same time shows a similar concentration of dated texts. About 72% of dated Treasury texts are from Xer. 19-20.

We are as yet far from a precise model explaining all the trends displayed in table 2.7 above, but one undeniable conclusion already imposes itself: that the uneven chronological distribution of our documentation seriously limits the possibility of identifying developments over several years. If one were to try, for example, to distil demographic inferences from the so-called mothers' rations, one would arrive at a sudden and dramatic rise in the birth rate in years 21-24. The real cause of the increase is simply the deliberate preservation of a great amount of memorandum-type documents dating to these years. For the same reason it is hazardous to extrapolate the presence or absence of the court at Persepolis from the number of travel texts, as Hinz (1971c: 119-20) attempted to do.<sup>379</sup> The only safe assumption is that years 22-23 give us a maximum view, whereas the data from other years are more selective (cf. the similar remarks by Koch 1993b: 62, 83).

2.7.3. *The size of the original corpus* – The unbalanced chronological build-up of the available sample yields one unexpected advantage: the possibility to estimate the original size of the Fortification archive.

As we have seen, years 22 and 23 give a maximum view of the amount of paperwork circulating in the administration. 'Maximum' should be understood in a relative sense: even for Dar. 22-23 our documentation is far from complete. In fact, one could reverse the perspective and say that the number of texts dated to these years represent the minimal amount of paperwork that may be assumed for each of the years to which the archive pertains. Proceeding from this notion, a tentative estimation of the size of the original archive can be given. It should be stressed that

In this case, the death of the sovereign, not long after his 20<sup>th</sup> year of reign, may have been the reason for the preservation of the texts: they may have been considered a closed dossier or inactive archive after his decease. This explanation does not work for the concentration of dated Fortification texts in Dar. 21-24, however, as those years are long before Darius' death.

<sup>379</sup> It is true that no less than 81% of such texts is concentrated in years 21-24, but this number becomes less spectacular when compared to the 71% of memorandum-type documents in general that are dated to the same period. The concentration of travel texts in Dar. 21-24 is therefore largely a matter of selective record preservation. When Hinz wrote his paper, no travel texts from years 25-26 were known; he could therefore postulate a visit of Darius to Egypt in these years. Meanwhile, three travel texts from Dar. 25 have emerged (NN 0461, NN 0692, NN 0716) and these invalidate Hinz's line of reasoning (cf. Koch 1993b: 83). The percentages of travel texts (Hallock's categories Q and S3; total: 552) are: Dar. 13: 0% (0); Dar. 14: 0% (0); Dar. 15: 0% (0); Dar. 16: 0% (0); Dar. 17: 0% (0); Dar. 18: 0.18% (1); 19: Dar. 0.54% (3); Dar. 20: 1.09% (6); Dar. 21: 7.25% (40); Dar. 22: 28.08% (155); Dar. 23: 41.49% (229); Dar. 24: 4.35% (24); Dar. 25: 0.54% (3); Dar. 26: 0% (0); Dar. 27: 5.07% (28); Dar. 28: 11.41% (63).

all of the assumptions below are, in varying degrees, arbitrary. The end result is intended as an estimate only.

In §2.1.4 above, Stolper's recent estimate that the Fortification find included between 11,259 and 12,462 Elamite tablets has been discussed. One of the main conclusions drawn by Stolper is that journal and account texts are heavily underrepresented in the edited sample of 4,845 texts. This factor needs to be included in any projection on the size of the original archive. At the same time, I assume that the internal chronological distribution of the two main super-categories, i.e. memoranda and letter orders vs. journals and accounts, is the same among the edited and unedited samples.

Edited memoranda and letter orders amount to 4,520 texts, whereas the total of such texts in the Fortification find has been estimated at 8,331-8,707. This means that we may add about 47% to the edited sample dated to any given year. Since there are roughly 950 edited memoranda and letter orders dated to Dar. 23, there must be about 1,400 texts dated to this year in the total sample.

The situation in the case of journals and accounts is dramatic: 325 texts have been edited, whereas Stolper's estimates amounts to 2,928-3,755 texts. The edited sample therefore represents only about 10% of the total. There are 11 journals and accounts that are drafted in year 23 (i.e. not including documents pertaining to Dar. 23, but drafted in later years). This means that the total Fortification find may have included about 110 journals and accounts dated to year 23.

The projected total of about 1,500 texts for year 23 is incomplete since only about 75% of the transliterated sample is dated. My second assumption is that the chronological distribution of the undated and dated sample are the same. This would add another 500 texts to the total corpus of texts drafted in Dar. 23.

A third assumption is that the amount of paperwork remained more or less constant from Dar. 13 through Dar. 28. The uneven representation of these years in the preserved sample is probably due to selective preservation (cf. §2.7.2 above). This means that the assumed number of 2,000 texts drafted in Dar. 23 may be multiplied by 16 (the number of years covered by the archive). This gives a total of 32,000 texts.

A fourth assumption is that even for years 22-23 the preserved sample is seriously incomplete and that the loss may well have been as much as 50 or 60%. This is visible from documents pertaining to allocations issued on a monthly basis for the same workforce or type of operation. Such series are typically very incomplete. Even in the exceptional case of the monthly flour and wine allocations for a *lan* offering performed by Yašda at Matezziš in years 23-24, we have only ten documents from an original dossier of fifty (cf. §3.5.2 fn. 537 below). Statistically it may be expected that the unedited corpus could raise the number to twenty, but this still means that thirty texts (60%) remain missing. In other cases, the preserved texts represent an even smaller fraction of an assumed original series. This means

that the estimated total of 32,000 is much too low and probably represents less than half of the original number of documents.<sup>380</sup>

Taken together, the above assumptions lead me to conclude that the number of documents that were actually produced in the years 13-28 may well have amounted to 100,000, or more, despite the fact that normal archival procedures were interrupted at some point. The edited sample of 4,845 texts represents no more than 5% of this projected total.

The Fortification archive covers only half of king Darius' reign. In theory, the Persepolis administration may have produced as many as 200,000 texts between 522 and 486 BC. This enormous quantity *only* pertains to food distribution and may well have existed alongside still other archives... (cf. 2.1.6 above).

It is important to realise that the estimate of 100,000 (or even 200,000) texts is based on year 23, from which a great number of memorandum-type documents survives because they were not processed. Normally, an equal amount of memoranda were written, but these were processed into hundreds of journals and accounts, thus raising the amount of actually produced documents for a normal administrative year even further. All this does not mean, however, that the archive at any point physically included over 100,000 documents, since the memoranda would, after the process of auditing and paraphrasing, be discarded and probably recycled. Quite the contrary: it is to the credit of Parnakka's crew and the great efficiency of his organisation that only a fraction of the original number of texts was unearthed at Persepolis, for this means that tens of thousands of texts passed through the hands of the auditors, were subject to a full administrative cycle and were removed from the archive. Seen in the light of the successful handling of this documentary deluge, the unprocessed tablets for the years 21-24 reflect only a modest problem.

<sup>380</sup> Part of the lost tablets may in fact be represented by the 35,000 fragments in Tehrān (see Razmjou 2004b and §2.1.4 above).



## CHAPTER 3 THE LAN SACRIFICE

### 3.0. Introduction

In studies on Achaemenid religion based on the Fortification texts, logically much attention has been given to the *lan* sacrifice (<sup>AN</sup>*la-an*) as this is the most frequently occurring type of offering attested in the archive. The term is attested, in various formulae, in 81 texts (cf. ¶1), or about one third of those texts (and journal entries) in which commodities are allocated for religious practices. No other sacrifice or named deity is the destination or beneficiary of so many regularly issued allocations. This may explain the ardour with which some have tried to associate *lan* with a particular god or group of deities. The position that has received most attention thus far is that *lan* is *exclusively* associated with the god who is omnipresent in the royal inscriptions, Auramazdā (Elam. Uramasda). If it were provable, this connection would yield a significant increase in our understanding of Achaemenid religion, for *lan* is a well documented type of sacrifice performed by a host of officiants with various designations and connected to many localities throughout the area covered by the PF archive, i.e. the Persian heartland.

Any attempt at understanding the *lan* sacrifice should be primarily based on the relevant Fortification contexts and avoid preconceived notions on what Achaemenid religion ought to be. The claim that the Persians, or at least their rulers, saw themselves as Zoroastrians has long been controversial and is likely to remain so, if only because the advocates of this thesis themselves do not agree on a definition of ‘Zoroastrianism’ in the Achaemenid context. In consequence, the thesis is hardly a helpful diagnostic tool for an objective and fruitful study of the tablets, but rather an obstacle. Especially misleading is the argumentation that the popularity of *lan* can only be explained through a connection with Auramazdā, presented as the prime deity of the Zoroastrian ‘state religion,’ and that the *lan* dossier in turn provides a confirmation of the Zoroastrian thesis. If one wants to avoid such circular arguments one has to start from the tablets and from the tablets alone. Such an approach is not only possible, but it also provides an objective and valuable test of the claim of Achaemenid Zoroastrianism.

Establishing, as precisely as possible, the semantic value(s) of *lan* is the logical starting-point for the discussion. Apart from *lan* itself, the root *la-* and its

derivatives *lašda* and *laka* will be considered in the sections below (§§3.1-3.1.5). Relevant contexts will subsequently be investigated in order to define the religious and economic significance of *lan* as well as its use as technical term in the PF archive (§§3.2-5, .7). A section on the Elamite background and cultural affiliation of *lan* completes this chapter (§3.6)

### 3.1. *Semantic interpretations of lan*

Without the Achaemenid royal inscriptions, the foundation of Elamology as an independent discipline would not have been possible. Not only did these trilingual texts allow scholars like Edwin Norris to read Elamite (Norris 1855), but even now most of what we know of the Elamite lexicon is directly or indirectly derived from these texts (only a few earlier Akkadian-Elamite bilinguals, such as TZ 31/TZ 32, exist). It is no great surprise, therefore, that one of the smaller Bīsoṭūn inscriptions (DBa<sub>e</sub>), in which the word *lan* occurs, has played a dominant role in the discussion on the precise semantic value of *lan* – even though there is just this single occurrence in the inscriptional corpus against 81 cases in the Fortification Archive and a number of related words in Middle Elamite.

Three different approaches have been adopted thus far. The first has been to analyse *lan* from its context in DBa<sub>e</sub> and to extrapolate the interpretation arrived at to the occurrences of *lan* in the Fortification texts and elsewhere (Hinz). The second approach involves the assumption of fortuitous homonymy and leads to two distinct interpretations for *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> and *lan* attested elsewhere (Cameron, Vallat). A third approach – the one advocated here – seeks to establish the meaning of *lan* from the Fortification texts and apply this, if only tentatively, to the interpretation of *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> (cf. §3.1.4 below). From a methodological perspective, the last approach qualifies, I believe, as the most sound and the most attractive, as the Fortification material offers ample and diverse contextual evidence. DBa<sub>e</sub>, on the other hand, does not provide much context and, diverging from the parallel passages in the Akkadian and Old Persian versions, it resists interpretation.<sup>381</sup> In addition, the assumption of homonymy (*lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> ≠ *lan* in PFT) is only warranted logically if all attempts to explain *lan* as a single word have been exhausted.

<sup>381</sup> Compounds with *lan* and other derivatives of the verbal root *la-* are known from Old Elamite onwards. This evidence is of great importance as it suggests an Elamite (rather than Iranian) background of *lan* (cf. §3.6 below); but with our present understanding of pre-Achaemenid Elamite texts it is of no direct help in finding the meaning of *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> and the Fortification tablets.

3.1.1. *Divine presence*

3.1.1.1. *Bīsotūn and lan* – The EW (s.v. d.*la-an*) explains *lan* as follows: “wörtlich wohl göttliche Gegenwart, übertragen religiöser Kult, konkret Kultopfer.” This interpretation ultimately goes back to Hüsing’s comments on DBa (1910) and rests on rather shaky ground as appears from a review of the evidence.

The form *la-an*, without the determinative <sup>AN</sup>, occurs in DBa<sub>e</sub>, the inscription carved to the left of the image of King Darius I at Bīsotūn (DBa<sub>e</sub> 1-2):

<sup>1</sup> DIŠ ú DIŠ da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš DIŠ EŠŠANA DIŠ mi-iš-da-áš-ba DIŠ á-ak-ri DIŠ ha-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-  
man-nu-iš-ši-<sup>2</sup> ia-ra DIŠ EŠŠANA DIŠ EŠŠANA-na DIŠ ú **la-an** DIŠ EŠŠANA DIŠ pá-r-sip-  
ik-ki.<sup>382</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I (am) Darius, King, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, <sup>2</sup> King of Kings, I *lan*?  
King ‘to’ (among?) the Persians.

The phrase that calls for our attention is DIŠ ú *la-an* DIŠ EŠŠANA DIŠ pá-r-sip-ik-ki. Though the text of DBa<sub>e</sub> was later included in the Elamite version of the main Bīsotūn inscription (DB<sub>e</sub>), its phrasing was somewhat changed. The counterpart of the relevant phrase reads DIŠ EŠŠANA <sup>AS</sup> pá-r-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>, lit. “king to the Persians” (DB<sub>e</sub> I.1). This new phrase lacks both the original DIŠ ú (“I”) as well as the mysterious *la-an*.<sup>383</sup> There is general agreement among philologists and archaeologists on the assumption that the inscription DBa<sub>e</sub> is older than DB<sub>e</sub> (cf. below).

The German Elamologist Georg Hüsing was the first to discuss the word *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> in 1910, but at that time <sup>AN</sup>*la-an*, “divine *lan*,” frequent in the Persepolis tablets, was as yet unknown.<sup>384</sup> Hüsing’s explanation emerged purely from his intuitive understanding of DBa<sub>e</sub> “worin *lan* doch nur ‘jetzt,’ ‘nunmehr’ bedeuten kann” (1910: 14). This “now” was firmly reiterated by Hüsing’s pupil Bork in 1912 and, with some caution, by Friedrich in 1949 – in neither case supported by additional arguments.<sup>385</sup>

<sup>382</sup> I follow Vallat 1987a in reading ZIB as *sip* (not *šip*) in *pár-sip* (not *pár-šip*).

<sup>383</sup> Both passages appear to be clear and undamaged; there can be no doubt as to the transliteration (neither is DBa<sub>e</sub> 1-2 to be considered as “an erroneous copy” [so Norris 1855: 95]). Text of DBa<sub>e</sub>: Weißbach 1911: 74-7; DB<sub>e</sub>: Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 20. Autograph copy: King & Thompson 1907: 93, 152. For the OPers. and Akk. versions see Schmitt 1991a: 27, 77; Von Voigtländer 1978: 11. The title “King ‘to’ the Persians” does not occur elsewhere in Elamite.

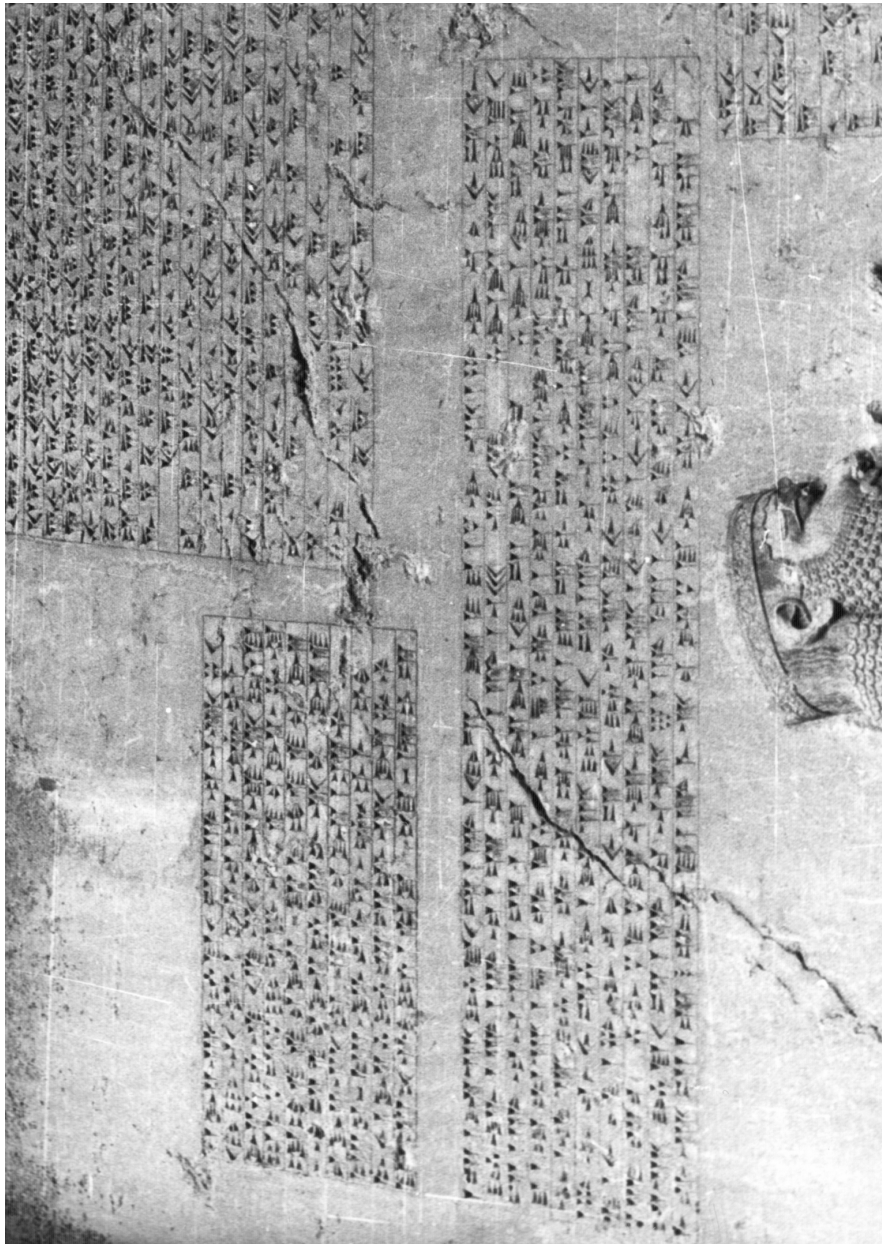
<sup>384</sup> The term first became known in 1938 by Poebel’s publication of Fort. 3159 = PF 0758 (1938a: 133-4 with fn. 13).

<sup>385</sup> Bork 1912: 69-70 (rejecting Weißbach 1911: 75 fn. b); Friedrich 1949: 18 fn. 2.





*fig. 3.1: the Bīsotūn monument (photograph courtesy  
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung)*



*fig. 3.1: DBa, Elamite version (directly above the head of Darius I)  
(photograph courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien Abteilung)*

In 1950, Hinz took the debate one step further by accepting “Gegenwart, Jetztzeit” for *la-an* (on the basis of DBa<sub>e</sub>) and connecting it directly with the <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* of the Fortification texts, which he translated as “‘göttliche Gegenwart’ im Sinne von ‘Kult, Andacht’ [...]” (1950a: 290, 292).<sup>386</sup> This position was repeated in various articles and ultimately in the entry <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in the EW.<sup>387</sup> Koch also defended “göttliche Gegenwart,” but assumed a development from the ‘original Middle Elamite meaning’ to “Kultopfer” in Achaemenid Elamite, thereby ignoring that an *Achaemenid* text (DBa<sub>e</sub>) formed the sole basis for “(göttliche) Gegenwart.”<sup>388</sup>

3.1.1.2. DBa<sub>e</sub> vs. DB<sub>e</sub> – The interpretation “now” or “at present” for *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> received an increasing amount of credit, which, in turn, was translated into historical significance. Hinz confidently described the inscription (comparing DB<sub>e</sub>, where *lan* is omitted) as “das allererste, ungelenke Diktat des Großkönigs...” implying that the phrase “ich bin *gegenwärtig* König in Persien” [my italics, WH] indicates a kind of immediacy, the king’s jubilant exclamation just moments after his final victory.<sup>389</sup> This view was adopted in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* entry on Bīsoṭūn.<sup>390</sup> Although scholarship had failed to produce any new arguments in

<sup>386</sup> Working from the Hinzian interpretation, but failing to cite any of Hinz’s publications, Bae (2001: 225) gives “present, belonging to cult” for *la-an* in DBa<sub>e</sub> (“I am the present (or cultic) king in Persia”). In his lexicon s.v. *lan* (*ibid.* 310), Cameron’s and Hallock’s interpretations of <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in PFT are referred to, although those authors did *not* advocate the connection with *la-an* in DBa<sub>e</sub>. Also, the interpretation of *la-an* as an adjective remains unexplained in Bae’s comparative treatment of the inscription.

<sup>387</sup> Hinz 1950b: 349 (“‘göttliche Gegenwart’ = ‘Kultandacht’ ”); 1962a: 11 (“numinose Gegenwart, Kultweihe”); 1969: 25 (“ein Begriff aus der Welt des Numinosen, bedeutet ‘(göttliche) Anwesenheit, Gegenwart’ ”); 1970: 439 (“die numinose Gegenwart der Gottheit, zuweilen auch das Kultopfer,” but cf. *ibid.* 427 fn. 1, relating the word to *lašta*, “er hat ... geopfert” [cf. below §3.1.3.2]); EW s.v. d.*la-an* (“wörtlich wohl *göttliche Gegenwart*, übertragen *religiöser Kult*, konkret *Kultopfer*”).

<sup>388</sup> Koch 1987: 242; *idem* 1988a: 395; *idem* 1991: 89; *idem* 1992: 277 (most explicitly); *idem* 1995: 1966; etc. The weight given to the word *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> is generally not clearly expressed, with the notable exception of Steve 1967: 98.

<sup>389</sup> Hinz 1974a: 123 fn. 6, “Diese Fassung zeigt noch deutlich das allererste, ungelenke Diktat des Großkönigs. Bei der Anfertigung der großen Inschrift wurde dieser Absatz übernommen aber kanzleigerecht verbessert.” *Idem* 1971b: 1029, “man fühlt die hochgemute Stimmung, die ihn damals bewegte.” Borger & Hinz 1984: 422, “ich bin gegenwärtig König bei den Persern.” Cf. EW s.v. *la-an* “wörtlich wohl *Gegenwart*, übertragen *derzeit*, *gegenwärtig*.”

<sup>390</sup> Schmitt 1990: 301 (but cf. the more reserved remarks by *idem* 1980: 112-3). Cf. Trümpelmann 1967: 286-7, “... die bedeutungsvolle Wendung ‘ich bin gegenwärtig

The purported opposition between DBa<sub>e</sub> and DB<sub>e</sub> can hardly be sustained. As stated above, DBa<sub>e</sub> was carved in the first construction phase of the Bīšotūn monument.<sup>391</sup> The Elamite version of the major inscription (DB<sub>e</sub>) was added in a second phase, followed by the Akkadian and Old Persian texts (DB<sub>a</sub>, DB<sub>p</sub>) and the Old Persian version of DBa (DBa<sub>p</sub>; there is no Akkadian version). The precise details of this now generally accepted reconstruction need not be repeated here;<sup>392</sup> what matters is the reorganisation of the contents of DBa<sub>e</sub> 1-2 in DB<sub>e</sub> I.1-2.<sup>393</sup> The new structure of the opening paragraph is also found in DB<sub>p</sub> and DBa<sub>p</sub>, but not in DBa<sub>a</sub> which largely corresponds to the first Elamite inscription. The differences between the original (I) and revised (II) structure are represented in table 3.1 below.

I – ORIGINAL STRUCTURE		II – REVISED STRUCTURE	
DBa <sub>e</sub> 1-2	DB <sub>a</sub> 1.1	DB <sub>e</sub> 1.1-2; DB <sub>p</sub> 1.1-2; DBa <sub>p</sub> 1-4	
[a] I (am) Darius, King	[a] I (am) Darius, King	[a] I (am) Darius, Great King	
[b] son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid	[b] son of Hystaspes an Achaemenid	[c] King of Kings, King to/among the Persians (Elam.) / King <i>in</i> Persia (OPers.), King of Countries	
[c] King of Kings,  DiŠ ú la-an DiŠ <sub>ESSANA</sub> DiŠ pá-r-sip-ik-ki	[c] King of Kings, a Persian, King of Persia	[b] son of Hystaspes, legitimate successor (Elam.) / grandson (OPers.) of Arsames, an Achaemenid	

table 3.1: DBa and DB divided in text blocks [a], [b] and [c]

<sup>391</sup> DBa<sub>e</sub> is in fact the oldest Achaemenid Elamite inscription.

<sup>393</sup> The remarks below hold true for the first copy of DB<sub>e</sub> (later partly erased by the additional figure of Skunkha) and its replacement. The two texts are identical, their opening lines both show the restructured version (cf. Cameron 1960: 60-1; Borger 1982: 30). Vallat ([forthc.]) erroneously assumes that the earlier version of DB<sub>e</sub> had the same titlature as DB<sub>a</sub>, and was therefore different from the later version of DB<sub>e</sub>.

From the table above it becomes immediately clear that the textual reorganisation basically involved a reversal of text blocks [b] and [c] of the original version (DBa<sub>e</sub> and DB<sub>a</sub> = I). A second distinctive feature of the revised version (DB<sub>e</sub>, DB<sub>p</sub> and DBa<sub>p</sub> = II) is the expanded titulature (adding ‘King of Countries’) and genealogy (adding Arsames).<sup>394</sup> The longer genealogy surely existed before (grandfather Arsames was not suddenly invented), but was simply not recorded *in toto* in DBa<sub>e</sub>. Likewise, the expansion of the royal titulature does not necessarily imply new titles.

The reversal of blocks [b] and [c] seems a logical step after the expansion of genealogy and titulature: it helps to preserve a balanced and clear structure (in version II, all titles precede the genealogy). The reorganisation then seems mainly stylistic in nature and is probably due to the grander, more elaborate design of the long inscription (DB<sub>e</sub>). The only real difference is the occurrence of *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub>. On this word alone rests the claim that this initial inscription reflects a certain freshness or even a personal approach, that was lost in the more formal second version.

3.1.1.3. *Not “now”* – Hüsing’s “jetzt, nunmehr” for *lan* at first sight indeed seems a reasonable possibility given the context (“I am *now* king ...”). Yet, *lan* denoting “now” would constitute a *hapax* in the whole Elamite corpus. Achaemenid Elamite normally uses *am* for “now.” The Elamite lexicon does not offer anything that could support the interpretation “now” for *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub>.

The lack of lexical support does not, by itself, prove that “now” is impossible. Yet, such a momentary expression as “I am *now* king over the Persians” would anyway seem at odds with the timeless state of affairs typically pictured by the royal inscriptions (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999). This is in fact nicely illustrated by the only occurrence of the word *am*, “now” in royal

<sup>394</sup> I have tentatively interpreted <sup>DIŠ</sup>*ir-ša-ma* <sup>DIŠ</sup>*ru-uh-hu-ša-ak-ri* in DB<sub>e</sub> I.4-5 as “legitimate heir of Arsames,” not as “grandson of Arsames,” as is commonly done on the basis of the Old Persian and Akkadian versions (Vallat 1977a: 82; *idem* 1997: 67; EW s.v. *v.ru-h-hu.ša-ak-ri*; Grillot, Herrenschildt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 39; Bae 2001: 77, 320; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 552; Tavernier 2003: 202-3). “Grandson” for *ruhušak* is solely based on the present context (S 301:11 is open to divergent interpretations). In older Elamite *ruhušak* is variously explained as “sister-son” (son of the king and his sister) or “nephew,” but there is broad agreement that the term *de facto* means “legitimate heir” (EW s.v. *ru-hu.ša-ak*; Vallat 1990b: 122; *idem* 1994b; *idem* 1997a; *idem* 2002/03: 444-6; Glassner 1994; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 546-53; Tavernier *l.c.*; Fuchs 2003: 135). As Arsames was alive at the time of Darius’ accession (DSZ<sub>e</sub> 10-1), “legitimate heir” seems possible in DB<sub>e</sub>. Note that the use of *ruhušak*, which resonates Elamite royal ideology, in the first lines of the Bīsotūn inscription is in itself remarkable, and should be studied in the context of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. On *hakkamannuššiyara* in DBa<sub>e</sub> (vs. *hakkamannuššiya* in DB<sub>e</sub>) cf. Vallat [forthc.].

Achaemenid Elamite, namely in DB<sub>e</sub> III.73, where it equals *nūram*, “now” in the OPers. version (DB<sub>p</sub> IV.53). This “now” is not intended as an indication of momentary, present time – it rather marks an emphatic apostrophe towards the future reader who has the eternal duty to divulge king Darius’ message.<sup>395</sup> It should be stressed that, even though the large Bīstūtīn inscription (DB) has a historical core, its narration is framed by a programmatic introduction and epilogue (§§1-9, 54-64) that reflect the same notion of unchanging and eternal kingship, of ‘imperial time,’ that governs later Achaemenid inscriptions. The initial inscription DBa<sub>e</sub>, which corresponds to the introduction of the main inscription and lacks a historical core, merely consists of formal titulature and genealogy. From this perspective, the apparent readiness to identify *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> as an expression of momentary time (“now”) is surprising. This characterisation of DBa<sub>e</sub> seems to suggest that the stylistic and ideological features of Achaemenid inscriptions had not developed fully at the time of its composition. Given the strong indications of a literary tradition (be it oral and Old Persian or textual and Elamite) and the fully-developed stylistic repertoire of the main inscription (DB<sub>e-p</sub>), the only slightly earlier text of DBa<sub>e</sub> cannot reasonably be detached from the rest of the inscriptional corpus.

Though I see no conclusive argument that could falsify the interpretation of *la-an* (DBa<sub>e</sub>) and, by consequence, of <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* (PFT) as “now,” the nature of Achaemenid inscriptions, including DBa<sub>e</sub>, as well as the lack of lexical support hardly endorse this solution and impose an obligation to explore other possibilities.

### 3.1.2. *To be*

3.1.2.1. *More lexical problems* – In his edition of the Achaemenid inscriptions, Weißbach proposed “ich bin König in Persien” for the phrase <sup>DIS</sup>*ú la-an* <sup>DIS</sup>*EŠŠANA* <sup>DIS</sup>*pār-sīp-ik-ki* in DBa<sub>e</sub> (1911: 75 fn. ‘b’). He was followed, though hesitantly, by Vallat,<sup>396</sup> who later changed his view, however ([forthc.]; cf. 3.1.2.2). Weißbach’s proposal was rejected by Bork, who claimed that *lan* could not be a verbal form (1912: 69-70), and by Friedrich (1949: 18 fn. 2), who argued that Elamite does not use a copula (linking a subject with a predicate). Both objections are basically incorrect: later Elamite did have verbs denoting “to be” that could be used as a

<sup>395</sup> This use of *am* as a marker of time or focus change is amply attested in the Fortification archive. In most cases it indicates the transition from what took place or was initiated in the past to the event or action that logically should follow or automatically results from it in the present. It serves as a focal indicator rather than a temporal determinant.

<sup>396</sup> Vallat 1977a: 140, 243, 1977b: 53, “je suis (?)”, “je suis roi en Perse/chez les Perses.” Cf. Cameron’s Elamite dictionary files (cf. 1948: vii): “I am(?) king in Persia.”

copula, and there are several possibilities to explain a formation in *-n* as a verbal form (cf. below). Still, this does not solve the problems raised by taking *la-an* as “(I) am.” From the lexical side there is a significant problem in the fact that a root *la-* or *lan-* is nowhere else attested in Elamite as a verb for “to be.” Instead, one finds *ni(ma)-* and *šari/šanu-*, both amply used in the Achaemenid inscriptions.<sup>397</sup>

3.1.2.2. *Morphological problems* – As stated above, *lan* could be a verbal form, but its position in the sentence in combination with the claim that it is the first person singular is rather problematic. Taking *lan* as a finite form seems irreconcilable with Elamite morphology, for, if derived from a verbal base *la-*, the first-person (or locutive) sg. in conjugation I would have been *la-ah* [la.h], *\*la* [la.Ø], or perhaps *\*la-ia* ([la.y] or [la.ʔ]) in Achaemenid Elamite.<sup>398</sup> If, on the other hand, *la-an* would represent a conjugation III formation (base + [n]), it would not constitute the necessary first-person sg. form either (expected: *\*la-an-ki*, [la.n.k]).<sup>399</sup> Moreover, as a verbal predicate, *lan* should have concluded the clause rather than being positioned in the middle.<sup>400</sup> Vallat’s recent interpretation of *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> as “je descends de” (Vallat [forthc.]), is problematical for the same reasons: absence of gender suffix and unexpected position of *lan*.<sup>401</sup>

<sup>397</sup> See the overview with examples in Khačikjan 1998: 38-40. On *šari-* cf. §5.3 fn. 860.

<sup>398</sup> Cf. Paper 1955: 41; Stolper 2004a: 79. On *la-ah* cf. Vallat 2000a: 1067; §3.6.7 below.

<sup>399</sup> The case of *su-da-man* in DN<sub>a</sub><sub>e</sub> 44-5 (Grillot-Susini 1987: 65-7) and, in identical context, that of *su-da-ma-an* in XPh<sub>e</sub> 50 (Cameron 1959: 472-3) is not wholly clear. The form has generally been explained as a deviant conjugation III, 1<sup>st</sup> sg. finite form with auxiliary *-ma* suffix, viz [suda.ma.n] for expected [suda.ma.n.k] (Bork 1933a: 16, reconstructing *\*sudamanka* > *\*sudamanna* > *sudaman*; cf. Paper 1955: 63; Cameron 1954/59: 474; EW s.v. *su-da-man*; Tucker 1998: 189). Although the Old Persian and Akkadian versions indeed have 1<sup>st</sup> sg. finite forms at this position, the context of the form in the Elamite version (of both inscriptions) allows for it to be a participle (“what I am *beseeking* from Auramazdā, may Auramazdā grant me that”). Grillot (*l.c.*) also took the form to be a participle, but translates it as inanimate passive-perfective: “cela (qui est) proposé par moi à Ahuramazda, cela, qu’Ahuramazda me (le) donne.” The interpretation as participle is attractive for *ni-ma-an* (DB<sub>e</sub> II.60) too, as was recognised as early as 1898 by Foy (1898: 566-7, 569-70, “Adjektiv-Partizip”) and as was restated by Hallock 1969: 738 and in the EW s.v. *ni-ma-an* (*contra*: Paper 1955: 64-5). Note that in DB<sub>e</sub> II.11, in similar context, *ni-ma-an-ki* is used (cf. fn. 400 below).

<sup>400</sup> This would give <sup>DIS</sup>ú <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA <sup>DIS</sup>pár-sip-ik-ki *la-ah* or ... *la-an-ki*. Compare, e.g., DB<sub>e</sub> II.10-1, <sup>DIS</sup>ú <sup>DIS</sup>šá-at-tar-ri-da <sup>DIS</sup>NUMUN<sup>MES</sup> <sup>DIS</sup>ma-ak-iš-tar-ra-na *ni-ma-an-ki*, “I am Xšaθrita, from the line of Cyaxares.”

<sup>401</sup> Though essential for his argumentation, Vallat glosses over the fact that his interpretation presupposes a highly unusual form. Also, his translation of *la-* as “venir de,

From what is known of Elamite morphology, *lan*, if it were a verbal form derived from an assumed *la-* “to be” [la.n], could only be explained as a) a conj. III infinitive or supine, b) as a conj. III participle, or c) as an ‘absolutive’ verbal noun. The first solution would require the presence of a predicate (as in “I ordered to write the inscription”) and can thus be excluded for DBa.<sup>402</sup> In the case of a conjugation III participle, *lan* (if derived from an assumed *la-* “to be”) supposedly would mean “being.”<sup>403</sup> The third solution would involve a verbal noun of the type *mušin* ([muš(i).n], “account” ~ *muši/a-* “to account”), i.e. with a dominant (‘absolutive’) nominal character.<sup>404</sup> In the case of *la-an* [la.n] that would perhaps yield the meaning “(a) being,” though it may not be easy to defend this since the verbal noun *lan* would be inanimate (!). At any rate, both the second and the third solution do not give “(I) am,” and obviously neither of them can be harmonised with the syntax in any regular way.

The absence of any other attestation of *la-* “to be” in combination with the apparent impossibility to explain *la-an* as “(I) am” on the basis of Elamite morphology, pleads strongly against Weißbach’s proposal. In the absence of any formal support, his “ich *bin* König in Persien” for DBa cannot be maintained.

descendre de” is presented as self-evident, but actually finds no support in Elamite texts. By contrast, the meaning “to send” is firmly supported and widely accepted.

<sup>402</sup> Example taken from XV<sub>e</sub> 23-4, *me-ni* <sup>DiŠ</sup>ú *še-ra* <sup>AS</sup>DUB <sup>MES</sup>*tal-li-ma-na*, “subsequently, I ordered to write the inscription/the inscription to be written” (text: Weißbach 1911: 118). The passage is discussed by Paper 1955: 62, Hallock 1965a: 122 and Khačikjan 1998: 42. See also Tucker 1998: 178; Stolper 2004a: 81 and §6.4 fn. 939 below.

<sup>403</sup> The participle on *-n* is variously explained as non-past + active (Reiner 1969: 83-4; McAlpin 1981: 80; Stolper 2004a: 81) or as past + passive/intransitive (Grillot-Susini 1987: 34; *idem* 1994: 8; *idem* 1998: 333). See also Tucker 1998: 178 fn. 24. Note that McAlpin (1981: 124-5) found parallels to forms on *-n* in Dravidian, where similar formations are used as non-past active participles, alongside a verbal paradigm that he considered a cognate of the Elamite paradigm on *-n* (conj. III). By contrast, Starostin (2002) has recently argued that there is no specific Elamo-Dravidian relationship (but rather that Elamite is a ‘bridge’ between Nostratic and Afroasiatic).

<sup>404</sup> Such absolutive verbal nouns differ, at least from a modern perspective, from those nouns with inanimate sg. marker *-n* added to a purely nominal base ([*murū.n*], [*siya.n*], etc.). Cf. Reiner 1969: 78; Grillot-Susini 1987: 15; Tucker 1998: 178. It should be noted that the distinction between participles and absolutive verbal nouns is rather vague. Tucker (*l.c.*) may be right in accepting only the function as absolutive verbal noun for the *-n* formations alongside the infinitival or supinal use.



3.1.3. *lan* and *la-* in *Persepolis*

3.1.3.1. *Offering, oblation* – Since previous interpretations of *la-an* in DBa<sub>e</sub> lack support and because there is no evident alternative solution to be derived from the context of the term in the inscription, it seems preferable to take <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in the Fortification archive as a starting point, rather than the other way around.

The first attempt at an interpretation of the term <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* was made by George G. Cameron. As “a guess derived from context” he proposed “divine ceremony” in his analysis of the following phrase:

<sup>AN</sup>*la-an li-ri-ra da-u-šá-um* <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-na* (PF 0758: 5-7)

...(in) the divine ceremony(?), the libation-giver in the divine ceremony....<sup>405</sup>

Cameron did not realise that *li-ri-ra* in fact governs the first <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in the compound [*la.n liri.r(a)*], “(PN) the offering-giver, oblator.” It is not construed with *da-u-šá-um*, “offering, offering gift” (cf. §3.2.1 below).

Richard T. Hallock correctly gave “*lan* performer(?)” for *lan-lirira*.<sup>406</sup> As to <sup>AN</sup>*la-an*, he remarked (1950: 25):

It clearly denotes some religious ceremony or duty, but cannot be more closely defined. Possibly it is in origin the Conj. III infinitive of the verb *la-* meaning ‘the sending forth’ or something similar.

The connection with *la-* “to send” is indeed attractive, if only from a morphological perspective. “(To) send” is well established as primary meaning of *la-* and appears clearly from the frequent perfect/past conjugation II formations with *-k*, such as *lakip* ([*la.k.p*]).<sup>407</sup> Such forms appear in contexts describing travels from A to B:

*šušān-mar matezziš parnakka-ikki lakip* ([*la.k.p*]),

They were sent from Susa to Parnakka (in) Matezziš (PF 1394).<sup>408</sup>

The same verbal base *la-* occurs in the compound *hutla-*, “to ship, to dispatch, to send as messenger.”<sup>409</sup>

<sup>405</sup> Though discussed in Cameron’s edition of the Treasury tablets (1948: 7-8), the term <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* is in fact only attested in the Fortification tablets. Cameron explicitly denied a link between <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* and *la-an* in Bīstūtūn (*ibid.* fn. 40), “with the *la-an* of DBa ... this word seems to have nothing in common save form.”

<sup>406</sup> Hallock 1950: 239-40; 1969: 26, 721; cf. Vallat 2000a: 1066, “célébrant, officiant.”

<sup>407</sup> Vallat is the only scholar who has recently proposed a different meaning for *la-*, but he supplies no argument for his “venir de” (Vallat [forthc.]).

<sup>408</sup> Cf. Hallock 1969: 719 s.vv. *la-*, *laka*.

The one point in Hallock's analysis of *lan* that requires adjustment is the description of the form as infinitive. Conjugation III participle or absolutive verbal noun would seem to be more appropriate, that is, *if* the word were a verbal formation.<sup>410</sup> It is more likely, however, that <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* represents a nominal formation of the type [siya.n], "temple," viz with the inanimate classifier *-n* ([la.n]). This is clear, as Vallat points out (2000a: 1065), from the Middle Elamite parallel form *lam*, built on the same base, but with another inanimate suffix, *-m* ([la.m]). Such a variation is not surprising for a noun, but would be inexplicable for a conjugation III verbal formation. The impression that the word should best be regarded as a nominal formation is, moreover, strengthened by the use of the determinative <sup>AN</sup> which does not normally precede actual verbal forms.<sup>411</sup>

As *lan* always occurs as object of an officiant's activity, a passive/intransitive meaning rather than Hallock's active/transitive "the sending forth" seems to be called for. A passive/intransitive value is inherent in similar nominal formations such as *kurman*, "allocation," a cognate of the verbal base *kurma-*, "to allocate."<sup>412</sup>

<sup>409</sup> The constituent parts are *hut* ("product, item") and *la-* ("to send"), hence the basic meaning of *hutla-* may be "to ship, to dispatch [something]" (cf. Hallock 1969: 699 s.v. *hutlak*; Van Dijk 1982: 102). The verb is attested in the late MELam. texts from Malyān (TTM 79: rev.9; TTM 81:5, TTM 85:1; TTM 90: rev.4') and in the NELam. Acropole texts from Susa (S 126: rev.2; S 153: rev.1). Compare also the derivational abstract sense ("transmettre, déléguer"), also attested in Middle Elamite (e.g., EKI 33:3-4; cf. Malbran-Labat 1995: 100-1). Probably as a secondary development, *hutla-* came to denote "to send as carrier, to send as messenger." An example from Bīsotūn: *hutla*, "I sent as messenger/representative" (DB<sub>e</sub> II.22, cf. EW s.v. *hu-ut-la* for the corrected reading by Hallock). The conj. II perfect participle in *-k* ([hut.la.k]) came to be used in an absolutive, nominalised way for "carrier, messenger" and is used as such in the Acropole texts (e.g., S 108: rev. 3) and in DB<sub>e</sub> I.64 (~ Akk. *mār šipri*) and II.81. In PFT it is apparently used as an equivalent to OPers. *pirradazziš*, "express (messenger), express (service)" (cf. §3.1.3.6 fn. 428 below). A certain Umayya is introduced as *pirradazziš* twice (PF 1335; NN 2063); plausibly the same individual is called a *hutlak* elsewhere (NN 2147). Cf. Koch 1983: 38-9; EW s.vv. *hu-ut-lak* and hh.*pīr-ra-da-iz-zī-iš*.

<sup>410</sup> Hallock may actually have been thinking in this direction, as he employed the term 'infinitive' in a broad sense, more or less including participial use (cf. Hallock 1965a). Compare the critical remarks by Grillot 1974: 183.

<sup>411</sup> This analysis is similar to that of Vallat (2000: 1066), but with the major difference that he assumes that there are two different (verbal) bases *la-* in Elamite (cf. below).

<sup>412</sup> Cf. Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2006: 14-6 on *kurman* and *kurma-*; see also §2.4.1.3 fn. 254 below.

The determinative <sup>AN</sup>, though generally adopted for all beings and things “divine,” need not be taken literally in the case of *lan* (as in Cameron’s “divine ceremony”) since it is used for all things “sacred” in later Elamite and its use with *lan* is probably prompted by the cultic context.<sup>413</sup>

Taken together, the preferred literal interpretation of <sup>AN</sup>*la-an*, derived from *la-* “to send,” would seem to be: “the sacred item/commodity [which is] sent [to DN],” hence “offering” or, perhaps more precise, “oblation.”<sup>414</sup> From PFT contexts it appears that the word could also carry a more abstract, secondary meaning: “the act/ritual of oblation” (cf. §3.4.5.5 below).

3.1.3.2. *Two homonymous roots?* – The position taken here depends on the assumption that Elamite had only one root *la-* (whence nominal and verbal bases were derived), attested in both cultic and secular contexts. It is important to stress this point, for some scholars have assumed *two* bases, the first denoting “to send,” the other “to sacrifice.” Hinz distinguished between *la-*, “eingehehen, anlangen,” and *la-*, “opfern.” Thus *lašda* ([la.š.t]) could be explained as “er ist angelangt” (1967a: 332) or as “er hat geopfert” (1970: 427). Koch, in turn, made a distinction between *la-* (“opfern”) and *lak-* (“durchziehen, eintreffen”).<sup>415</sup> This implies that the form *laka* ([la.k]) could be derived from either root (1977: 30-1), but the form *lašda* only from *la-* “opfern.” By contrast, in the EW (s.vv. *la-iš-da* and *la-ka*) Hinz’s idea of two different verbal bases is retracted and *lašda* is translated in all cases as “er hat entsandt, weitergegeben.”<sup>416</sup> Furthermore, the dictionary does not explain “to send” in cultic contexts as implying “to offer, make an offering,” nor does it present <sup>AN</sup>*la-*

<sup>413</sup> As one can speak of ‘holy matrimony,’ ‘holy orders’ or ‘holy mass’ even though these institutions are not themselves the object of religious veneration.

<sup>414</sup> Note that Lat. *offerre* and *oblatio* carry a sense of motion (*ob-ferre*) too.

<sup>415</sup> The form that seems to point most clearly in the direction of a root *lak-* is *lakišda* (also *lakašda*, *lakkašda*). I prefer, however, to see *lakišda* as a (rare) conj I finite form built on the derivative conj. II base *lak-* ([la.k]), itself derived from the verbal base *la-*. In the unpublished additions to his glossary, Hallock labelled the form as “evid[ently] factitive,” which may be correct as it suits the known contexts well (PFA 30:12, 15; NN 1417; NN 1807; NN 2062; NN 2349). In these texts, *lakišda* probably means “he made (them) to be sent,” hence “he escorted (them), he drove (cattle).” Note that the object is always a group of workers or livestock. The form *lakištabe*<sup>†</sup> (PFA 31:6) is, in turn, a derivation of *lakišda* with added gender suffix ([la.k.š.t.p]; cf. Hallock 1978: 115) to mark attribution: (wine) PN *du-ša*<sup>HAL</sup> *taš-šu-íp* GUD<sup>MES</sup> *la-ki-iš-da-be gal-ma ap du-nu-iš*, “wine, PN received and to troops, who were driving cattle, to them he gave (it) as rations” (on attributive relative clauses of this type see Stolper 2004a: 88).

<sup>416</sup> Similarly, Koch’s comments on PF 0010 (1990: 199) imply that *lašda* was understood as “he sent” and are at variance with the distinction proposed earlier (1977: 30-1).

*an* (“göttliche Gegenwart”) as a cognate of *la-* (“senden, weitergeben”). In other words, *lašda* is considered as an administrative term indicating transaction and use for a certain goal (e.g., “für Gott Humban hat er ... weitergegeben, verwendet”), not as a direct reference to a cultic act.

Most recently, Vallat revived Hinz’s initial position by distinguishing two bases, the first of which he translates as “assurer le culte de” or “vouer un culte à” (2000a: 1065) and which he considers to be a cognate of <sup>AN</sup>*la-an*, “la cérémonie religieuse, le culte” (2002/03: 539). The other verb is translated as “venir de” ([forthc.]). Though Vallat certainly introduced more clarity into this muddled discussion, the evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets contradicts the distinction of two roots and shows that the interpretation “venir de” is untenable. In the following paragraphs (§§3.1.3.3-7) forms like *lašda* and *laka* will be discussed in order to establish *la-* as a single root meaning “(to) send-, offer-.”

3.1.3.3. *Alternation of lašda and lišda in parallel contexts* – The forms *lišda* and *lašda* alternate in very similar contexts. Compare the following phrases:

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals (&amp; date)</i>	<i>(abstract of) text</i>
NN 0153	•PFS x; PFS x (ø/21)	(360 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre, Kullili the <i>šatin</i> received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>hu-ban-na</i> <sup>ti-iš</sup> <i>-da</i> 4 <sup>AS</sup> <i>pi-ru</i> <i>lu-ri-ka</i> <sup>ti-iš</sup> <i>-da</i>
NN 0339	•PFS 0041; PFS x (ø/23)	(60 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre, Kitikka received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-in-na</i> <i>ha</i> <sup>ti-iš</sup> <i>-da</i> <sup>1</sup>
NN 1400	•PFS 0041; PFS 0015 (ø/23)	(90 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre, Zazzap received as <i>titi</i> ) <sup>AN</sup> <i>na-ap-pi-na</i> <i>ha</i> <sup>ti-iš</sup> <i>-da</i> <sup>417</sup>

table 3.2: *lišda* and *lašda*

These three texts are interconnected by the supplier Ibaturre, the impressions of PFS 0041 (on two texts), the commodity (wine) and the date (Dar. 21, 23). They record the same operation, namely the provision of wine for a sacrifice; the cult act is expressed by either of the finite forms *lišda* or *lašda*.

From an Elamite-Akkadian bilingual it appears that *li-*, as a verbal base, could be used for “to send, to shoot (an arrow)” (Akk. *nasāku*).<sup>418</sup> The meaning “to

<sup>417</sup> On the meaning of *titi* (<sup>AS</sup>*ti-ti-ma*) cf. §26 below. On *ha* (a generalised oblique resumptive pronoun) cf. §6.4 ad l.20 below.

<sup>418</sup> TZ 31: 6 (Elam.), *akka* ... *linra* ~ TZ 32: 8 (Akk.), *ša* ... *inassuku* (Steve 1967: 69 “celui qui enverrait [des traits]”). “La base *li-* ‘livrer, offrir’ doit aussi signifier ‘envoyer’ d’après accad. *nasāku*” (*ibid.* 70). Cf. CAD N/2 15-6 s.v. *nasāku* A (“to shoot, to hurl, to throw into the water, ...”). Cf. Steve 1962: 72-3; M. Lambert 1965: 26-7 (“celui qui lance ... [des javelots]”) and 32 s.v. *li* (“donner, don”); Reiner 1969: 116-8.

give” is called for in various contexts and seems most appropriate in DNb<sub>e</sub>.<sup>419</sup> The meaning “to bring (help)” is attested in both DNb and DB.<sup>420</sup> Numerous additional attestations in Middle-, Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite texts seem to answer to the interpretations “to send,” “to give” and, perhaps (as Hallock proposed for PF), “to deliver.”<sup>421</sup> A too rigid distinction among these shades of meaning should be avoided; a linear development from “to send” to “to give” is not apparent from the available sources. It may well be that *li-* still carried the notion of “to send” in the Achaemenid period. In any case, the base seems to have a sense of motion in it.

If two etymologically and semantically distinct bases *la-* existed – one meaning “to send” (or even “venir de”), the other “vouer un culte à” – the alternation of *lašda* with *lišda* would be virtually inexplicable. If, on the other hand, the verbal base *la-* has a wide range of meaning (“to send, to offer”) it is easy to see why it could be substituted by *li-* (“to send, to give”). This solution yields the following translations: “PN has delivered/given to/for Humban” (NN 0153), “PN has delivered/given it to/for (the) god(s)” (NN 1400) and “he has sent/offered it to/for Humban” (NN 0339).

3.1.3.4. *Two complementary verbs* – Proceeding from the alternation of *li-* and *la-*, the possibility that these roots form a semantic couple may briefly be considered. The roots seem to carry complementary shades of meaning, the first with focus on *delivering* a transported something, the second on *giving* something for transport, but both clearly involving transport and transfer. It is not unimaginable that they are etymologically linked, perhaps with *la-* as a derivative of *li-* (cf. IE non-causative/causative couples like drink/drench, fall/fell). Note that combinations of

<sup>419</sup> DNb<sub>e</sub> 2, *akka lišda šiyatim*, “who gives well-being” (Hinz 1969: 56) ~ DNb<sub>p</sub> 2-3, *haya adadā šiyātīm* (Schmitt 2000a: 38) ~ DNb<sub>a</sub> 2, *ša dumqi ... iddinu* (Borger in Hinz 1969: 57). The case is not completely clear given the ambivalence of OPers. *dā-* (“give, create”) and Akk. *nadānu* (“give,” and, in Achaemenid inscriptions, “to create” [CAD N/I 42 s.v. *nadānu*]), but, given the other meanings of *li-*, the meaning “to give” (not “to create”) is almost certainly called for here. Cf. Weißbach 1911: 93; Cameron 1948: 96; Hinz 1950a: 292.

<sup>420</sup> DB<sub>e</sub> III.93-4: <sup>DIS</sup><sub>LÜ</sub><sup>MES</sup> <sup>DIS</sup><sub>ap-pi</sub> <sup>DIS</sup><sub>ú</sub> *da-ú-man li-ip* (cf. Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 38, 58, “ces hommes m’ont apporté leur aide” and EW s.v. *da-ú-man-li-ip*, “Hilfe Gebende”). Cf. DB<sub>p</sub> IV.82-3, *imai martiyā hamataxšantā anušiā manā* (Schmitt 1991: 44, 72) and DB<sub>a</sub> 110, LÜ <sup>ÉRIN</sup><sup>1</sup><sup>MES</sup> *aganū<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> ša ki<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>ya illi[ku<sup>1</sup>]* (Von Voigtländer 1978: 47; Malbran-Labat 1994: 105). DNb<sub>e</sub> 10-1: <sup>DIS</sup><sub>LÜ</sub><sup>MES</sup> *[ir-ra ak-ka<sub>4</sub> da-ú-]man li-ra* (Hinz 1969: 56); cf. DNb<sub>p</sub> 16, *martiya haya hantaxšatai* (Schmitt 2000a: 39) and DNb<sub>a</sub> 10, *amēlu ša uptetqid* (Borger in Hinz 1969: 57).

<sup>421</sup> Hallock 1969: 720, “to deliver, to turn over [to]” and “to communicate” (in the context of operative messages and commands supposedly transmitted orally; see §2.5.5.1).

the two roots are attested in Middle Elamite *la-am-li-e-ma*, “as (is) its oblation-gift”<sup>422</sup> and in the Neo-Elamite personal names Linlakka (“Sent as gift”) and, possibly, Lalintaš.<sup>423</sup> It seems that Achaemenid Elamite *lan-lirira*, “lan performer” or “oblator” (ME *lam-lir*) belongs to the same series, though this case is somewhat complicated (cf. §3.6.1 below). It is clear, in any case, that the interchangeability of *lišda* and *lašda* (§3.1.3.3), probably does not constitute an isolated case, but reflects an actual, or at least a perceived relationship between *li-* and *la-*.

3.1.3.5. *Polyptotic use of the verb* – NN 0153 (§3.1.3.3) is special because it uses *lišda* in connection with Humban, rather than the usual *lašda* (cf. §3.6.6), and because the verbal base *li-* is used a second time. This is also the case in PF 0362:

PN <sup>AN</sup>hu-ban-na ṛli-iš<sup>1</sup>-da 4 <sup>AS</sup>pi-ṛlu<sup>1</sup> lu-ri-ka<sub>4</sub> li-iš-da (NN 0153)

PN has given (it) to/for Humban; he has delivered/given 40 (qts.) (at) each single *pilu*

ŠE.BAR <sup>MEŠ</sup>PN um-ma-ša<sup>1</sup> UDU.NITÁ <sup>MEŠ</sup>-ma li-iš-ša<sup>1</sup> <sup>AN</sup>na-ṛpan<sup>1</sup>-na li-iš-da (PF 0362)

PN acquired barley and gave (it) for sheep/goats; he has given (them) to the gods.

In both texts, inflected forms of *li-* are used with a different but related shade of meaning (“to give in exchange,” “to deliver,” “to give as offering”) as articulated by the contexts. There is no need at all to assume two different roots *li-*.<sup>424</sup>

The pattern found in NN 0153 and, especially, PF 0362 may be coined ‘polyptotic’ in the sense that it brings together two (different) inflected forms of the

<sup>422</sup> Occurrences of *lam-lema* ([la.m-li.e.ma]): TZ 53A, B-C:6°; TZ 54:6°; TZ 55:6. Cf. Steve 1967: 95, 98 and §3.6.1.3 below on the word.

<sup>423</sup> Lalintaš: cf. Vallat 2000b; Henkelman 2003a: 217, 222. Zadok 1991: 232 alternatively analyses the name as substantive + personal pronoun + verb (cf. §3.6.4 below). Linlakka occurs in the Acropole archive (S 165:7). The EW s.v. hw.li-in.lak-qa suggests that <sup>DIS</sup>li-in[...] in EKI 76F 14 might be restored as <sup>DIS</sup>li-in-[lak-ka<sub>4</sub>?] and tentatively interprets the PN as “Graben-Springer.” This bizarre interpretation is based on the assumption that *lin-huttip* (PF 1542, NN 0740, NN 1044) and *lin-huttira* (NN 1665) mean “Kanalgräber” (pl./sg.; EW s.vv. hh.li-in.hu-ut-ti-ip, h.li-in(?)hu(?)ut(?)ti(?)ra), an assumption *solely* based on the date of PF 1665 and NN 1044, the month Hadukannaš. This month name may indeed be interpreted as “[month] of the digging of canals” (not “[month] of the sowing of grain,” cf. Schmitt 2003: 39-43; Tavernier 2007a: 39 [1.4.12.2]). Yet, the texts do not link the *lin-huttip* to this (first) month; NN 1665 and Fort. 7250, both mentioning *lin-huttip*, are not even dated to Hadukannaš. Instead, one may consider “delivery maker, (trans)porter” (cf. ✱ ad NN 1665:5).

<sup>424</sup> Cf. Koch’s translation of PF 0362 (1977: 39); EW q.v. recognises only a single root.

same verb to describe different aspects of a single activity.<sup>425</sup> The pattern is also found with forms derived from *la-*, underlining the bivalence of this verbal base. Compare the following texts on Ibaturre's wine allocations for offerings to Supra:

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals (&amp; date)</i>	<i>(abstract of) text</i>
NN 0251	•PFS x (≠ 0041); PFS x (≠ 0241) (VI/18)	(110 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-ir<sup>1</sup>-na<sup>2</sup> la-ir<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>4</sup></i> <sup>71</sup> [(x)] (Supra received) <sup>rAN<sup>1</sup></sup> [ <i>na<sup>2</sup>-</i> ] <i>ap-pi-ir<sup>1</sup>na-ma<sup>2</sup></i> <sup>71</sup> <i>la-iš<sup>1</sup>-da</i> (at Tašpak) <sup>426</sup>
PF 0343	•PFS 0041; PFS 0593 (ø/22)	(50 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre, Supra received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-in-na-ma la-iš<sup>1</sup>-da</i> <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-su-ir-ma-mar-ri la-ka<sup>4</sup></i>
PF 0344	•PFS 1673; PFS 0240 (ø/22)	(100 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre from the place Tašpak, Supra received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-an-in-na-ma la-iš<sup>1</sup>-da</i>
PF 2029	•PFS 0041; PFS 0240 (ø/23)	(100 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaturre from the place Tašpak, Supra received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>r<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ba-in-na-[ma]</i> <sup>r</sup> <i>la<sup>1</sup>-iš<sup>1</sup>-[da]</i>

table 3.3: *la-* in polyptotic patterns

In PF 0344 and PF 2029 wine is allocated, by Ibaturre, “from the place Tašpak” (*tašpakmarri*). The postpositional element *-mar(ri)* indicates spatial separation and refers to the place from which the wine was issued. A similar construction is found in PF 0343, but with *laka* following the place name (*hasurmamarri laka*). This *laka* retakes the earlier *lašda* (*lašda ... laka*), but focuses on a different aspect: first the beneficiary of the action, then the place from where that same action is undertaken are highlighted (cf. *lišda ... lišda* in NN 0153). That *laka* in PF 0343 occurs after a place name with *-mar* implies a sense of motion and this impression is strengthened by the parallel with PF 0344 and PF 2029 (allocation *from* GN). In fact,

<sup>425</sup> The term *polyptoton* is, in classical rhetoric, reserved for (pro)nominal repetition and is a means to create *variatio* (Lausberg 1998: 288-92). It is not my intention to argue that the Elamite scribes used such rhetorical devices, I merely use the concept to demonstrate the working of the pattern under discussion.

<sup>426</sup> Hallock (ms.) reads II.9-11 as <sup>9</sup>*du-šá* x[y-] <sup>10</sup>*ap-pi-ir<sup>1</sup>na<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup>* <sup>71</sup> <sup>11</sup>*la-iš<sup>2</sup>-da*. Collation shows that <sup>9</sup>*du-šá* <sup>AN</sup>[*na-*] <sup>10</sup>*ap-pi-ir<sup>1</sup>na-ma<sup>2</sup>* <sup>71</sup> <sup>11</sup>*la-iš<sup>1</sup>-da* is possible, if not preferable. AN (I.9) is quite clear; the first NA (I.9) is not preserved but the available space allows its restoration; the second NA (I.10) is clear. IŠ (I.11) has a deviating form, possibly because it was written over a partial erasure (so Hallock, ms.; Jones & Stolper, ms.). Though my *nappinama* ([nappi.n.m]) presents a *hapax*, it is backed by the form <sup>AN</sup>*um-ba-an-na-ma* ([umban.n.m(a)]) in similar contexts, notably PF 0343, PF 0344 and PF 2029 (all with *umbannama lašda*; supplier: Ibaturre; recipient: Supra). For the type of form see §3.6.6 below. The two signs following the GN Tašpak (I.13) cannot be read as *-mar-ri* (so Hallock, ms.; Jones & Stolper, ms.), as in PF 0343-4.

PF 0343 illustrates the bivalence of the root *la-* rather well: “PN has sent/offered (*lašda*) (it) as the (offering/share) of DN; it was sent/offered (*laka*) from GN.” The alternative, that the two closely connected forms describing a single action are derived from different yet homonymic roots (cf. Vallat), is rather unattractive.

In NN 0251, the first verbal form is again repeated to add another aspect to its meaning. In this case *laka* is the first form, *lašda* the second. The collated text may be interpreted as “... was sent/offered (*laka*) for god Humban, (PN) has sent/offered (it) (*lašda*) as the (offering/share) of (the) god (at GN).”<sup>427</sup> Again it seems difficult to maintain that the forms used are based upon two different roots *la-*, especially given the inverted parallel of PF 0344 (*lašda* ... *laka*). Also, it is hardly possible to apply Vallat’s narrow interpretation “vouer un culte à, assurer le culte de” (for the ‘first’ *la-*) to *laka* since its subject is wine. Application of the ‘second’ *la-*, “to send” (or, as Vallat holds, “venir de”), is also problematic as a cultic connotation is clearly implied. We have, then, another indication of a single root *la-* that expresses various kinds of giving with a sense of motion (“to send, to offer”).

3.1.3.6. *Religious and secular contexts of lašda* – The form *lašda* occurs remarkably frequently in texts concerned with offerings for Humban (cf. §3.6.6 below). By contrast, secular contexts in which *lašda* occurs are rare. Comparison between the two types of contexts is instructive for the case of *la-*:

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals (&amp; date)</i>	<i>(abstract of) text</i>
PF 0345	•PFS 0041; PFS 0240 (ø/22)	(70 qts. of flour, allocation from Parru, Supra received) <sup>AN!</sup> <i>um-ba-an-na-ma la-iš-da</i>
Fort. 3567	•PFS 0005; PFS x (ø/ø)	(300 qts. of barley, allocation from Parru, Mukka received) <i>gal-la pír-ra<sup>1</sup>-da-zí-iš-na la-iš-da<sup>AS</sup> šu-ur-ku-tur-mar la-ka<sub>4</sub></i>

table 3.4a: *lašda* in secular and religious contexts

In both texts *giving* is implied by the forms based on *la-*. Parru allocates flour which is then offered (*lašda*) to Humban (PF 0345); almost certainly the same Parru allocates barley to Mukka who sent it (*lašda*) as rations for express messengers, “it was sent (*laka*) from GN” (Fort. 3567).<sup>428</sup> Interestingly, the secular setting of the

<sup>427</sup> Cf. fn. 426 above. In this case, the form *nappina* seems a singular (“for the god”), rather than a plural (“for the gods”), as in the majority of texts.

<sup>428</sup> For the polyptotic construction (*lašda* ... *laka*) cf. §3.4.4 above. For *pirradazziš* (“express [messenger], express [service]”) cf. Gershevitch *apud* Hallock 1969: 42; EW s.vv. *pi-ra-da-iz-zí-iš*, hh.*pír-ra-da-iz-zí-iš*; Hallock 1985: 606-7; Tavernier 2007a: 421 [4.4.7.40]; Gabrielli 2006: 49-50, 61-2 (horses). The word is originally an adjective, but it is mostly treated as a noun (“express service, express messenger”). In Fort. 3567



second text reveals the same bivalence of *la-*: sending and sending as a gift/ration/offering.<sup>429</sup> Note that Mukka appears elsewhere, in similar contexts, as a middleman *giving* rations to travel horses, travel parties and groups of workmen.<sup>430</sup>

A parallel case is found in texts on Ibaterra (table 3.4b below): in NN 2467 he allocates wine to Irtezza, who in turn sends it (*lašda*) to horsemen; in PF 0341 (same date; PFS 0041) he provides wine to Akbaka who offers (*lašda*) it to Humban. Note that the middleman Irtezza is also listed elsewhere (with Ibaterra) as distributor of wine to groups of horsemen and painters; in those contexts *dunušda* (“he has given”) serves as a substitute for *lašda*.<sup>431</sup>

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals (&amp; date)</i>	<i>(abstract of) text</i>
PF 0341	•PFS 0041; PFS 0591 (ø/22)	(150 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaterra, Akbaka received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-an-na-ma ha la-iš-da</i>
NN 2467	•PFS 0041; PFS 0126 (X/22 <sup>3</sup> )	(630 qts. of wine, ‘horsemen’ received) <sup>HAL</sup> <i>ir-te-iz-za la-iš-da</i> (they received it as rations; allocation from Ibaterra) <sup>432</sup>

table 3.4b: *lašda* in secular and religious contexts

As appears from table 3.4c below, the notion of sending *as gift* cannot be found in every case where *lašda* is used in secular contexts. NN 1236 plainly speaks of

“express messenger” is preferable because *galla* (“ration(s)”) normally suggests people, not an institution. Still, “express service” is also possible for this text (the omission of the expected determinative <sup>HAL</sup> before *pír-ra<sup>1</sup>-da-zí-iš-na* provides a clue in that direction, but not a decisive one).

<sup>429</sup> Apparently, Hallock was thinking in the same direction when he suggested PF 0345 (and PF 2029) as comparandum to Fort. 3567 (Hallock, ms.).

<sup>430</sup> Cf., notably, PF 1655: allocation of barley by Parru, receipt by Mukka who gave it (*dunušda*) to horses (tablet sealed with PFS 0005 [Parru], like Fort. 3567). Other comparanda with Mukka: PF 1416, NN 2407 (travel parties); PF 1654, NN 2329 (travel horses); PF 1121, PF 1122 (workmen); PF 1210, NN 0929 (mothers).

<sup>431</sup> Cf. PF 1110, PF 1111, PF 1618 (all sealed with PF 0041 and PFS 0126, like NN 2467). Note the parallel between PF 1618 and NN 2467: comparable amounts of wine (550 and 630 qts.) are given to horsemen in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year. Only the phrasing varies: NN 2467 has PN *lašda* ... *mudunup dumašda* (“PN sent ... horsemen have been receiving”) and PF 1618 PN *dušda* ... *mudunip ap dunušda* (“PN received ... to horsemen he has given”).

<sup>432</sup> As Hallock (ms.) notes the sign TE is clear. The spelling can be explained from the assumption that TUM, as in the regular form of the name <sup>HAL</sup>*ir-tu<sub>4</sub>-iz-za*, could be pronounced /te/ and /ti/ (cf. Tavernier 2007d: 284, 288). The name was probably pronounced /irtezza/. Note that PFS 0126 is consistently linked with Irtuzza.

certain persons “whom the king sent”<sup>433</sup> and PF 0010 just mentions [grain] which Karkiš sent to a certain place.<sup>434</sup> Besides, there are quite a lot of occurrences of *laka* denoting “sent,” not “sent as gift,” etc. (e.g., PF 1413, PF 1421). The point is, however, that the notion of sending as a gift, etc. *may* be implied. This observation agrees well with sense of motion + giving established for *la-* in religious contexts (§3.1.3.3 above).

tablet	seals (& date)	(abstract of) text
NN 1236	•PFS x; PFS y; (ø/22)	(620 qts. of <i>tarmu</i> (emmer) <for> <i>labe</i> -people) <sup>HAL</sup> EŠŠANA <i>ap<sup>?</sup>-pa<sup>?</sup> la-iš-da</i> (at Liduma, Tipipi received)
PF 0010	PFS 0149; •PFS 0323 (ø/ø)	([grain] was taken to the place Hunar) <sup>HAL</sup> <i>kar-ki-iš la-iš-da</i>

table 3.4c: two more cases of *lašda* in secular (?) contexts

<sup>433</sup> NN 1236: 620 <sup>GIS</sup>*tar-mu* <sup>MES</sup>*la<sup>?</sup>-be* <sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA *ap<sup>?</sup>-pa<sup>?</sup> la-iš-da* <sup>AS</sup>*li-du-ma* <sup>HAL</sup>*ti-pi-pi du-iš-da* <sup>AS</sup>*be<sup>1</sup>-ul 22-um-[me-]na<sup>1</sup>*, “620 qts. of emmer (for) people who have been sent – whom the king has sent – at Liduma. Tipipi has received; 22<sup>nd</sup> year.” It is only logical to take *ap<sup>?</sup>-pa<sup>?</sup>* (cf. Hallock ms.: ~~la-iš-da~~) as animate relative pronoun referring to *labe*, not as inanimate pronoun referring to the *tarmu* (emmer; cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *tarmu*). In the PF corpus *appa* is used with the animate and inanimate classes (on the relative pronouns see also Stolper 2004a: 76). As for <sup>HAL</sup>*la<sup>?</sup>-be*: Hallock (ms.) and the EW (s.v. *hal-la*) read *hal-la<sup>?</sup>-be* and compared the form to *hal-la-hu-ut-ti-ip* (EW: “Erdarbeiter (?)”). I have chosen to read <sup>HAL</sup>*la<sup>?</sup>-be*, which may be compared to *la-ib-ba* in NN 1322: (receipt of flour by travellers) <sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA-*ik-ki-mar* <sup>x-ba<sup>?</sup></sup>*la-ib-ba*. The form *labba* may be taken as a conjugation II 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. form of *la-*, “[people] having been/being sent” (for the type of form cf. Tucker 1998: 174-6). In any case, our <sup>HAL</sup>*la<sup>?</sup>-be* could theoretically be explained in the same way as *labbe* (“people being sent”). Note that in both NN 1236 and NN 1322 people are sent (*labe*, *labba*) by the king. Explanation of *labe* and *labba* as 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. animate nouns like *la-ap*, “officiants” in EKI 85:23 (cf. Vallat 2000a: 1070; §3.6.5. below) is unattractive given the context.

<sup>434</sup> A receiving party may be implied in PF 0010, however. Alternatively, it could be suggested that the text actually speaks of cultic activity (“Karkiš offered”), without specifying the religious beneficiary. As Annalisa Azzoni informs me (pers.comm. 13/III/2007), the Aramaic docket on the reverse may contain the word *kmrn*, “religious functionaries, priests,” but the reading is uncertain.

3.1.3.7. *Equivalents* – The contexts in which forms of *la-* occur show that a rather narrow interpretation as “assurer le culte de” or “vouer un culte à” for *la-* (Vallat) raises more problems than it solves. This becomes particularly manifest from the equivalents regularly used for *la-*. One of those recurring equivalents has already been discussed: *lišda* which alternates with *lašda* (§3.1.3.3 above).<sup>435</sup>

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals (&amp; date)</i>	<i>(abstract of) text</i>
PF 0341	•PFS 0041; PFS 0591 (ø/22)	(150 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaterra of Palak, Akbaka received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-an-na-ma ha la-iš-da</i>
PF 0342	•PFS 0041; PFS 0592 (ø/22)	(50 qts. of wine, allocation from Ibaterra, Marmaka received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-an-na ha ú-ut-taš-da</i> <sup>AS</sup> <i>su-lu-šu-na-mar la-ka<sub>4</sub></i>
PF 0345	•PFS 0041; PFS 0240 (ø/22)	(70 qts. of flour, allocation from Parru, Supra received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-an-na-ma la-iš-da</i> (at Tašpak)
PF 0346	•PFS 1673; PFS 0594 (ø/23) <sup>436</sup>	(100 qts. of barley, allocation from Parru, Datukka received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>um-ba-in-na ha hu-ud-da-iš-da</i> (at Tašpak)
PF 0347	•PFS 1695; PFS 0595 (ø/23)	(barley ... Natera received) <sup>AN</sup> <i>hu-ban</i> <sup>MEŠ</sup> <i>hi<sup>1</sup></i> <i>du-nu-iš-da</i>

table 3.5: *lašda* and equivalents

Table 3.5 above shows alternations between inflected forms of *la-*, *hutta-* and *dunu-*. Whereas in PF 0341 (cf. §3.1.3.6) an officiant receives wine which he *umbannama ha lašda*, “sent/offered it as the (offering) of Humban,”<sup>437</sup> PF 0342 seems to describe essentially the same action (the context is very similar), yet with the phrase *umbanna ha uttašda*, “PN utilised it for Humban.” The same is probably true for PF 0345 (*lašda*) and PF 0346 (*huttašda*). Finally, PF 0347 uses *dunušda* (“he gave”) in describing the offering to Humban and it seems reasonable to take this form as yet another substitute for *lašda*.<sup>438</sup> Thus, we have forms of *li-* (“to deliver, send”), *hutta-* (“make, prepare, utilise”) and, possibly, *dunu-* (“to give”) used in contexts that parallel those in which forms of *la-* occur. To my mind these equivalents support the inference that *la-* should be regarded as a single and relatively widely applicable root and verbal base with various, interrelated shades

<sup>435</sup> Apart from NN 0153, NN 0339, NN 1400 (discussed in §3.1.3.3) and PF 0362 (§3.1.3.5), PF 0771 also has *lišda* in a religious context: Irdabada receives beer which he has sent/delivered, (as) an offering, for Auramazdā (*daušiyam uramasdana lišda*).

<sup>436</sup> Hallock has PFS 0300; for the identification of the seal as PF 0594 see Garrison & Root 1996/98: 33. See also Garrison & Root 2001: 183-4.

<sup>437</sup> On *umbannama*, “as the (offering) of Humban/as the Humbanian (offering)” cf. §3.6.6.

<sup>438</sup> Cf. PF 0755 with *dunušda* in religious context (*lan*) instead of regular *huttašda*.

of meaning (“to send, to send as gift, to offer, to make an oblation”). By contrast, the assumption of two roots *la-*, one with the restricted and abstract sense “vouer un culte à,” does not fit well in the relevant contexts and does not agree with the wide range of substitutes used for *la-* in cultic contexts.

### 3.1.4. Return to DBa

If <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in PFT means “offering, oblation” and is a nominal derivation from a root *la-*, “to send, to offer,” then it allows for a new attempt at explaining DBa<sub>e</sub> 1-2:

<sup>DIS</sup>ú *la-an* <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA <sup>DIS</sup>pár-sip-ik-ki

There are several possible approaches to the problem posed by this phrase:

- A As was observed before, the *la-an* in DBa<sub>e</sub> lacks the determinative <sup>AN</sup> for divine or cultic beings and objects. Though the use of the determinatives in Achaemenid Elamite is not always consistent (cf. §3.4.5.1 fn. 501 below), the only other case where it is omitted with *lan* is PF 0772.

One could consider the omission of <sup>AN</sup> in DBa<sub>e</sub> as a mistake. If so, one also has to assume the ellipsis of a first person finite form such as *li(h)*, and of the name of the (divine) beneficiary. Furthermore, one would have to argue that the Bīsotūn monument was considered as a votive offering to the gods.<sup>439</sup> Altogether, this would yield something like “I (gave this relief as) an offering (to DN), I king to/among the Persians.” Though this possibility cannot be excluded, I see no way to substantiate it.

- B A parallel between DBa<sub>e</sub> and Fortification contexts of forms derived from *la-* is found in the postpositional element *-ikki* (<sup>DIS</sup>pár-sip-ik-ki). Normally, the element indicates direction, hence its occurrence with finite forms of the verbal base *la-*, which often implies a sense of motion (cf. §§3.1.3.1, .5-6 above).<sup>440</sup> The postposition element also occurs once with *lakkurra*, a rare nominalised

<sup>439</sup> Suggestion by Elizabeth Tucker (pers.comm.), who points out that Middle Elamite *lam* can also refer to objects (rather than sacrificial commodities, as in the Fortification archive (cf. §3.6.1.3 below).

<sup>440</sup> See, for example, PF 1394: (a travel company receives flour) <sup>AS</sup>šu-šá-an-mar <sup>AS</sup>ma-te-iz <-zī-iš> <sup>HAL</sup>pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ik-ki **la-ki-<sup>1</sup>ip**, “they were sent from Susa to Parnakka (at) Matezziš.” Another example is PF 1530: (a travel company receives beer) <sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA-**ik-ki la-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>**, “they were sent to the king.”

conjugation II participle ([la.k.r]; cf. Tucker 1998: 171-3).<sup>441</sup> It seems possible that DBa<sub>e</sub> presents a parallel case (*lan* ... -*ikki*). If so, we have a clue as to the meaning of *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub>: something or someone is sent/given/offered to the Persians. It should be admitted, however, that the postpositional element -*ikki* occasionally does also occur in contexts where it seems to convey a locative rather than a directional sense.<sup>442</sup> Moreover, the parallel Old Persian and Akkadian versions have king *in* Persia.

- C If *lan* in DBa<sub>e</sub> is a form of the verbal base *la-*, various morphological analyses may be attempted. First, *lan* is not a conjugation III finite form given the lack of a gender suffix and its position in the middle of the clause (cf. §3.1.2.2 above). This also renders Vallat's recent "je descends de" (Vallat [forthc.]) highly problematical (not to mention his interpretation "venir de, descendre de" for *la-*). Interpretation as supine or infinitive (so Hallock 1969: 720) seems faulty in the absence of a predicate to govern it.

As a third option, *lan* could be a regular nominal formation (like <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in PFT) or an absolutive verbal noun.<sup>443</sup> In both cases *lan* would be inanimate, however; an animate nominal formation would be *lar* ([la.r]), not *lan* ([la.n]). Likewise, an animate verbal noun based on a conjugation III stem would require an animate gender suffix as in \**lanra* ([la.n.r]), without which it can only be inanimate ([la.n.ø]).<sup>444</sup> There is nothing in DBa<sub>e</sub> 1-2 to which *lan*, as an inanimate noun or verbal noun, could refer; this option is therefore not likely.

<sup>441</sup> NN 0828: (PN receives flour) <sup>AS</sup>*kur<sup>1</sup>-ma-na-<sup>r</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-hu-<sup>r</sup>mar<sup>1</sup>* [<sup>HAL</sup>]<sup>r</sup> EŠŠANA-*ik<sup>1</sup>-ki* <sup>r</sup>*la<sup>1</sup>-ak-kur<sup>1</sup>-ra*, "PN, the one who is sent from Kermān to the king, ..." The context does not suggest the interpretation as absolutive verbal noun ("envoy") rather than as (nominalised) participle. For *lak-* see also §3.1.3.2 fn. 415 above. Closely similar (also with *lakkura*): PF 1332.

<sup>442</sup> Cf. DB<sub>e</sub> II.12, <sup>DIS</sup>*ma-da-be-ik-ki* <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA-*me hu-pir-ri hu-ut-taš*, "he exercised kingship over the Medes" – the OPers. (DB<sub>p</sub> II.17) version has *hau xšāyaθiya abava Mādai*, "he became king in Media" (Schmitt 1991: 56). Compare also <sup>DIS</sup>*pār-sip-ik-ki* and <sup>DIS</sup>*ma-[da-]be-ik-ki* in DB<sub>e</sub> I.26-7. The vast majority of cases in the Achaemenid inscriptional and administrative corpora, however, bears a clear sense of direction and as a principle that should be the first and preferred interpretation.

<sup>443</sup> Cf. inanimate verbal nouns such as *kurman*, "allocation," *lin*, "gift," *mušin*, "account." These do not seem to be regular nominal formations, but rather built on verbal bases (cf. §3.1.2.2 fn. 404): *kurma-*, "to allocate," *li-* "to deliver," *muša/i-* "to account."

<sup>444</sup> I have wondered whether the animate gender suffix could be implicit in the following <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA. If so, one would have to read *lan-<sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA*, a nominal compound meaning something like "sender-king (to the Persians)." But given the determinative preceding EŠŠANA (not *lan*) this does not seem likely. Besides, a passive sense for *lan* seems required to make the phrase understandable (cf. below).

- D A final possibility is to interpret *lan* as a (non-nominalised) conjugation III participle. This is certainly conceivable in terms of morphology and syntax and is supported by the occurrence of parallel conjugation III participles like *sudaman* and *niman* in the inscriptional corpus (cf. §3.1.2.2 fn. 399 above). Those parallels, however, do seem to have an active meaning (although Grillot 1987: 65-7 translates the first as passive-perfective) and most commentators agree that conjugation III formations are generally non-past and active (cf. §3.1.2.2 fn. 403 above). Thus, the relevant phrase in DBa would have to be rendered as “I, sending, king to the Persians” and that does not seem to make sense at all.

The only conceivable way out of this conundrum is, in my view, to accept option D, but with an a passive sense rather than an active sense for *lan*. Richard Hallock already seems to have considered this possibility as appears from the card for *lan* in the Elamite dictionary files (cf. §3.1.2.1 fn. 396 above). The card has an additional note written in Hallock’s hand that translates the passage under discussion as “I (am) being sent forth (as) king in Persia(?)”. A more literal interpretation (cf. ad B above) would be: “I (am) being sent (as) king to the Persians.”

King Darius (and his successors) frequently states that not he himself, but the god Auramazdā gave him kingship over Persia and the lands (“Auramazdā made me king, Auramazdā granted me kingship”). In his accession to the throne, the god, not Darius himself, is the principle actor: kingship is for Auramazdā to grant. The same is stated, but more emphatically, in the *Cyrus Cylinder*, in which Marduk takes his protégé by the hand and, quite literally, leads him to victory.<sup>445</sup> Is such also implied by DBa<sub>c</sub> 1-2?

The main problem in the above interpretation is that one would have expected a conjugation II participle *lak* (“sent”) or *lakir* (“he who is sent”) instead of the conjugation III participle *lan*. Yet, this problem may be only apparent, for the principle opposition between conjugation II and III may not be passive *vs.* active, but rather past/perfective *vs.* non-past/imperfective. That could explain the choice for a conjugation III form in DBa<sub>c</sub>: its composer wanted to focus on the timeless aspect of Darius’ god-given kingship, rather than on its historical foundation.

As was indicated above, the main Bīstūtīn inscription, which was composed slightly later than DBa<sub>c</sub>, omits the word *la-an*, and has <sup>DIŠ</sup>ESSANA <sup>AS</sup>pār-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>. This means, literally, “king *to* the Persians” or, more freely, “king among the Persians” or even “in Persia” (cf. §3.1.1.1 above).<sup>446</sup> The form with *-ikka* seems

<sup>445</sup> Text: Schaudig 2001: 550-5. On the motif of divine selection and its Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian prototypes cf. Kuhrt 1983: 91-2, 1995 II: 602 and, especially, 1987.

<sup>446</sup> The determinative <sup>AS</sup>, indicating a locale, is unexpected in <sup>AS</sup>pār-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>, for *parsip* means “Persians,” not “Persia.” The case is not unique, but rare: only PF 1442 and PF 1480 have <sup>AS</sup>pār-sip (cf. Vallat 1993: 210). Hallock (1969: 406, 416) translates <sup>AS</sup>pār-

elliptical vis-à-vis the original *lan* ... *-ikki*.<sup>447</sup> The message may be the same, but the phrasing of DBa is more precise.<sup>448</sup>

There is no question about the hypothetical character of the above analysis – it is merely offered here to demonstrate the *possibility* of explaining the crux in DBa from the Fortification material. As far as I can see, a *non liquet* is the only alternative, as older interpretations, “now” and “(I) am,” have little to recommend them. This would, however, not alter the conclusions reached on *lan* in the Fortification archive.

### 3.1.5. Summary

Richard Hallock tentatively proposed “the sending forth” for <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in Fortification contexts, a solution that has been modified here to “the sacred item/commodity [which is] sent [to DN],” hence “offering, oblation.” This interpretation takes <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* as a nominal (not verbal, as Hallock thought) formation from a root *la-*, “send-, offer-” from which both nominal and verbal bases and forms could be derived (§3.1.3.1). This position differs from that of Vallat (and, in his earlier publications, Hinz), in that only a single root *la-* is assumed instead of two, one for “send-” (or “venir de”) and one for “assurer le culte de” or “vouer un culte à” (§3.1.3.2). Such a distinction of two roots would seem to be contradicted by the Fortification material in various ways:

*sip* as “Persia” (cf. Giovino 1994a: 26), probably on the assumption that the suffix *-ikki* was used “to transform the name of a people into the name of a country” or “a person into a place” (1958: 261). A scribal error may not be excluded, however; the scribe may have been thinking of *parsa-ikka*, “to Persia” (cf. Bae 2001: 77). Note that an alleged fourth case of <sup>AS</sup>*pár-sip* (DSe<sub>e</sub> 13-4) occurs in a restored passage. Scheil 1929: 63 read [<sup>AS</sup>*pár-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-mar*, Weißbach 1938: 161 changed this to [<sup>DIS</sup>*pár-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-mar*, but Kent (1938: 119) returned to the original [<sup>AS</sup>*pár-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-mar*, as did Vallat (1977a: 162; 1993a: 210). Stolper (1980: 176), in his publication of a new DSe fragment (DSe<sub>e</sub> 05), restored for the more likely [<sup>DIS</sup>*pár-sip-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-mar*].

<sup>447</sup> Note that DBa<sub>e</sub> 2 and DB<sub>e</sub> 1.1 are the only two attested cases of “king to/among the Persians” – the title does not occur anywhere else, at least not in Elamite.

<sup>448</sup> There is another small yet significant difference between DB<sub>e</sub> and DBa. DB<sub>e</sub> 1.2 has <sup>DIS</sup>*ha-ka<sub>4</sub>-man-nu-ši-ia*, but DBa<sub>e</sub> 1-2 <sup>DIS</sup>*ha-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-man-nu-iš-ši-ia-ra* (“Achaemenid”). The first is a mere transcription from the Old Persian, but the older form, in DBa<sub>e</sub>, has been properly Elamised by the addition of a gender suffix ([hakamannušiya.r]). On this form see Vallat [forthc.].

- *lašda* alternates with *lišda* in religious contexts and *lišda* means “to send, to give, to deliver” (with a clear sense of motion) (§3.1.3.3; cf. §3.1.3.4);
- finite verbal forms of *la-* occur together in a ‘polyptotic’ pattern where the shades of meaning “to send” and “to offer” are at interplay (§3.1.3.5);
- secular contexts of *la-* sometimes imply “giving” and relate to the sense “to offer” in religious contexts (§3.1.3.6);
- the substitutes used for *la-* in cultic contexts, *li-*, *hutta-* and *dunu-*, lead to the assumption that *la-* itself had a more general meaning rather than the restricted “vouer un culte à” and this agrees with the assumption of a single root denoting “to send, to offer” (§3.1.3.7).

As for *la-an* in DBa<sub>c</sub>: the earlier interpretations “now” (Hüsing) and “(I) am” (Weißbach) can be shown to be ill-founded; there is no lexical material to support either solution (§§3.1.1.3, 3.1.2.1) and there are morphological objections against the interpretation of *la-an* as a 1<sup>st</sup> sg. finite form (§3.1.2.2). “Now” provided the basis for “göttliche Gegenwart,” Hinz’s interpretation for <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in Fortification contexts (§3.1.1.1). In addition, “now” gave rise to the imprudent characterisation of DBa as a fresh and high-spirited document contrasting with DB. In reality, the perceived difference between the two Bīśotūn versions appears to consist only of a stylistic reorganisation necessitated by the expanded titulature and genealogy (§3.1.1.2). The word *la-an* does not indicate freshness or informality; instead it may be based upon the same root *la-* that is so amply attested in Fortification contexts. There, it is sometimes congruent with the directional suffix *-ikki* (“to send GN-to”), as in the case of DBa<sub>c</sub> (*lan ... parsip-ikki*). Proceeding from this connection, *lan* may tentatively be explained as a non-past, imperfective conjugation III participle with passive sense. This would render <sup>DIS</sup>*ú la-an* <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA <sup>DIS</sup>*pār-sip-ik-ki* as “I (am) being sent/given (as) king to the Persians” (§3.1.4).

Obviously, the most important conclusion from the preceding sections is that <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* in PFT means “offering, oblation” and nothing more. This precise understanding of what <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* means is necessary for a balanced assessment of the religious contexts in which *lan* occurs in the Fortification texts. These religious contexts are the subject of the remainder of this chapter.



### 3.2. *A monthly oblation for the gods: PF contexts of lan*

In the section below a plain survey of the available data on *lan* will be given (for the texts cf. ¶1 below), followed by a discussion of previous comments on the offering (§§3.3-5) and a synthesis of its Middle and Neo-Elamite background (§3.6). The chapter will be concluded by an alternative interpretation of *lan* and an evaluation of its significance in terms of Elamite-Iranian acculturation (§§3.7-8).

#### 3.2.1. *lan in Persepolis: a survey*

There are, in the currently available sample of 5,623 texts and journal entries (in a corpus of 4,845 tablets; cf. §§2.1.3, .1.5 above), 81 documents in which *lan* occurs. This sample consists of 57 memorandum-type texts and 24 journal entries. In twelve cases the term *lan-lirira* (<sup>AN</sup>*la-an-li-ri-ra*, “oblator”) is used as a designation of the officiant performing the *lan* offering. This designation, logically, only occurs with *lan* and describes only the action of the officiant during the *lan* offering.<sup>449</sup> Also, there is one text that refers to *lan* offerings “during 11<sup>7</sup> *lankul*” (PF 0772). The term *lankul* may mean “offering-prayer” (cf. §3.6.2 below).

The personnel receiving provisions for *lan* are introduced just by their names in 38 cases. Otherwise, they are designated as *šatin*, *lan-lirira*, *haturmakša*, *makuš* or *pirramadda* (previously read *pirramasda*, cf. §3.4.6 fn. 517 below). The last three terms are Iranian, but their etymology and/or the exact function they may have implied are debated.<sup>450</sup> The precise definition and associations of *šatin* (cultic expert) cannot readily be given either. Occasional statements to the contrary notwithstanding, *haturmakša*, *makuš* and *pirramadda* appear in other religious contexts, without *lan*, as well; the same holds true for *šatin*. In addition, *haturmakša* is the designation of certain officials in the administrative hierarchy mentioned in the summaries of journals and account. Such profane professional contexts do not

<sup>449</sup> To call it a ‘title’ would therefore seem imprudent at this stage. Cf. §3.6.1 below.

<sup>450</sup> Spellings of *šatin* in PFT: <sup>AN</sup>*šá-tin*, <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-tin*, *šá-tin*, <sup>AS</sup>*šá-tin* (sic), <sup>HAL</sup>*šá<sup>hi</sup>-tin* (1x, with phonetic complement), <sup>AN</sup>*šá-tin(-ra)*, <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-tin(-ra)*, <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-tin-pe* (pl.), <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-tam<sub>6</sub>-pe* (pl.), <sup>AN</sup>*šá-tan*, *šá-tan*. The word was probably pronounced /šaten/ (cf. Tavernier 2007d: 283-4). *haturmakša*: <sup>AN</sup>*ha-tur-ma-ak-šá*, <sup>HAL</sup>*ha-tur-ma-ak-šá*, *ha-tur-ma-ak-šá*, <sup>AN</sup>*ha-tur-mak-šá*, *ha-tur-mak-šá*, <sup>HAL</sup>*ha-tur-ma-ik-šá*, <sup>AN</sup>*ha-tar-ma-ak-šá*, <sup>HAL</sup>*ha-tar-ma-ak-šá*, *ha-tar-ma-ak-šá*, <sup>AN</sup>*ha-tar-mak-šá*, <sup>HAL</sup>*ha-tar-mak-šá*, *ha-tar-mak-šá*, <sup>HAL</sup>*an-tar-ma-šá*. *makuš*: <sup>HAL</sup>*ma-ku-iš*, <sup>HAL</sup>*ma-ku-iš-pe* (pl.). Cf. EW qq.v. and Hallock 1969: 695, 723, 744, 755. *pirramadda*: <sup>HAL</sup>*pír-ra-ma-ud-da*, *pír-ra-ma-ud-da*, <sup>AS</sup>*pír-ra-ma-ud-da* (sic), <sup>HAL</sup>*pír-ra-ma-da* (collations R.T. Hallock).

seem to exist for the other designations.<sup>451</sup> Also, there are only two cases of people with ‘cultic’ designations apparently receiving personal rations.<sup>452</sup> Occasionally, designations appear in combination with others, as the following listing shows.<sup>453</sup>

PN <i>makuš</i> + <i>lan</i> :	19 occurrences:	involving 17 individuals:
-PN <i>makuš</i> + <i>lan</i>	12	12 individuals
-PN <i>makuš</i> + <i>lan lirira</i> + <i>lan</i>	7	5 individuals
PN <i>haturmakša</i> + <i>lan</i> <sup>454</sup>	13 occurrences	involving 5 individuals
PN <i>lan lirira</i> + <i>lan</i> :	11 occurrences:	involving 7 individuals:
-PN + <i>lan lirira</i> + <i>lan</i>	4	3 individuals (1 also <i>makuš</i> )
-PN <i>makuš</i> + <i>lan lirira</i> + <i>lan</i>	7	5 individuals
PN <i>šatin</i> + <i>lan</i>	6 occurrences	involving 4 individuals
PN <i>pirramadda</i> + <i>lan</i>	2 occurrences	involving 2 individuals

The commodities allocated for *lan* are cereals, wine and beer, fruit and sheep/goats. Koch in particular has forcefully denied the use of livestock for *lan*, but the relevant texts leave no room for doubt whatsoever on this point (cf. below and §6.5). Two provisions of wine for *lan* (both at Harbuš) are said to be “from the King” (or, more cautiously, “royal”). The commodities for *lan* and the number of occurrences can be listed as follows.<sup>455</sup>

<sup>451</sup> One case is uncertain however: NN 0042 records various receipts by a number of individuals including a *makuš* receiving two sheep/goats; the purpose is not stated.

<sup>452</sup> *makuš*: PF 1798; *haturmakša*: NN 2290:18 (NN 2493:1-3 probably concerns an offering).

<sup>453</sup> Persons with illegible names are counted as separate individuals. The total of occurrences of persons with any designation receiving provisions for *lan* is 19+13+4+6+2 = 44. This includes one combined occurrence of a *šatin* and a *haturmakša* (different individuals) in a single text (PF 1953:1-3). The total number of texts involved is therefore 43 (+ 38 texts without designations = 81 texts on *lan*). See also the table of *lan* officiants and commodities in Kawase 1978: 88 (based on published texts only).

<sup>454</sup> Combinations of *makuš* and *haturmakša* occur as well, but not when *lan* is involved. An example is NN 2206:1-3 (but not, *pace* Koch 1987: 247 fn. 41, NN 2290, where the designations appear in separate entries). *makuš* and *pirramadda* may also be combined.

<sup>455</sup> The 8 occurrences of fruit occur in 5 texts (dates and apples are listed together thrice). The total number of texts is 39+35+5+2 = 81. In PF 0756, Hallock reads [x M]E(?) *mar-ri-iš* (of wine, during two years). Only a faint trace of a horizontal survives, however, and the sign seems to be positioned too far to the right of the line to be ME. It would therefore seem risky to accept the unique amount of 1,000 (or 2,000, 3,000, etc.) qts. on the basis of this alone. The preponderance of livestock in the total of provisions appears from its equivalence in grain: 14,800 qts. (following the common 1:100 rate; cf. ¶155). Compare the total of cereals, liquids and fruit for *lan*: 11,621<sup>+</sup> qts.

cereals		39 occurrences	total volume: [x]5 + 7,462 qts.
-barley	( <sup>Glš</sup> ŠE.BAR <sup>MEŠ</sup> )	17	[x]5 + 4,152 qts.
-flour	( <sup>ZlD</sup> .DA <sup>MEŠ</sup> )	20	2,950 qts.
-emmer?	( <sup>Glš</sup> tar-mu)	2	360 qts.
liquids		35 occurrences	total volume: [x00 <sup>7</sup> ] + 3,499 qts.
-wine	( <sup>(Glš)</sup> GESTIN <sup>MEŠ</sup> )	30	[x]0[x] + 2,299 qts.
-beer	( <sup>(Glš)</sup> KAS <sup>MEŠ</sup> )	5	1,200 qts.
fruit		8 occurrences	total volume: 660 qts.
-dates	( <sup>Glš</sup> MA <sup>MEŠ</sup> )	4	360 qts.
-apples	( <sup>Glš</sup> ha-su-ur)	3	180 qts.
-figs	( <sup>Glš</sup> pi-ut)	1	120 qts.
sheep/goats	(UDU.NITÁ <sup>MEŠ</sup> )	2 occurrences	total number: 148 head

The commodities are normally provided for a whole year, sometimes with the stipulation that they will be issued on a monthly basis. A few texts (PF 0746, PF 0748, PF 1953:1-3, NN 0822) refer to daily sacrifices. Some texts do not record the period for which the provisions are issued, but as the quantities are, with a few exceptions, divisible by 12, the period intended clearly is one year. If provisions are issued for shorter periods, the number of months is usually indicated, but there are a few uncertain cases. In the event of an intercalary month, there is either a provision for 13 months, or a separate document for that month. Remarkably, the provisions for *lan* in Matezziš, seem to have been issued and documented by single months instead of whole years. The reason may be logistic (Matezziš was in the immediate proximity of Persepolis, if not part of the Persepolis agglomeration).

Allocations of wine and grain are often given to the same individual at the same place, suggesting that a monthly *lan* offering involved at least both wine/beer and grain/flour. In a few cases two matching texts have actually survived that document the provision of wine and grain for the same person at the same place during the same period (*pace* Handley-Schachler 1998: 201). Wine and beer are treated as equivalents and the same is true for different kinds of grain and flour. Below are listed the quantities of commodities provided for *lan*, on an annual basis, with the number of attestations:<sup>456</sup>

<sup>456</sup> Shorter-period provisions have been converted to annual amounts; whenever two or more texts pertain to the same location in the same year, they have been counted as a single case. Deviant or illegible amounts are listed under #/[x]; these cases will be treated in §§3.7.3.2-3 below. Livestock are not listed, as in both of the documented cases (NN 2259:5-6, 7-8) the passage mentioning the period is damaged: 118 head for 6 *lan* [in x months] and 30 head for 12<sup>7</sup> months (cf. §5.2 below).

qts./y.:	< 60	60	90	120	180	300	360	480	720	1080	#/[x]
grain:	2x	2x	3x	6x	5x	/	7x	4x	2x	1x	3x
fruit:	/	/	/	4x	1x	/	/	/	/	/	/
liquids:	6x	/	/	14x	5x	1x	3x	/	/	/	3x

table 3.6: regular provisions for lan

In the texts relating to *lan*, 21 places where provisions were received are mentioned. These include Batrakataš (Pasargadae), Hidali, Hunar (ancient Huhnur), Matezziš (Hūmadēšu/Uvādaicaya near Persepolis), Narezzaš (probably Nīrīz) and Tirazziš (Šīrāz), but not Persepolis.<sup>457</sup> The remaining 60 texts do not mention a place name, though an approximate location can often be established by related texts, prosopography, sealings or, if applicable, by the distribution centre mentioned in the summary of a journal text.<sup>458</sup> A topographical analysis of the complete *lan* dossier is attempted below (App.6); for now, suffice is to say that *lan*, though being the most wide-spread offering, is attested in a limited number of the hundreds of places documented in the tablets. As such, it is not fundamentally distinct from other, less frequent offerings. Whether the fact that *lan* is thusfar attested in only three or four towns in the Fahliyān region, the westernmost administrative sector and often seen as Elamite core area, is due to an exclusive affiliation with a certain cultural or ethnic group (the Iranians) is a matter of debate.

The term *lan* is in most cases accompanied by a word that states the function of the commodities provided (“wine, as x, for the/an oblation”). The main variants are Elamite *gal* and Iranian *daušam* or *daušiyam*. These terms also appear in other cultic contexts, but they are never used together. It would seem that they were considered to be (functional) equivalents.

*gal* is normally translated as “ration,” because it frequently refers to regular provisions for individuals and groups. Though sometimes used in the context of *lan*, a second, more appropriate translation in such texts would be “offering,” i.e. in the material sense, as opposed to *lan*, “oblation,” mostly used to describe the *act* or *ritual* of offering. This possibility is based on DSf<sub>e</sub> 16-7 and DSz<sub>e</sub> 15, where *gal* is generally translated as “offering” (“I gave *gal* to Auramazdā”).<sup>459</sup>

<sup>457</sup> Provisions for *lan* were received at: Andabaš, Ankarakkan, Hanamasan, Harbuš, Hatarrikaš, Hidali, Hunar, [...]iš(ma), Karinuš, Kaupirriš, Kurtipiš, Marsaškaš, Matezziš, Narezzaš, Pasargadae, Rakkan, Šiyakaš, Tirazziš, Uškannaš, Uzikurraš.

<sup>458</sup> Distribution centres from which *lan* provisions are issued: Akkurna, Bamašdumana, Dakamanuš, Dakana, Kariran, Kunruš, Kurpun, Marriš, Memanakaš, Mezama, Namakanuš, Nukšama, Rakkan, Rašnumattiš (Rašnuttīš), Šimparran, Tikraš, Zanana.

<sup>459</sup> The basic meaning of *gal* may be “food portion, nourishment.” Sometimes a derivative meaning “wage” or “payment” seems preferable (e.g., for the livestock allocations to

The word *daušam* represents OPers. \**dauça-*, “offering” (OIr. \**zauθra-*, cf. Av. *zaoθra-*, “libation,” Sogd. *žōše*, “sacrifice,” Arm. *zoh* “sacrifice”).<sup>460</sup> The term, again used for liquid and non-liquid offerings, recurs in Achaemenid Bactria as *zwtr*.<sup>461</sup> *daušiyam* is the same word with *-(i)ya-* suffix (\**dauç-ya-*) and literally means “belonging to an offering.”<sup>462</sup> The two terms are treated indiscriminately in the Fortification corpus and general opinion holds that there is no real semantic difference between them. One could argue that *daušiyam* is the more correct term (as *daušam/daušiyam* qualifies commodities *for* an offering), but if so, most of the scribes seem to have ignored this (*daušam* is used about twice as often as *daušiyam*). In the absence of a clear pattern, it would be unwise to force the

Parnakka; cf. Hallock 1969: 23 and Dandamaev 1972b: 20), but this interpretation is not as widely applicable as was originally surmised by Cameron (1948: 51; modified in 1958: esp. 173 [“allocation”]). Cf. Dandamaev in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 161-2. Compare Akk. *kurummatu*, “food portion, allowance, payment, food offering” (CAD K 573-9). *gal* is spelled as *gal* and *gal-li* in *lan* texts (other spellings, such as *ka<sub>4</sub>-la*, are also known; cf. EW s.v. *gal*). In NN 0560, a provision is described as *hu<sup>?</sup>-ru<sup>?</sup>* AN<sup>?</sup>1[*la<sup>?</sup>*] *an-na gal*; the meaning is unclear.

<sup>460</sup> Spellings in PFT: AN *da-u-šá-um*, AS *da-u-šá-um*, *da-u-šá-um*, *da-u-iš-šá-um*, *da-u-šá-am*, AN *du-u-šá-um*, *da-u-iš-šá-iš*, AS *tam<sub>5</sub>-šá-am*, *tam<sub>5</sub><sup>u</sup>-šá-um* (with phonetic complement), AN *da-u-šá-an*, *tam<sub>5</sub>-šá-an* (the last two spellings assimilated to the *n-* of the following word, not ‘unkorrekt’ as EW s.v. *tam<sub>5</sub>-šá-an* holds). The variation in spellings reflects the struggle to render the diphthong in \**dauça-* (diphthongs do not occur in Elamite). The form *da-u-iš-šá-iš*<sup>†</sup> (NN 0936) is the only one with the added ending *-š* instead of *-m* (on *-š* cf. Hallock 1969: 9-10; Gershevitch 1990; Schmitt 2003: 26 fn. 68; Krebern timer 2005: 172). Etymology: Cameron 1948: 7, 42; Schmitt 1972: 190-2; Hinz 1973a: 83-4; *idem* 1975a: 91-2; Tavernier 2007a: 461-2 [4.4.22.7-10]. Cf. Koch 1977: 127-8; Mayrhofer 1973: 315; Razmjou 2004a: 104. Hallock 1969 renders *daušam* as “libation,” but, when this publication was already in print, Hallock wrote that it “could mean ‘offering’” (letter to I. Gershevitch dd. 10/IX/1963). Neo-Elamite *tam<sub>6</sub>-ši-um* seems to be a different word (Tavernier [forthc. 2] 2.3.2.3.3).

<sup>461</sup> See Naveh & Shaked [forthc.] 36, 56, 179, 184 commenting on c1:37-9: “libation/ offering for the temple/altar, to Bēl: white (flour), 240 qts.; wine, 150 qts.” See also Shaked 2004: 45-6.

<sup>462</sup> Spellings in PFT: *tam<sub>5</sub>-ši-ia-um*, *tam<sub>5</sub><sup>u</sup>-ši-ia-um* (with phonetic complement), *da-u-ši-ia*, *da-u-ši-ia-um*. Etymology: Hinz 1973a: 83-4 (cf. fn. 461 above); Tavernier 2007a: 462 [4.4.22.10]. Gershevitch’s alternative etymology (*apud* Hallock 1969: 19; cf. Schwarz 1985: 688) \**daušiyam*, “what serves for satisfaction, propitiatory offering” (cf. Av. *zaoša-* “pleasure”), is unlikely given the use of the term in PFT and the evident use of *daušam* as its equivalent. Also, \**daušiyam* would, contrary to \**dauça-*, have no precise cognates in OIr. (cf. Boyce 1982: 134).

matter.<sup>463</sup> A unique variant, *dausika* (<sup>ANr</sup>*da*<sup>71</sup>-*u-si-ka*<sub>4</sub>: \**dauça-ka-*), is of unknown semantic significance (but probably parallel to *daušiyam*).<sup>464</sup> The occurrences of *lan* + *daušiyam*, *lan* + *gal*, and *lan* + Ø can be represented as follows:

commodities as <i>daušiyam</i> for <i>lan</i>		43 cases
- <i>daušam</i>	(* <i>dauça-</i> )	31x
- <i>daušiyam</i>	(* <i>dauç-iy-</i> )	11x
- <i>dausika</i>	(* <i>dauça-ka-</i> )	1x
commodities as <i>gal</i> for <i>lan</i>		32 cases
- <i>gal</i> for <i>lan</i>		30x
-for <i>lan</i> as <i>gal</i> of the king		2x
commodities (no qualification) for <i>lan</i>		6 cases

Normally, *lan* appears as a solitary term explaining the purpose of an allocation of food commodities (“PN received grain for *lan*”). No god is named as the beneficiary of the offering (NN 2202:2 does not mention Humban, as previously assumed; see App.1 below). The significance of this silence is variously explained as indication that *lan* always refers to the same deity, or that a general ceremony for no god in particular is at stake.

*lan* is listed with other gods, mountains, and a river in eleven cases, a minority of its occurrences (11 out of 81). Ten of these cases are journal entries. Whether such lists of beneficiaries (“PN received grain for DN<sub>1</sub>, DN<sub>2</sub> and DN<sub>3</sub>”) imply that they were venerated in a single ceremony or whether they are just a bureaucratic convention is a matter of debate. The cases of divine beneficiaries listed together with *lan* are given below. The total number of occurrences in the available sample is added between parentheses:

(the) Mišebaka	6x (12)	Mt. Battinaša	1x (3)
Mariraš	4x (4)	Mt. Harriyaramanna	1x (2)
Išpandaramattiš <sup>465</sup>	2x (6)	Mt. Irkamma	1x (1)
<sup>AN</sup> <sub>GAL</sub> <sup>MEŠ</sup>	2x (6)	Mt. Kamarziya	1x (1)
<sup>AS</sup> <sub>KI</sub> <sup>MEŠ</sup>	2x (2)	Mt. Širumanda	1x (1)
Humban	1x (26)	R. Ayanharišda	1x (1)
Narišanka	1x (2)		
Turma (Turme)	1x (3)	[illegible]	2x /

<sup>463</sup> For the sake of convenience one form, ‘*daušiyam*,’ is retained throughout this study.

<sup>464</sup> See discussion (with previous lit.) in Tavernier 2007a: 462 [4.4.22.8]; cf. §3.6.2 below.

<sup>465</sup> I follow Sh. Razmjou’s proposal to read <sup>AN/AS</sup>*iš-pan-da-ra-mat-ti-iš* instead of <sup>AN/AS</sup>*iš-pan-da-ra-kur-ti-iš* (Hallock); the name is to be interpreted as \*Spantārmatiš (cf. Av. Spəntā Ārmaiti-). Cf. Razmjou 1998 and 2001 (also explaining the <sup>AN/AS</sup> variation), Tavernier 2007a: 98 [4.1.6] and ¶9 below.

### 3.3. Earlier explanations of *lan*

3.3.1. *Cameron and Hallock* – The existence of the term *lan* in the Persepolis tablets became known in 1938, when Arno Poebel published a text that later would be republished as PF 0758 (then ‘Pers. 3159’). Though expressing his interest, Poebel did not venture an attempt at translating the relevant passage.<sup>466</sup> This was left for Cameron, who, as we have seen (cf. §3.1.3.1 above), tentatively translated <sup>AN</sup>*la-an* as “divine ceremony” (1948: 7 with fn. 40, 207). Cameron did not think of *lan* as belonging to a particular religion, but just as an Elamite word applied in an Achaemenid setting, which, incidentally, he thought of as “basically untouched by Zoroaster’s work” (*ibid.* 9). Such is roughly also the position taken by Hallock, who considered *lan* to be “some religious ceremony or duty” (1969: 26, 720; cf. §3.1.3.1 above) and consistently translated *lan* with “*lan* (ceremony).”

3.3.2. *Enter Zarathuſtra* – In his review of Cameron’s *Treasury Tablets*, Walther Hinz proposed “‘göttliche Gegenwart’ = ‘Kultandacht,’ ” translating 2 <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-na* as “für zwei Andachten.”<sup>467</sup> His general assessment of the Persepolis material was that it only enhanced, rather than weakened (as Cameron thought), the support for Achaemenid Zoroastrianism.<sup>468</sup> This view was elaborated in a later publication (1970: 427-30), where three religious spheres were identified: Elamite religion, “Persische Volksreligion,” and the Zoroastrian (strictly Gathic) faith. Elamite and popular Persian cults were subject to syncretism, but not so Zoroastrianism, the influence of which Hinz perceived as increasing (*ibid.* 430). Still: there was not, as yet, a rigidly imposed state religion: the (Zoroastrian) Persepolis administration “drückte gelegentlich eine Auge zu,” as Hinz puts it, when the Elamites exchanged grain for sacrificial animals, which were officially forbidden (*ibid.* 427; cf. ¶140-

<sup>466</sup> Poebel (1938a: 134 fn. 13) also refers to *lan* in ‘Pers. 6663’ (later PF 2036). Poebel transliterated a number of Persepolis tablets, 74 of which were reworked and published by Hallock (1969), as appears from his files at the Oriental Institute. Apart from those already mentioned the selection included two more texts on *lan*: PF 0743 and PF 0747. Poebel may also have worked on some of the tablets that were transliterated by Hallock but have thus far remained unpublished (pers. comm. C.E. Jones 24/v/2004). The same applies to the few preliminary transliterations done by Pierre M. Purves, probably in 1938 (ms. kept in the Oriental Institute). Cf. §2.1.2 above.

<sup>467</sup> Hinz 1950b: 349. For the background of and critical remarks on the interpretation “göttliche Gegenwart” cf. §§ 3.1.1.1-3 above.

<sup>468</sup> Hinz 1950b: 350, “Ich glaube, die neuen Quellen bekräftigen nur die Anschauung, die Dareios für den überzeugtesten und vielleicht einzigen Zarathustrier auf dem Perserthron hält, während schon sein Sohn Xerxes wieder vorzarathustrische Glaubensformen, freilich jetzt in zoroastrischer Verbrämung, anheimgefallen erscheint.”

41). As for Auramazdā, Hinz noted with some surprise that the god of Zarathuštra occurred relatively infrequently in the tablets, even if, as he believed at that time, *napir iršarra* (lit. ‘Great God’) should be taken to refer to Auramazdā (1970: 428-9).<sup>469</sup> His tentative solution of this ‘problem’ was, on the one hand, the assumption that the PF tablets were just too ‘worldly’ to document much Auramazdā veneration, and, on the other hand, that the places of true Auramazdā worship probably fell under direct royal control.<sup>470</sup> In all this, Hinz did not, however, try to establish a Zoroastrian interpretation for *lan*, as his student Heidemarie Koch would do.

### 3.3.3. *The triumph of Zoroastrianism*

3.3.3.1. *lan and Auramazdā* – The 1976 dissertation of Heidemarie Koch (published in 1977) takes a firm stand in the debate on Achaemenid Zoroastrianism (1977: 81-85). It does so from a very narrow definition of (Gathic) Zoroastrianism. The author considers the Mazdaic henotheism and the Ahura Mazdā theology laid down in the *Gāthā* as single-handedly created by the prophet Zarathuštra. The contents of the *Gāthā* (rather than the whole surviving Avestan corpus) are considered as normative for ‘true’ Zoroastrianism. These texts are taken to

<sup>469</sup> This solution is not likely to be valid: Napir(i)šara (PF 0353, PF 0354, PF 0596, Fort. 8866), whose name is also written <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>, is in all probability the continuation of the old Elamite god Napiriša, whose cult is still amply attested in the late NE period (i.a. in the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque*; cf. Vallat 2002/03: 533-6). Hinz himself commented extensively on MElam. and NElam. <sup>AN</sup>GAL/DINGIR.GAL (the precursor of <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> in Persepolis) whom he identified as Napiriša (wrongly taken as a taboo name for Humbar; see, e.g., Hinz 1965 and Koch 1977: 106). The interpretation of <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup> as Auramazdā was subsequently given up by Hinz (EW s.v. DINGIR.GAL), but it was recently reiterated by Skjærvø (2005: 53). Cf. §§3.4.6 and ¶5 below.

<sup>470</sup> “Wenn Ahuramazdās Rolle in den Walltäfelchen vergleichsweise bescheiden anmutet, so mag dies einmal an der Eigenart unseres Quellenstoffes liegen: er spiegelt ja nur die materielle Seite des Lebens der Achämenidenzeit wider. Zum anderen dürften die Stätten reiner Ahuramazdā-Verehrung durch die Großkönige Kyrus und Darius wirtschaftlich unmittelbar gesichert worden sein, so daß deren Sachbedarf nicht durch die ‘Bücher’ der Intendantur zu Persepolis lief.” It would seem quite curious that Auramazdā would largely stay outside the archive, with its orientation on worldly matters, while the other gods apparently did not! Simultaneously, the proposal suggests an unfounded distrust by the Persian kings *vis-à-vis* their own bureaucratic apparatus – a distrust that, apparently, is non-existent when it comes to royal provisions, large quantities of gold, provisions for travelling dignitaries, etc.



proscribe (among other things) the cult of Mithra, the intoxicating *haoma* drink, and *all* animal sacrifices. Also, Koch assumes (partly on the basis of PFT) a low date for Zarathuštra's life. She puts the prophet's floruit around 600 BC (1977: 171-4; cf. 2002: 15-8, 25), in line with the traditional date handed down in Zoroastrian circles. Therefore, the prime position granted to Auramazdā (as his name is written in Old Persian) in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions should be related directly to the purportedly recent Zoroastrian reform. The position and role of Auramazdā in the inscriptions is described as unprecedented and as a mark of true religious enlightenment (1977: 174). The influence of Hinz's ideas on Zoroastrianism, particularly his peculiar yet sweeping *Zarathustra* (1961), is undeniable.<sup>471</sup>

Given the importance of Auramazdā in the Achaemenid inscriptional corpus, it is, according to Koch, surprising that Auramazdā receives such modest attention in the Persepolis Fortification tablets.<sup>472</sup> The god makes relatively infrequent appearances, is mostly listed together with other gods, and receives equal or smaller offerings compared to these other gods. A much-cited example is that of PF 0339 that records an allocation of 7 qts. of wine for Auramazdā and 20 qts. for (the originally Elamite) Humban. Koch observed this state of affairs in the four published texts mentioning Auramazdā.<sup>473</sup> Within the now available sample only 10 texts record offerings for Auramazdā, against, e.g., 26 texts with offerings for the originally Elamite god Humban (in a total corpus of *ca.* 250 texts relating to cultic practices).

In order to tackle the (perceived) enigma of Auramazdā's relative unimportance in the Fortification texts, Koch first proposed to ascribe *lan* to one particular god. She did so on the basis of three arguments (1977: 129-30):

- *lan* does not need to be qualified, ergo: it must be clear for whom it is intended;
- *lan* sometimes occurs side by side with named gods in lists of beneficiaries of sacrifices and receives equal shares, ergo: *lan* must refer to a single entity;
- *lan* always has the determinative <sup>AN</sup>, which is sometimes absent with other kinds of sacrifices, ergo: *lan* must be of singular importance.

Then, from an analysis of the relevant texts, Koch proposed a number of additional arguments to ascribe *lan* to Auramazdā and to him alone (137-8):

<sup>471</sup> On the notion of enlightened Zoroastrianism vs. Elamite paganism compare §1.6 above.

<sup>472</sup> "Bei der großen Bedeutung, die der König so offenkundig dem Gott Ahuramazdā beimißt, verwundert es, das er verhältnismäßig selten auf den Tafelchen genannt wird" (Koch 1977: 83; compare Hinz's position, cf. §3.3.2 above).

<sup>473</sup> Other, unpublished texts were, at the time of her dissertation, only known to Koch by reference (in a letter by Hallock). These additional texts from the Hallock Nachlaß, do not, however, alter the profile described by her. Cf. ¶7 for the texts on Auramazdā.

- *lan* is the most wide-spread type of sacrifice in the Fortification archive;
- the provisions for *lan* are largely stereotypical, regular and fixed for a whole year (“festgelegte Rationierung”) and this sets *lan* apart from other offerings;
- there is a special involvement of the higher strata, even the king himself, in *lan*;
- *lan* is mostly mentioned alone (suggesting a separate and distinctive cult);
- when mentioned among other beneficiaries of offerings, *lan* mostly occurs with Iranian gods (Elamite gods “werden offentsichlich bewußt getrennt gehalten”);
- the officiants involved mostly have Iranian titles (*makuš*, *haturmakša*);
- the officiant with the Avestan title *haturmakša* is involved in no cult but *lan*;
- no sacrificial animals, but only bloodless offerings were given for *lan*.<sup>474</sup>

For Koch, the above arguments formed sufficient proof for the identification of *lan* as “das offizielle Opfer für Ahuramazdā” (1977: 138). This identification would clarify the infrequent appearances of the god in the tablets *vis-à-vis* his important role in the royal inscriptions. The fact that *lan* is an Elamite term is explained by taking *lan* as ‘the offering *par excellence*’ for which the normal Elamite word for ‘offering’ could be used.<sup>475</sup> Note that, in the conclusion of her dissertation, *lan* reappears, this time as part of the *evidence* supporting a “nach den zarathustrischen Grundsätzen ausgerichteten offiziellen Religion” (1977: 175-8, 182).

3.3.3.2. *lan and geography* – Following her dissertation (1977), Koch wrote a comprehensive study on *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft* in the Persepolis archives that was eventually published in 1990 and that evidently is the result of an immense effort to find coherence in the sheer mass of documents. Based on this detailed analysis of prosopography, seal use and links between various villages and towns, Koch established a relative topography of the regions under the purview of the Fortification administration (following the earlier work and method deployed by Hallock 1977; 1985: 592-8). This, in turn, gave her the opportunity to add a new dimension to her analysis of cultic practices as she could now locate offerings and officiants in one of the six main ‘Bezirke’ that she had identified (Koch 1987).<sup>476</sup>

<sup>474</sup> This argument is tacitly assumed throughout Koch’s analysis (e.g., 1977: 125, 145-7), but only explicitly stated as such on p.178. Cf. Koch 2001: 11, “Auffällig ist, daß von der achämenidischen Verwaltung keinerlei Opfertiere ausgegeben wurden, was auf eine Befolgung der von Zarathustra verkündete Lehre hindeutet.”

<sup>475</sup> Cf. Koch 1977: 138, “Doch mag es sein, daß die elamischen Schreiber für dieses Opfer, das zur Zeit des Dareios eben als ‘das Opfer’ schlechthin galt, ihr gebräuchliches Wort ‘lan’ einsetzten. ‘Das Opfer’ bedeutete für sie dann ‘das staatlich verordnete, regelmäßig durchzuführende und mit Zuteilungen zu versehen Opfer’ ” (q.e.d.!).

<sup>476</sup> Though based on it, the 1987 study appeared prior to the publication of Koch 1990 (cf. *ibid.* 3 fn. 5).

Regarding *lan*, the 1987 study basically reprises earlier arguments, but adds a few new ones as well.<sup>477</sup> Its main point is that *lan* is represented in all six of Koch's Bezirke, but that in 'Elymais' ("rein elamisches Gebiet," p.265) it is attested only a few times, with relatively low provisions (*ibid.* 242, 244). This is taken to indicate that *lan* was not important to the local population of the Elamite territory.<sup>478</sup>

3.3.3.3. *Later publications by Koch* – In an ever-increasing number of more recent studies Koch has repeated her ideas on Achaemenid religion.<sup>479</sup> No arguments were added to those listed above,<sup>480</sup> the importance of the new publications primarily lies in the fact that they served to spread Koch's ideas beyond the small group of specialists. One paper is, for example, published in a reference work widely used for academic teaching (1995),<sup>481</sup> two others in volumes on religions of the Achaemenid period (1991, 2002), one in an authoritative source-book on economic and legal documents (2004) and one in a popular publication on ancient Near Eastern cultures (Koch in Koch & Schmitt 2003: 347-53). In most of these studies the Zoroastrian speculations on the Fortification material are presented as solid facts rather than as hypotheses.<sup>482</sup> As a result, even though her theories may be

<sup>477</sup> The study responds to a criticism voiced by M. Boyce, who had argued that *lan* was merely a general term for "act of worship" (cf. §3.4.1 below). Koch is right in pointing out that *lan* is often preceded by the general term *daušiyam*, which is a general term for "offering" ("given as *daušiyam* for *lan*," etc., cf. §3.2 above), and that combining two general terms would be pointless (1987: 242 fn. 7).

<sup>478</sup> "...Elymais, wo das *lan*-Opfer ohnehin kaum vertreten ist, für die dortige Bevölkerung also unbedeutend war."

<sup>479</sup> Koch 1981a: 219-220; 1988a; 1991; 1992; 1995; 2001: 10-1; 2002: 276-286; Koch in Koch & Schmitt 2003: 347-53; Koch 2004: 244-5.

<sup>480</sup> Although they add some curious insights, such as that of the infiltrator-magoi who managed "die Lehre Zarathustras mehr und mehr zu verfälschen" (2002: 24) or on the career limitations of the not-so-purely-Zoroastrian magoi (1995: 1967). Cf. §1.6.

<sup>481</sup> Note that the perspective taken in this publication is implicitly, yet strongly contradicted by Sancisi-Weerdenburg's contribution to the same handbook (1995). Whereas Koch (1995: 1967) claims that it is "rather certain" that *lan* was the "state sacrifice for Ahura Mazda," Sancisi-Weerdenburg stresses the danger of straightforwardly labelling the Achaemenids 'Zoroastrians' and underlines the significant discrepancy between Auramazdā's exclusive position in the highly ideological royal inscriptions ("metaphors for the royal power") and his position in the "considerably more intricate" dossier constituted by the Persepolis tablets. Cf. *idem* 1980: 1-47; 1993b; 1996; 1999.

<sup>482</sup> Thus, in Koch 2004: 244 one reads "Das Kultopfer (elam. d.la-an) war das offizielle Opfer für den von dem Propheten Zarathustra verkündeten Gott Ahuramazda" (cf. 2001: 10). No background or arguments are given, as if this were a generally accepted

viewed as static or over-simplified and have found limited acclaim among scholars of Achaemenid history,<sup>483</sup> Koch's perspective is undoubtedly perceived as authoritative in other circles. Some may hold that it is unnecessary to respond at greater length to Koch's thinking, yet a critical and detailed re-evaluation of her approach has not been undertaken to date and many ideas, especially the technical details of her hypotheses, stand unchallenged. This is an undesirable situation. Re-opening the discussion is, I think, a mere courtesy not only to the author (who, after Richard Hallock, has been by far the most prolific scholar in the study of the tablets), but also to the Elamites.

In addition, and this is really the main point, a comprehensive response to Koch will allow me to illustrate and discuss various principles of administration found in the archive that are relevant to the present study as a whole.

Following a synoptical response to Koch's views, the discussion continues with a brief survey of later scholarship on *lan* (§3.5). A new treatment on *lan*, its Elamite background, its meaning and significance in the Achaemenid period is

and self-evident insight. Koch's presentation of the Fortification archive (*ibid.* 224-45) includes various other unproven assumptions that are presented as axiomatic truths. References are made *exclusively* to articles by Hinz and Koch. Two studies by Vallat are only mentioned in passing; other authors working on PFT (Aperghis, Briant, Brosius, Giovino, Kawase, Lewis, Stolper, Tucker, Tuplin, Uchitel, ...) are simply ignored. Therefore, it is hard to imagine how the article fits the aims of the *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* series, i.e. introducing ancient Near Eastern sources in a factual and profitable way. Similarly, it is hard to imagine how Koch's 2001 monograph on Persepolis can serve to inform the general public of the current state of knowledge in Achaemenid studies, since only the author's own views are given. Cf. the highly critical yet fully justified review of Koch 2001 by Bruno Jacobs ("weitgehend selbstreferentiell"). Jacobs notes, with a sense of surprise that is shared by this author, that Koch bluntly ignores the *entire* debate about Achaemenid religion: "In Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß seit Jahrzehnten intensiv um die Frage gerungen wird, wie die Achämeniden zur zoroastrischen Religion standen, liest man mit nicht geringer Verwunderung, daß sie Zoroastrier waren und daß der Zoroastrismus unter Dareios I. Staatsreligion gewesen sei" (B. Jacobs 2003/04: 444-5).

<sup>483</sup> Printed criticism on Koch's work mostly has been modest and relatively mild. Reviews of Koch 1977 are Humbach 1979, Mayrhofer 1978 (both focussing on etymological and onomastic issues), Herrenschmidt 1979 (dismissive, but hardly discussing the problems observed), Boyce 1979, *idem* 1982: 136-40 (highly critical) and Calmeyer 1980a (cautious, but with some acute observations on cultic 'titles' and the status of Auramazdā). See also Brosius 1994 on Koch 1992 and B. Jacobs 2003/04 on Koch 2001. In later publications parts of Koch's work, notably her theory on *lan*, have met with some approval, though without properly discussing or implementing them in a significant way (cf. §3.5.1 below).

presented in §§3.6-7. An evaluation of the wider significance of the issues raised with regard to *lan*, especially on the independent status of the tablets *vis-à-vis* the royal inscriptions, will complete this chapter (§3.8).

### 3.4. Koch on *lan*: a synoptic response

3.4.1. *A sacrifice for a particular god?* – That *lan* is never qualified is explained by Koch as indicating that the ‘Elamite scribes’ knew perfectly well for whom the offering was intended. The word, though Elamite, would mean “*das Opfer*” (cf. §3.3.3.1 fn. 475 above), *viz* different from all other offerings and rituals because it was *the* offering of the state religion. The name of the beneficiary, in Koch’s eyes Auramazdā and Auramazdā only, would therefore constitute redundant information in the archival texts.

The contention that *lan* is never qualified was, for some time, debated. Hallock read [*da-u-*]<sup>1</sup>*šá*<sup>1</sup>-*um*<sup>AN</sup>*la-na*<sup>AN</sup>*hu*<sup>?</sup>-*ban*<sup>?</sup><sup>1</sup>-*na*, “offering-gift for the *lan* for Humban,” in NN 2202:2. The text was known and commented on by Koch (1987: 258), and its potential importance was stressed by Razmjou (2004a: 104) and myself (2005b: 143; 2006b: 152, 387-91, 413). After some residual dirt was removed from the tablet, it turned out, however, that Hallock’s reading, which had seemed perfectly plausible before, should be ruled out (see App.1 below for discussion and edition of NN 2202). This brings us back to the circumstance that *lan* is never qualified.

It is true that the Persepolis scribes often suppressed information that would be functionally redundant in the archival data stream. They were principally uninterested in describing cultural phenomena or in divulging antiquarian facts: their prime goal was ensuring accountability. Some information is therefore never given, such as the organisation and status of (groups of) officiants, a description and indication of the purpose of cultic rites, the role of individual gods, or the relation of certain rites to the religious calendar. Other information such as the designation or title of the officiant (*makuš*, *šatin*, etc.) was optional: some texts do mention it, but others, which are otherwise identical, leave it out.<sup>484</sup>

<sup>484</sup> Pidaka is called a *šatin* in PF 0349, but lacks this qualification (under similar circumstances) in PF 0350 and NN 0893 (¶4). The same is true for Bakabana in PF 0337 and PF 0336 respectively (¶7). Yašda is mostly introduced as *haturmakša*, but is designated a *makuš* in NN 1602, and lacks any designation in PF 0760 (¶1). The list of examples can be extended with individuals with religious functions as well as with other officials whose designation is not consistently mentioned.

The names of the divine beneficiaries of offerings also constituted a class of information that was not considered as essential and that was sometimes included, sometimes left out. Apart from texts on *lan*, there are some 85 texts documenting provisions for various named deities (Humban, Adad, Auramazdā, etc.), 35 texts on specific types of offerings (*šumar*, *kušukum*, etc.), and 53 texts laconically mentioning offerings “for the gods” (cf. ¶26 below). It may be that individual conditions determined the inclusion or exclusion of the divine names, but in any case there was, apparently, neither a strict rule nor a necessity to state these consistently. Divine names were, like religious designations or titles, an optional element. It may be that the names could be deduced from contextual information (officiant, GN, etc.), but it may just as well be true that they were of no particular importance *for the bureaucratic process*. This, it should be stressed, is not to say that there was a fundamental lack of interest in religious matters on the part of the central authorities. Quite the contrary: the total volume of sacrificial goods is quite impressive and it must have been the central authorities (if not the royal court itself) that decided who should receive offerings, by whom, at which place, how much and at which frequency. Such decision-making is, however, not the subject of the Fortification archive: it just needed to make the allocations of cereals, wine, fruit and meat for offerings accountable in a surveyable way.

Now, the question is whether *lan* fits the above scheme: if *lan* in itself means nothing more than “offering,” do the *lan* texts necessarily imply suppressed additional information? Is ‘*lan*’ an elliptical expression for ‘*lan* for Auramazdā’? I think that the scribal shorthand theory does not apply to *lan*. Whereas there are 53 recorded offerings for anonymous gods, and 85 for named gods, *lan* is never qualified in 81 texts. The *consistent* solitary application of *lan* suggests that *lan* was significant as a technical term *per se* and was used as a meaningful catchword by the Persepolis scribes.

Taking *lan* as an offering *sui generis* is attractive from an administrative perspective. If the offering was defined by a certain frequency, regularity and (combination of) commodities needed, ‘*lan*,’ as a technical catchword, would in itself serve the purposes of identification and accountability very well. This, in my view, would also explain why *lan* appears side by side with offerings for various named deities in a number of lists of offerings. If, by contrast, *lan* always were the offering for a particular god (Auramazdā), it would be peculiar that he alone would be referred to by means of an offering, while other gods were mentioned by name (cf. §3.4.2 below). This problem is also solved if one accepts that *lan* denotes a specific offering, and is not a reference to a particular god.

One may note that *lan*, if understood as an offering (and ritual) *sui generis*, does not present an unparalleled case. There are various other terms for offerings, notably *šip* and *akriš*, that are less frequent, but show similar patterns. The first term, referring to a kind of sacrificial feast, could be qualified, but was typically

used without naming the divine beneficiary.<sup>485</sup> *akriš* occurs only as a solitary term.<sup>486</sup> This means that both terms, like *lan*, were used as administrative catchwords that, in the minds of the scribes, would immediately evoke a certain distribution and frequency pattern.

3.4.2. *Inventories* – Certain texts take the form of an inventory listing several beneficiaries of sacrificial commodities. An example is the following journal entry:

PF 1956:1-2<sup>487</sup>

seals: PFS 0027\*, •PFS 0108

(Dar. 21; barley at Rašnumattiš)

1. 5 (*irtiba*)                      HAL<sub>um-ba-ba</sub> HAL<sub>ša-tin du-iš-da</sub> 1 AN<sub>la-an-na</sub> 1 AN<sub>tur-ma-</sub>
2.                                      na 1 AN<sub>ma-ri-ráš-na</sub> 1 AŠ<sub>KI</sub> MEŠ<sub>-na</sub> 1 AN<sub>mi-ša-a-ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-na</sub>

150 (qts. of barley) Umbaba the *šatin* received:

- 30 for *lan*,
- 30 for Turma,
- 30 for Mariraš,
- 30 for AŠ<sub>KI</sub> MEŠ (Earth),
- 30 for (the) Mišebaka (“All Gods”).

Koch’s argumentation is that, since *lan* is sometimes found alongside other named gods, as in the above entry, it must itself refer to a single and identifiable entity.<sup>488</sup> From this notion she implicitly inferred that *lan* must indicate a particular god (1977: 129-130). This inference, however, is only valid if a given inventory implies a simultaneous act of worship or, in other words, if the combination of various beneficiaries directly reflects a cultic reality. This is not the case.

The lists are, in fact, the product of a bureaucratic principle intended to make allocations to the same officiant surveyable. The same principle appears, in a slightly different form, elsewhere in the archive. The case of individuals designated

<sup>485</sup> *šip* is qualified only once, in NN 0654 (*šip* for the god Zizkurra); the name of the deity or deities for whom the offering is made is not stated in the other eight texts that mention *šip*. Note that *šip* (in the form *šibbe* or [šip.e], “his *šip*”) occurs also in XPh<sub>e</sub> 30, 32, 33, 34, 41, 44 (with Auramazdā and *daivā*). Cf. §5.3 below; ★§6.3.1 and *passim*.

<sup>486</sup> The word occurs in four texts. Cf. §23 below.

<sup>487</sup> Edition: Hallock 1969: 560 (adapted).

<sup>488</sup> *lan* is listed with other offerings and gods in 11 texts (cf. §3.2.1 above and §1 for more details) out of a corpus of 81. In total, there are 37 texts listing more than one god (or cult) as beneficiaries of commodities, out of some 250 texts recording allocations for religious purposes.

as *araššara* (female team-leader) is illuminating. These women headed predominantly female workforces and were administered together with their subordinates in case of cereal rations. Yet, being of a somewhat higher status themselves, the *araššara* women were also entitled to regular wine and meat allocations. Such rations could be, as Maria Brosius has pointed out, recorded in special documents pertaining to various specialised workers of comparable rank who “were not actually working together but were only listed together for bureaucratic reasons.” Thus, one can find wine rations for an *elnuškira* (“doorkeeper”), a *tupira* (“scribe”) and an *araššara* listed together in a single inventory.<sup>489</sup> In practical terms, this means that the payments or rations were allocated by a single official (*kurman* PN<sub>1</sub>-*na*) and that the specialist workers were supervised by the same official (PN<sub>2</sub> *šaramanna*), though they were not members of a single work unit.

A similar scheme seems to be operative in the case of gods (and cults) listed in inventories: they were probably grouped together because their offerings were made by the same person in the same region or place (and possibly under the same official’s supervision), not because they were cultically interconnected. This is clear from the observation that sometimes several topographical features (rivers,

<sup>489</sup> That some of these designations belong to the sphere of the ‘treasuries’ (*kapnuški*) does obviously not imply that these were “stets unter der obersten Leitung einer Frau (*pace* Koch 2005c: 256 [ignoring Brosius 1996]). On *araššara* and its implications see Brosius 1996: 146-63 (following Kawase 1984: 22; cf. also Hallock 1985: 601, García Sánchez 1999: 303-4 and Henkelman 2000a: 501-2). Note that the term is exclusively employed when these female team leaders are *not* listed with their task forces. As *araššara* they appear with other specialists or alone (see table in Brosius 1996: 150), mostly in the texts on meat and wine allocations. They do, on the other hand, occur listed with their subordinates in grain texts (as Brosius has shown on the basis of ration patterns), but here they are not introduced as *araššara*. In those cases the context made it sufficiently clear that these groups included an *araššara*, so that the term did not therefore need to be stated. A third scenario (not identified by Brosius) concerns wine rations for small groups of unqualified individuals, who probably constitute the top-level of a larger workforce headed by a female team leader. A clear case of this is the wine-receiving group in Pittannan mentioned in NN 1719, PF 0903 and PF 0904, which is likely to be part of a larger, barley-receiving force of PF 0957, NN 1099 and PF 0958 (on this group see also Koch 1994: 131). Again, stating the term *araššara* was apparently not necessary: the context provided adequate administrative data and the wine-receiving individuals apparently did not belong to different groups. All this nicely illustrates how technical terms and designations functioned in the archive: they are not *descriptive* terms, but rather *distinctive*, functional catchwords, deployed only when clear identification or distinction was essential.



mountains) appear as beneficiaries of offerings in a single inventory. Consider these two examples, journal entries NN 2265:1-4 and PF 1955:1-3 (cf. ¶1):

242 qts. of wine Kammargina, the *makuš*, received: 20 (as) offering (*gal*) for/at Mt. Irkamma, 20 from<sup>9</sup> the King for (the) Mišebaka, 20 (as) offering for *lan*, 20 (as) offering for Napiriša, 20 (as) offering for/at Mt. Kamarziya, 20 as offering for/at Mt. Battinaša; this is the total of a whole year, including the '120' qts. (which) he (K.) received formerly. (NN 2265:1-4)

360 qts. of barley Upiš the *makuš* received: 90 (as) offering (*gal*) for *lan*, '90' for (the) Mišebaka, 90 for/at Mt. Harriyaramanna, 90 for/at R. Ayanharišda. (PF 1955:1-3)

It is likely that offerings 'for' or, rather, *at* certain topographical features like the mountains and the river listed in the above texts were made on the spot, on the slope or top of the mountain or on the river-bank. This assumption is in line with the well-known testimonies of Herodotus and Strabo on Persian religion.<sup>490</sup> At any rate, such offerings on mountains or at river banks preclude that lists containing multiple geographical features refer to a single religious act. For this reason, we probably are entitled to assume separate rites for the other beneficiaries named in the examples above, (the) Mišebaka, *lan* and Napiriša. The concluding phrase of NN 2265:1-4 – "this is the total of a whole year" – seems to confirm the assumption of a *series* of separate rites.<sup>491</sup> In fact, the offerings may not only have been performed at various locations in the area of the officiant's activity, but also on different days.

Offering lists from the Neo-Babylonian period, like the ones from the Eanna archive (Uruk) published by Beaulieu (2003) or those from the Ebabbar

<sup>490</sup> Hdt. 1.131; Strabo XV.3.13-4. See discussion, with bibliography in De Jong 1997: 96-8, 127-9, 138-42 and Kuhrt 2007b: II 548-52. Cf. §5.4.3 and ¶¶ 16-7 below.

<sup>491</sup> See also ¶1 for the text of NN 2265:1-4. Compare PF 0339 (three rivers), PF 1955:1-3 (a river and a mountain), NN 0379 (three rivers); NN 2259:3-4 (a river and two mountains). Note that Dandamaev (in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 340) also takes the lists as referring to communal offerings, which would indicate that Mišebaka cannot mean "all gods," but must refer to a single god, Mithra. Conversely, Ahn (1992: 105-6) claimed that Mišebaka must be "eine festumrissene Göttergruppe" since it appears in lists with other gods. Regardless of what may be the correct understanding of Mišebaka (cf. §4.2 fn. 755 below), both arguments are unconvincing on the same grounds that are adduced here against Koch's hypothesis on *lan* in inventories. Offerings for (the) Mišebaka occurring in these lists only show that there was a particular kind of offering for (the) Mišebaka, not that a single god or a clearly delineated group is necessarily meant (for the texts see ¶25 below).

archive (Sippar) published by Myers (2002: 207-35), are not dissimilar from the documents under discussion in the sense that both types of lists are a purely administrative phenomenon. Rather than being direct reflections of a cultic reality, the Babylonian offering lists too focus on the economic side of things: the provisions needed day by day and month by month for various sacrifices, and the actors responsible for allocating, processing, and redistributing sacrificial commodities.

In summary, the parallel with the *araššara* texts and the occurrence of multiple topographical features in lists of beneficiaries of offerings compel the conclusion that these lists were primarily a bureaucratic feature. The common element was the officiant and the region or place in which he operated (in itself an interesting feature, cf. below).

As for the bureaucratic rationale underlying the inventories, there is one important aspect that has not been mentioned until now: inventories are much more abundant in journal entries than in memorandum-type texts.<sup>492</sup> This suggests, once more, a technical, bureaucratic principle rather than anything else. Series of different types of offerings performed by the same officiant may typically have been documented by separate memorandum texts, but were subsequently summarized as inventories in single journal entries.

In short: apart from officiant and region, the rites listed in inventories are likely to have been separate. Of course, combined rites for groups of gods may have existed, but the inventories cannot be used as an indicator to that effect.<sup>493</sup>

There is, then, no longer any need to link *lan* to a particular god. In fact, such an idea would constitute an inexplicable oddity: why would the administrators choose to single out one deity and substitute his name by that of an offering? As we have seen, it makes more sense to assume that *lan* refers to a particular type of offering, not to a particular god.

<sup>492</sup> There are 19 journal entries, out of 62 on allocations for cultic purposes, that have an inventory of several beneficiaries (ca. 30%), whereas only 15 inventories are found among the 170 memorandum-type (ca. 9%). In the specific case of *lan* the numbers are even more alarming: 10 out of 24 journal entries with *lan* are inventories (ca. 42%), against one out of 57 memorandum-type texts (ca. 2%). It is curious that the inventories in memorandum-type texts belong, with only a single exception (the *lan* text PF 0773), in texts of Hallock's category E, "utilization" (1969: 18-20). Does this mean that, whereas K1 texts directly refer to an offering, E texts (can) refer to an officiant's activity during a given period?

<sup>493</sup> The observations made here on the inventories of offerings are *a fortiori* true for series of journal entries. Though journals gather information relating to a particular region, commodity and period, the contents of the various entries are not related (cf. §2.5.1 above). They describe separate and independent transfers for separate purposes. This principle is not always (fully) recognised by Koch (see, e.g., 1977: 132 and cf. §6.5).

All of this is not to say that Koch was misguided in pointing to the importance of the inventories. They are indeed significant in that they show that *lan* was a term with autonomous administrative status and denoted a well-defined entity. It would have been pointless for the Persepolis administrators to record the names of several gods, rivers and mountains as well as a neutral term that could refer to any kind of offering. The solution that *lan* denotes a particular type of offering does fit the administrative context remarkably well and is reinforced by the notion of offerings ‘for’ (at) rivers and mountains. The fact that offerings for mountains and rivers appear in inventories with named gods and *lan*, indicates, at least in my view, that we should read these lists primarily as a series of *offerings*, not as a series of *beneficiaries*. Thus NN 2265:1-4, quoted above, should be understood as a list recording a mountain offering at Mt. Irkamma, a royal offering for (the) Mišebaka, a *lan* offering, an offering for Napiriša, a mountain offering at Mt. Kamarziya and a mountain offering at Mt. Battinaša.

3.4.3. *Auramazdā* and *lan* – Apart from the problems observed in the previous two paragraphs, a weighty complication in Koch’s interpretation of *lan* is that the data on this sacrifice are incompatible with those texts that do mention *Auramazdā* by name. There are ten texts in this group, against 81 texts mentioning *lan* (cf. ¶¶1, 7 below). It should be stressed once more at this point that *none* of the *lan* texts refers to *Auramazdā*, and that *none* of the *Auramazdā* texts refers to *lan*.

Three of the texts on offerings for *Auramazdā* (NN 0366, PF 0337 and NN 0978) state that “afterwards” (*viz* after consecrating and deconsecrating) barley was consumed by workmen.<sup>494</sup> Such information does not occur anywhere with *lan*.<sup>495</sup> In addition, the amounts of grain allocated in these three texts are unknown for *lan*.<sup>495</sup> This discrepancy can also be observed on a general level: commodities reserved for

<sup>494</sup> Vallat (1994a: 272) suggests that in PF 0337 “le grain n’était pas destiné à la ‘cérémonie religieuse’ elle-même mais bien aux ouvriers qui s’occupaient du service divin.” This projects an unfounded distinction between commodities for divine and human consumption. In fact, the available sources (including the Greek authors) make it quite likely that *all* commodities offered to the gods were consumed by humans (probably after deconsecration), and were not left to waste on the altars or offering tables. This practice is, needless to say, very widespread in ancient Near Eastern cultures. The stipulation of PF 0337 that ordinary *workers* (*kurtaš*, not “ouvriers qui s’occupaient du service divin”!) consumed the 800 qts. of barley is necessary for the administration to single out this case as an offering that, in economic terms, was in fact an (extra) payment to the workers and was not consumed, as usual, by the cultic personnel. Cf. §6.3.3.

<sup>495</sup> The amount is 400 qts. for *Auramazdā* alone in two texts and 1,000 qts. for *Auramazdā* and Mišdušiš together in the third text. Cf. ¶7 for details.

Auramazdā do not come in the same amounts as those for the *lan*.<sup>496</sup> Furthermore, in case of Auramazdā the period in which commodities are issued is rarely indicated (one out of ten texts), whereas it is stated in 61 out of 81 *lan* texts. Overall, the impression is that offerings for Auramazdā were incidental, the texts do not suggest a monthly offering, which clearly is the case with *lan* (cf. §3.2.1).

Apart from the distinct frequency and distribution pattern, there is also a problem in the personnel involved: *none* of the officiants sacrificing to Auramazdā or of the supply officials providing the commodities occurs in any of the *lan* texts. Significantly, the only overlap between the two groups of texts is made by a seal, PFS 0588\*, which occurs both on Auramazdā and *lan* texts. The texts are given in the table below (cf. ¶¶1, 7):

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals (&amp; date)</i>	<i>text</i>
PF 0338	PFS 0588*; •PFS 0589 (ø/21)	160 qts. of wine, allocation from Šarukba, Appirka the <i>šatin</i> received; he utilised it for Auramazdā, (the) Mišebaka and Šimut.
NN 0114	PFS 0588*; •PFS 0589 (ø/21)	160 qts. of wine, allocation from Šarukba, Akruru received; he utilised it for Auramazdā and (the) Mišebaka.
PF 0772	PFS 0588*; •PFS 0899 (ø/21)	72 qts. of wine, allocation from Karayauda, Iškamtakka (&) Maudadda, 2 <i>makušbe</i> , received. During 11 <sup>7</sup> <i>lankul</i> they utilised it (as) <i>dausika</i> for <i>lan</i> .

table 3.7: PFS 0588\*

It appears that PF 0338 and NN 0114 are closely related: they have the same supply official, the same amount of wine, the same supplier seal on the left edge (PFS 0589) and they mention offerings for Auramazdā, (the) Mišebaka (and Šimut). PF 0772 also has wine, but in a different amount, with a different supply official, a

<sup>496</sup> See the overview of allocations for *lan* §3.2.1 above. NN 0683 and PF 0771 have 40 qts. of wine for Auramazdā; the period is not stated. This probably either means an incidental offering or a series of offerings for a whole year. In neither case a parallel with *lan* is at hand: there are no incidental offerings or year totals of 40 qts. (the only time 40 qts. is mentioned concerns a four-month period). The amounts of barley offered to Auramazdā (and Mišdušiš) and consumed by workers in NN 0366, PF 0337 (400 qts.) and NN 0978 (1,000 qts.) probably pertain to single offerings; in any case they have no parallels among the cereal allocations for *lan*. The case of PF 0338 and NN 0114 is unclear as the 160 qts. of wine mentioned are given to several gods; the division is not indicated. PF 0339 and NN 0379 have 7 qts. of wine for Auramazdā, again a figure (be it monthly or annual) unparalleled in the *lan* texts. NN 2200:1-5 records a total of 30 qts. of barley for Auramazdā for a whole year – there is no such amount in any text on *lan*.

different supplier seal on the left edge (PFS 0899), *two* officiants, a different kind of ceremony (*lan*), and the unparalleled mention of an “offering-prayer” (*lankul*; cf. §3.6.2 below). Apart from seal PFS 0588\*, the three texts are only related by their date (Dar.21) and by the fact that they concern wine.

What all this means is that PFS 0588\* was the seal of the official responsible (*šaramanna*) for the organisation of cultic activities in a certain area, i.e. the person supervising, in this case, the streams of commodities from suppliers to officiants (cf. §2.4.1.3 above). Under his responsibility wine was allocated by different suppliers to different officiants, to be used for Auramazdā and for *lan* respectively. The documents pertaining to his orders were plausibly drafted by the same scribe: PF 0338, PF 0772 and NN 0114 have very similar tablet shapes, the same hand, and PFS 0588\* is impressed in the same way, particularly on the upper edge. The administrative and scribal unity in combination with the marked *difference* in content, virtually excludes that “for *lan*” is just another way of saying “for Auramazdā.”<sup>497</sup>

It is evident, then, that the profile and contexts of *lan* offerings are irreconcilable with those of the Auramazdā offerings. Naturally, we are playing small numbers statistics in the case of Auramazdā (only ten texts), but the absence of *any* overlap between the two groups of texts is surely significant. The point is not touched upon by Koch, but it certainly calls for attention: how can it be that Auramazdā, when he is named as such, is treated differently, and by different personnel, than in all those cases where he, supposedly, is referred to by *lan*? One could propose two different offerings for Auramazdā, a regular one (which needed the god’s name to be mentioned) and a special one (*lan*), but that solution would really seem to beg the question.

3.4.4. *A remark on method* – In the Persepolis tablets, individual gods and groups of gods are referred to by name or by the general phrase “for the gods.” Only Auramazdā could, as Koch claims, be referred to by both his name and by his offering (*lan*). This practice would be unparalleled in the Persepolis administration. And not only would the reference to the offering (instead of a named god) be unique, this way of referring would also be conspicuously predominant in relation to direct notations of Auramazdā’s name: the god is mentioned in only 10 texts,

<sup>497</sup> On PFS 0588\* cf. Garrison 2002: 79, 83. A second seal, PFS 0513, is also collocated with texts mentioning *lan* and Auramazdā (NN 2265:1-4; NN 2200:1-5). This seal is not relevant for the present discussion, however, as it belongs to an accounting office or an accountant (cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 163-4). Such seals occur only on journals and accounts and have no *direct* bearing on the transactions recorded (cf. Hallock 1977: 132 and §2.4.2.2 above).

against 81 texts that have *lan*. It is hard to think of any *cultic* reason for this predominance – there was surely no taboo on the name ‘Auramazdā’ (cf. Dandamaev in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 341 and, in a different context, Schmitt 2003: 27). The only viable alternative would be an *administrative* reason. Yet, the claim that only this god was referred to by means of his offering is not based on a thorough technical discussion of administrative principles. I do not claim that the practice *per se* is beyond imagination, but it cannot be accepted simply on the uncorroborated assumption that there was an exclusively Mazdaic ‘Staatsreligion’ and that its supreme god, Auramazdā, would therefore have been treated differently by the Persepolis scribes. Approaching the material without such *a priori* assumptions is a prerequisite if we are really interested in gaining any *new* insights into the religion of the Achaemenid heartland from the Persepolis archives.

3.4.5. *A special sacrifice?* – Now that it is becoming clear that *lan* hardly refers exclusively to Auramazdā, but instead seems to denote a *type* of offering, I will briefly address other arguments advanced by Koch (§§3.4.5.1-7; cf. the overview in §3.3.3.1).

3.4.5.1. *The determinative* – First, the use of the determinative <sup>AN</sup> preceding *lan* (<sup>AN</sup>*la-an*) is not as eloquent as Koch has thought it to be. The application of the determinative is not completely consistent: it is lacking in PF 0772.<sup>498</sup> It is true, however, that the great majority of cases does have the determinative. Yet, this situation is no different from the pattern observed with some other cultic terms such as *šip* (<sup>AN</sup>*ši-ip*). Of the nine occurrences of *šip*, eight are written <sup>AN</sup>*ši-ip*, only one lacks the determinative.<sup>499</sup> The case of ITI (“month”) is also instructive: though not as such a deity, nor itself the beneficiary of offerings, it is written <sup>AN</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup> almost invariably in hundreds of attestations.<sup>500</sup> In determining the nature of *lan*, the nearly-consistent use of the determinative <sup>AN</sup> is therefore, like the inventories discussed above, not a reliable diagnostic tool.<sup>501</sup> It certainly does not reveal the presence of Auramazdā behind the term *lan*.

<sup>498</sup> The texts has <sup>AN</sup>*da<sup>?</sup>-u-si-ka<sub>4</sub> la-an-na*. On *dausika* cf. §3.2.1 above.

<sup>499</sup> With determinative: PF 0672, NN 1665°, NN 1701°, NN 1731, NN 2225°, NN 2259:1, 25-6°, NN 2402. NN 0654 has <sup>AN</sup>*zi<sup>l</sup>-iz-kur-ra-na ʾši<sup>l</sup>-ip* (“a *šip* for the god Zizkurra”). The absence of the determinative <sup>AN</sup> is explained by the fact that the preceding word already carries the determinative. The same holds true for <sup>AN</sup>*da<sup>?</sup>-u-si-ka<sub>4</sub> la-an-na* in PF 0772.

<sup>500</sup> A sample survey of NN 0001 to NN 0600 yielded only five cases without <sup>AN</sup>. Hallock (unpublished card files) lists only two cases, as well as a single attestation of <sup>AS</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup>.

<sup>501</sup> On a more general level, it should be noted that in Achaemenid Elamite the use of <sup>AN</sup> (and other determinatives such as <sup>GIS</sup> and <sup>AS</sup>) was not ruled by the strict guidelines of a

3.4.5.2. *Coverage* – The geographical coverage of *lan* is impressive, but should not be overestimated. *lan* is not omnipresent: 21 places are mentioned in texts on *lan* (cf. §3.2.1 above). Though a number of places may be added from contextual analysis, bringing the total to 34 (cf. App.6 below), the final number of localities where *lan* was carried out is still considerably lower than the total number of places attested in the Fortification archive.

3.4.5.3. *Volume* – The volume of commodities used for *lan* is substantial and surpasses all other definable groups: offerings for Auramazdā, offerings for Adad, *šip* offerings, etc. (cf. App.4 below). But what does this mean? As I see it, it just means that *lan* represents a common way of making offerings. It does, once more, not mean that *lan* must refer to a particular god.

Also, the fact that *lan* was popular is not to say that it was predominant in an absolute sense. It takes up ‘only’ about 22% of the total of cereal allocations for offerings, 34% of the sheep/goat allocations, and some 44% (or less) of the beer and wine allocations. Only in the case of fruit does *lan* have an absolute dominant position of 89% of the total of allocations, but here the margin of error is considerable as there are *in toto* only six texts on fruit for cultic purposes.<sup>502</sup> It follows that, though important and clearly different (see, e.g., the relatively high wine allocations), *lan* was not the order of the day in Persepolis.

style book. The determinative was used with divine names, calendrical terms, month names, and terms for objects, structures or actions related to cult. Some terms show (nearly-)consistent patterns in the use of <sup>AN</sup> (*lan*, *šip*, ITI), but other, seemingly comparable terms show much more variety (*daušiyam*, *nan*, *bel*). There may be cultic or historic explanations for such differences, but the available material does not provide any clues that could be helpful in this respect. In any case, Achaemenid Elamite does not seem to adhere to strict, uniform scribal conventions; the texts rather suggest a considerable orthographic and lexical latitude. In short, the (irregular) use of <sup>AN</sup> and other determinatives should not be given too much weight. For this reason Dandamaev comments (in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 340) on the determinative in <sup>AN</sup>*mi-še-ba-ka*<sub>4</sub> are to be rejected as well. On orthographic variations in Elamite cf. Schmitt 1986a; on determinatives in later Elamite cf. Vallat 2005.

<sup>502</sup> Cereals: 7,462<sup>+</sup> qts. for *lan* against ca. 25,800<sup>+</sup> qts. for all other offerings. Sheep/goats: 148 head for *lan* against 282 head for all other offerings (including those for a *šumar* or *bašur* – cf. §3.4.7 below). Liquids: 3,499<sup>+</sup> qts. (hardly more than 3,600 qts.; cf. §3.2.1 fn. 455) for *lan* against ca. 4,550<sup>+</sup> qts. for all other offerings. Fruit: 660 qts. for *lan* against 78 qts. for all other offerings (represented by a single text: NN 2486:47-8). Cattle and fowl are not even attested for *lan*, as they are for *šip* (NN 1701, NN 1731, NN 2225; cf. ¶22). See for *lan* the tabulation in §3.2.1 above.

3.4.5.4. *Regularity* – It is true that provisions for *lan* are largely stereotyped, regular and fixed for a whole year. This, too, sets *lan* apart from (most) other offerings, but it does not indicate, even less prove that *lan* was intended for Auramazdā. It only means that *lan* was a particular kind of ritual, as was already observed above, with its own particular kind of frequency (cf. §3.7.2 below).

3.4.5.5. *lan and daušiyam* – The contention that *lan*, as it is sometimes preceded by *daušiyam* (a general term for offering), cannot itself be a general term for ‘act of worship,’ is essentially correct (cf. §3.3.3.2 above).<sup>503</sup> *daušiyam* and *daušam* qualify the *commodities* allocated for *lan* (grain, wine, etc. “as *daušiyam* for *lan*”) and other offerings. Although it occurs only half as often as *daušam*, the use of *daušiyam* (\**dauç-iyā-*), which literally means “belonging to an offering,” underlines this observation: *daušiyam* (and *daušam*) is not typically used to denote a sacrifice *per se*, but to characterise food as sacrificial (cf. §3.2.1 above). The same is true for its Elamite counterpart, *gal*, which may originally have meant “nutrition” and was used in Achaemenid Elamite for “offering gift,” “ration” and “payment” (cf. §3.2.1 above). The status of *lan* is indeed different because this term denoted a specific *act* of worship (rather than the commodities offered). Yet, the conclusion that it should therefore refer to a particular god would be unwarranted: rather it means that *lan* was used as a specific term for a particular type of offering.

3.4.5.6. *Involvement of the King* – According to Koch, another distinctive feature of *lan* is the involvement of the crown (1977: 137; 1987: 243; 2004: 244). This is, as appears from Hallock’s unpublished transliterations (not available to Koch in 1977), not the case. Two texts speak of commodities for a *lan* offering, given as *gal* (“offering gift”) “from the King” (PF 0753 and NN 0556); the texts are virtually identical and concern a wine offering for two consecutive years by the same officiant. But there is also a case of wine given by the king for an offering to (the) Mišebaka (NN 2265:1-4).<sup>504</sup> NN 2544 speaks of royal barley and sheep/goats at a *kušukum*, which was some sort of shrine, normally mentioned as the site of various offerings. Royal involvement is therefore not confined to *lan* offerings.

More important, however, is the objection that focussing solely on explicit references to the King tends to overlook the bigger picture of the higher administrative strata that were involved in all kinds of cultic acts. Indirect royal

<sup>503</sup> The proposal (*lan* as a general term for “act of worship”) is from Boyce (1982: 133) and was rejected by Koch 1987: 242 fn. 7; 1988a: 395. On Boyce cf. §3.5.2 below.

<sup>504</sup> The text has <sup>1</sup> (...) 2 EŠŠANA-[na<sup>?</sup>] <sup>2</sup>AN mi-šē-ba-ka<sup>4</sup>1-na (...). Collation of the passage shows that Hallock’s EŠŠANA (a later addition to his manuscript) is clear. The restoration of -[na<sup>?</sup>] at the end of line 1, on the damaged right edge, is mine.



involvement may, for example, safely be assumed in the offerings made at the royal tombs and can be deduced from the presence at those sites of court officials called *lip̄te kutip* (“chamberlains”). Connected even closer to the king – and demonstrably much more royal than *lan* – are the grand *šip* feasts presided over by the king himself or by Parnakka, Darius’ highest representative in Persepolis, which served as a platform of royal ideology.<sup>505</sup>

3.4.5.7. *Isolation of lan* – Another feature that is claimed to be a special characteristic of *lan* is the fact that *lan* occurs only rarely in lists of offerings (Koch 1977: 137; cf. §3.4.2 above). Indeed, *lan* occurs in such lists in only eleven cases out of a corpus of 81 texts (13.6%). This is far from unique, however: Humbar occurs, for example, in lists of offerings only in four out of 26 cases (15.4%).<sup>506</sup> The point is that inventories are a relative rarity *in general*.<sup>507</sup> The infrequent presence of *lan* in such lists is therefore not at all diagnostic of the status of *lan*.

3.4.6. *lan and the Iranians* – A separate set of counter-arguments concerns the purportedly ‘Iranian’ contexts in which *lan* is mentioned. For Koch it is important to stress that *lan* occurs mostly in such contexts, not only because *lan* is supposed to be the special offering for Auramazdā, but also because *lan* is itself not an Iranian (Old Persian), but an Elamite word that is attested already in Middle- and Neo-Elamite texts – a circumstance which she needed to neutralise.

Though the Fortification tablets are written in Elamite, the observation that *lan* is an Elamite term is certainly not to state the obvious. The archival language is hardly a ‘pure’ form of Elamite; Old Persian loanwords and calques are legion (cf. §2.2.1 above). It would therefore seem appropriate to ask why *the* offering of the Mazdaic ‘Staatsreligion’ was *never* referred to by an Old Persian term. Surely, if the offering belonged to the Zoroastrian heritage, it would have had its own fixed and precise denominator in Old Persian, so why is that term completely absent in the Fortification tablets? Stating that ‘the Elamite scribes’ (if such an ethnic group could be sharply delineated – cf. §4.4.3 below) simply did not know better or preferred a word familiar to them (Koch 1977: 138) will not do as an explanation. The Persepolis scribes not only deployed frequently used Old Persian words for which no Elamite equivalent existed (e.g., *šakšabama*, “satrap”), but they were also familiar with very specific Old Persian words, like *kudagina* (\**gōdakēna*-, “candied

<sup>505</sup> *šip*: cf. ¶22 below; ★§6.4.1-2 and *passim*. *šumar*, chamberlains: NN 1848; cf. 𐎶117-29, Tuplin 2008 §1.3 and Jursa [forthc. 1].

<sup>506</sup> Cf. ¶¶1, 4 for the texts.

<sup>507</sup> Of all the texts that specify the type of offering (*lan*, *šip*, etc.) or the names of the god(s) involved only some 20% mention more than one god or offering.

dried peaches/plums/damsons”) and *širadakka* (\**šīrataka-*, Gershevitch: [a horse] “whose canter is beautiful”).<sup>508</sup> Part of the sacrificial vocabulary is also Old Persian, as the words *akriš/akrim*, *daušiyam*, and, perhaps, *daušannuaš* show.<sup>509</sup> It is therefore hardly conceivable that such a vital concept as the ‘state-offering’ would not have been indicated by an Old Persian term, at least in part of the texts supposedly concerned with it.

In addition, if *lan* were the special offering for Auramazdā, one wonders why it does not occur in the appropriate passages of the Elamite versions of the royal inscriptions, namely there where worshipping or offering to Auramazdā is at stake. In these instances the words *gal* (here: “offering, offering-gift”) and *šip* (“*šip* feast, sacrificial feast”) are used, but not *lan*.<sup>510</sup>

The above observations do not at all endorse the idea that *lan* was exclusively connected to Auramazdā. That Koch still saw room for *lan* as an *Iranian* rite was because, as she claimed, *lan* is listed together with Iranian gods and is taken care of mostly by Iranian officiants.

In her dissertation Koch held that Elamite gods never occur together with *lan* (1977: 138): “Sie werden offensichtlich bewußt getrennt gehalten.” Hallock’s unpublished editions prove this contention to be incorrect: *lan* occurs together with both Humban and <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>. This “Great God” is, as Koch agrees, to be identified

<sup>508</sup> *kudagina*: translated as “Walnuß-süßspeise” by EW s.v. *ku-da-gi-na* (cf. Tavernier 2007a: 456 [4.4.19.3]), but see now Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *kudagina*. *širadakka*: Gershevitch 1969b: 183; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 413 [4.4.6.2]. On the absence of an Iranian equivalent for *lan* see also Razmjou 2004a: 103, 107.

<sup>509</sup> For *akriš/akrim* cf. §23 below. For *daušiyam* and related terms cf. §3.2.1 above. *daušannuaš* (PF 0766, *da-u-šá-an-nu-áš-na*) has been explained as the Elamograph of \**daučanyašna*- “offering feast (?)” (Hinz 1975a: 92; Koch 1977: 54; Tavernier 2007a: 462 [4.4.22.9]). The case is more complicated than may seem at first, however. First, the ending *-nu-áš* in any case is not likely to represent a broken spelling (of the type CV<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub>C = /CV<sub>1</sub>C/) for the syllable /-nuš/. In Achaemenid Elamite ac signs like ÁŠ are not used in broken writings (cf. Stolper 2004a: 67; Tavernier [forthc. 1]) and /-nuš/ would have been spelled as *-nu-iš*. Hallock already noticed the oddity of (*da-u-šá-an*)-*nu-áš* (1950: 251). The word probably was pronounced as /dušannu’aš/, unless NU represents /ni/ (cf. Tavernier 2007d: 286-7), which would yield /dušanni’aš/. Alternatively, one might read *da-u-šá-an-nu*<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*na* (cf. §26 below), reducing the form to a mere variant of *daušiyam*. The last option may be the most likely one.

<sup>510</sup> The passages are DSf<sub>e</sub> 16-7 and DSz<sub>e</sub> 15 (*gal* for Auramazdā), xPh<sub>e</sub> 33-4, 41-2 and 44 (preparing for Auramazdā his *šip*). The Old Persian versions (DSf<sub>p</sub> 18; xPh<sub>p</sub> 40-1, 50, 53 [DSz<sub>p</sub> not preserved for this passage]) use the verb *yad-* “to venerate, worship” and do not specify any particular type of offering or feast. On *gal* cf. §3.2.1 above; on *šip* cf. §6.4 ad l.2, §22 below and ★§6.3.1.

as the originally Elamite Napiriša (whose name also occurs in syllabic spelling in the Fortification archive).<sup>511</sup> In addition, it is possible, if not likely, that <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> (“Earth”) has an Elamite background, as appears from Neo-Elamite sources.<sup>512</sup> Altogether, *lan* occurs five times alongside gods (or other beneficiaries) with a plausible Elamite background, and eight times with gods of known Iranian descent.<sup>513</sup> The remaining cases (Mišebaka, a river, various mountains) are ambiguous and therefore seem of little relevance for the current discussion.<sup>514</sup> Even if these cases would all concern ‘Iranian’ gods, however, it is clear enough that *lan* was not exclusively listed with gods of that background.

It should be remembered that the diagnostic value of the inventories is limited (cf. §3.4.2 above); they hardly reveal anything on shared or separate rites, religious doctrine, etc. It is true, on the other hand, that the various offerings described in these lists were apparently performed by a single officiant in the same region. As such – and only as such – the listing of *lan* with gods of *both* Iranian and Elamite backgrounds is indeed significant.

<sup>511</sup> Cf. the tabulation of gods listed with *lan* in §3.2.1 above (cf. also ¶1 below). Napiriša (texts in ¶5): Koch 1977: 105-8; EW s.v. DINGIR.GAL; see also most recently Vallat 2002/03: 533-6 on Napiriša before and during Achaemenid times.

<sup>512</sup> <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> is perhaps not the direct beneficiary of the offering, but rather the attribute or realm of the god or gods worshipped by the offering. As such it would be comparable to river and mountain offerings. On offerings for ‘Earth’ and their possible Neo-Elamite antecedents, cf. §4.2 below.

<sup>513</sup> Gods with an Iranian background occurring with *lan* are Mariraš (\**(H)uvarīra-*), Išpandaramattiš (\**Spantārmatiš*) and Narišanka (\**Narēsanga-*). The case of Turme/Turma seems uncertain to me (cf. ¶15 below). Cf. the overview in §3.2.1 above.

<sup>514</sup> Though the Vedic ‘All Gods’ seem a well-defined group, there is no way of telling whether (the) Achaemenid Mišebaka, “All gods,” were a traditional and precisely defined collection of gods inherited from the Indo-Iranian past. The contexts in which (the) Mišebaka occur do not betray a distinct Elamite or Iranian affiliation (cf. ¶25 below). Moreover, “All Gods” always occur alongside other gods in sacrificial inventories. In other words: they always were the responsibility of an officiant who already took care of the cult of other gods (of Iranian and Elamite descent). To me this suggests that an offering for Mišebaka was a particular *type* of offering rather than an offering for a narrowly defined group of gods – but I admit that this is no more than an initial impression. The offerings connected to rivers and mountains are probably not aimed at these topographical features themselves, but are given for the unnamed gods worshipped in river- and mountain-offerings (cf. §3.4.2 above and §5.4.3 below). Like (the) Mišebaka, these unnamed gods cannot be surely counted among either Iranian or Elamite gods – provided that such a sharp distinction would do justice to the religious landscape of the Persian heartland.

As for the officiants involved in *lan*, it would seem, at first sight, that Iranian designations occur more often. *makuš*, *haturmakša* and *pirramadda*, all considered to be Iranian words, are associated with 23 individuals performing a *lan* offering.<sup>515</sup> The Elamite designation *šatin* (cultic expert) is given to only four officiants of *lan*.

There are, however, some problems in defining the professional status of the *haturmakša*, whose activities seem predominantly administrative,<sup>516</sup> and the interpretation of *pirramadda* (“commander, chief”) is different from what was previously assumed.<sup>517</sup> In addition, the attestation of seven individuals with the

<sup>515</sup> See also §3.2.1 above. One individual (Yašda) is attested both as *makuš* and as *haturmakša* and is counted only once.

<sup>516</sup> The word *haturmakša* (spelling variants: cf. §3.2.1 fn. 450 above) is the Elamograph of OPers. *\*ātrvaxša-*, cf. Av. *ātrvaxš-*, “fire-fanner,” the title of an auxiliary fire-priest (Cameron 1948: 7-8; Hinz 1970: 429; 1973a: 109; 1975a: 49; Koch 1977: 159-64; 1987: 245-6; Tavernier 2007a: 416 [4.4.7.12]; cf. Benveniste 1964: 57). Some commentators have doubted the etymology because of the variant spelling *an-tar-ma-šā* in Elamite (Gershevitch in Hallock 1969: 25-6; Boyce 1982: 135-6), but *an-* representing OPers. */ā-* is not without parallels (cf. Tavernier 2002a: 173). More serious is that *haturmakša* mainly occurs in journal and account texts (mostly on cereals and fruit), for officials involved in distribution and/or accounting (the term alternates with *ullira* “deliverer,” cf. Hallock 1969: 58; 1985: 599 fn. 5). Forty-four individuals labelled *haturmakša* are solely known as administrator, six are solely known as officiant and a mere six are known in both capacities (excluding ten illegible names). Koch’s assertion (1977: 159; repeated in 1987: 246; 1988a: 398-9; 1991: 99-100; 1995: 1967; 2002: 20; 2003: 349) that officiants designated as *haturmakša* were exclusively associated with *lan* is incorrect given the offering to Halma by an *haturmakša* (cf. §4.3 fn. 781, ¶6).

<sup>517</sup> The word *pīr-ra-ma-ud-da* was previously read *pīr-ra-ma-is-da* and interpreted as OPers. *\*framazdā-* “outstanding memorizer” (Gershevitch 1969b: 181 followed by Koch 1977: 153-4, 165, EW s.v. *pīr-ra-ma-iz-da*, and others). Hallock later collated all the relevant texts and read *pīr-ra-ma-ud-da* on the basis of the variant spelling *pīr-<sup>r</sup>ra-ma-da<sup>1</sup>* in NN 2184:1-2. Though it is often hard to distinguish *GiŠ* and *UD*, he apparently felt quite sure that *UD* was the right reading. The alternative, to retain Hallock’s original reading and to emend the form in NN 2184 to *pīr-<sup>r</sup>ra-ma-is-da<sup>1</sup>* (so EW s.v.; Tavernier 2007a: 420 [4.4.7.37]), therefore seems less attractive to me. As R. Schmitt (letter dd. 20/XII/2007) kindly informs me, *pirramadda* probably renders OPers. *\*framātā*, “master, commander” (cf. *pīr-ra-ma-da-ra-um* for the accusative *framātāram* in DE<sub>e</sub> 11-2, etc.). The combination *makuš pirramadda* obviously means “chief magos” (Schmitt compares MPers. *mōbed* < *\*magupati-*). Note however, that of four or five occurrences of *pirramadda*, two appear without *makuš*. Occurrences (apart from NN 2184:1-2): PF 0773 (PN *pīr-ra-ma-<sup>r</sup>ud<sup>1</sup>-da*), PF 1957:1 (PN *makuš<sup>HAL</sup> pīr-ra-ma-ud-da*); NN 2040:2-3 (PN *<sup>AS</sup>pīr-ra-ma-ud-da*). The reading of NN 2362:1-5 (PN *makuš<sup>HAL</sup> pīr-<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup>[x x]-ud-da*) is uncertain; cf. ¶10 below.

Elamite designation *lan-lirira* (even if regularly combined with *makuš*) should be given proper weight, especially in view of the Middle-Elamite past of the term (cf. §§3.4.10, 3.6.1 below). Having said so, the relative preponderance of Iranian terms for *lan* officiants remains undeniable. The question is, however, whether this necessarily means that *lan* must be the offering for an Iranian god. In fact, such a conclusion could only be drawn *if* one could be sure that officiants with Iranian designations were exclusively involved in Iranian rites. Such is not the case. All three designations are associated with gods of (possible) Elamite descent as well: *pirramadda* with <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MES</sup> (“Earth”),<sup>518</sup> *makuš* with <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MES</sup> (Napiriša, the “Great God”)<sup>519</sup> and *haturmakša* with Halma.<sup>520</sup> Besides, the terms occur with river- and mountain-offerings as well as with (the) Mišebaka (“All Gods”), i.e. contexts that are not necessarily an exclusively Iranian affair (cf. above).

Another problem is that almost half of the texts on *lan* do not mention any designation of the officiant at all (cf. §3.2.1 above). It is entirely possible that the scribes thought it self-evident that a *šatin* would perform *lan*. This possibility is based on the impression that *šatin* was used as a relatively precise denominator, whereas *makuš* was a much wider term (cf. §§3.5.4 fn. 544, 3.5.7 fn. 557, 3.7.4 below). This would explain why *makuš* are more often mentioned as such in connection with *lan* and it would at the same time imply that many of the officiants whose designation remains unmentioned may have been considered to be *šatin*.

Overall, the real problem of Koch’s theory on *lan* as an Iranian rite is the axiom of strictly separated religious and even cultural spheres. The question is whether Elamites and Iranians as well as their respective cultures really can be defined as distinct groups and entities in such a rigid fashion without running into untenable constructions. To me, the evidence from the tablets suggests a wholly different picture of substantial (religious) acculturation (cf. §§1.5-6, 4.4 and *passim*). The various officiants do not seem to form an exception to this situation. Not only could those with Iranian designations make offerings to Elamite gods, but also a *šatin* (a cultic expert, though not necessarily a ‘priest’) could sacrifice to gods of Iranian descent. This is easily demonstrated by the instructive case of Auramazdā: of the eight individuals acting as officiant for this god, five are designated or known as *šatin*, but only one as *makuš*.<sup>521</sup>

<sup>518</sup> NN 2040:2-3.

<sup>519</sup> NN 2206:1-3, NN 2265:1-4 and NN 2268:1-2.

<sup>520</sup> The deity or divine abstractum Halma (NN 0544:1) is not known otherwise, but the name may be Elamite. Alternatively, Halma may be a deity from northern Syria who was incorporated, at some point, in the Elamite pantheon (cf. §4.3 and ¶6 below).

<sup>521</sup> Cf. ¶7 for details. Four men are introduced as *šatin* in the Auramazdā texts: Bakabana, Appirka, Turkama and Yama. A fifth, Miššezza (NN 0978), is designated as such in

3.4.7. *Animal sacrifices* – A crucial argument in Koch's line of reasoning is the assumption that animal sacrifices were never allocated for *lan*. The argument is part of a larger, recurring complex of hypotheses in Koch's work. The Zoroastrian administration would have considered animal sacrifices anathema and would only have allowed the Elamites to make such offerings in an indirect way, by providing commodities such as grain and wine which the pagan officiants then more or less privately exchanged for livestock. In doing so, the central authorities could keep their hands clean, while at the same time giving the Elamites what they wanted.

It is, however, clear enough from the available contexts that the so-called exchange texts do not reflect religious, but economic attitudes. Taking animals away from the flocks of the Persepolis economy (i.e. not the real, external herds, but the animals kept under the administration's direct supervision), would probably have been considered as eating into one's capital and alternative methods of acquiring animals for use within the institution must have been welcomed. One such method seems to have been acquiring sheep/goats from outside parties, as I have argued elsewhere. The relevant texts seem to reflect exchanges with the semi-autonomous pastoralist population (¶159-64). Generally, a rejection of animal sacrifices is nowhere discernable: cattle and sheep/goats were slaughtered for a sacrificial feast called *šip*, which was several times presided over by Parnakka or his deputy Ziššawiš (cf. ¶22 below and \*§6.3.3). Also, animal sacrifices figure prominently among the offerings made for deceased noble and royal Persians (cf. ¶138-42 and §3.7.2.3 below). Finally, animal sacrifice is depicted on a seal used on the uninscribed tablets, PFUTS 0111 (see Garrison 2008 §7.2 and p.101 above).

The case against the purported bloodlessness of *lan* offerings is even clearer: NN 2259:5-8 provides an explicit case of sheep/goats being allocated for *lan* offerings (so already Razmjou 2004a: 106). The total number of livestock for *lan* (148) mentioned in this journal are the equivalent of at least 14,800 qts. of grain (cf. §3.2.1, with fn. 455 above). Seen from that perspective, sheep/goat allocations take up more than half of the total volume of commodities reserved for *lan* (!). The idea of a bloodless *lan* offering should therefore be given up. This was, incidentally, also the opinion of Richard Hallock who, after reading Koch's dissertation, gave her access to the unpublished text NN 2259. Koch responded in a later publication (1987: 270-1), but not, as might have been expected, by withdrawing her now untenable idea. Moreover, her summary of the then still unpublished text misrepresents its unequivocal and important evidence (cf. §6.5).<sup>522</sup>

another text (NN 0613; cf. NN 0679, NN 1679). One single officiant in the Auramazdā texts, Irdaupirriya (NN 2200:1-5), is called a *makuš haturmakša*.

<sup>522</sup> Surprisingly, EW s.v. *li-ri-ma* does seem to accept that the sheep/goats were indeed used for a sacrifice (but the consequences for Koch's work are not discussed).

For Koch's theory on *lan* the evidence for animal sacrifices is quite damaging because of her understanding of Gathic (and Achaemenid) Zoroastrianism as a religion that strictly rejected any form of animal sacrifice. That view, however, is no longer shared by leading scholars working on the *Avesta*. Besides, both the younger *Avesta* and the Greek authors reporting on Achaemenid Persia give ample evidence of animal sacrifices.<sup>523</sup> This means that the sheep/goats allocated for *lan* do not by themselves exclude that it was specifically intended, as a state-offering, for Auramazdā.

3.4.8. *lan and geography (bis)* – As we have seen, Koch claims that the relatively poor representation of *lan* in Elamite territory points to its Iranian, and more specifically Zoroastrian character (cf. §3.3.3.2 above). A tremendous problem in such statements is, however, that it does not reckon with the possibility that the Fahliyān region was smaller or less densely populated than the central Persepolis region. It also uncritically assumes an equal level of documentation for the three or four administrative regions (cf. §2.3.2 above). As long as such weighty factors are not clarified, linear quantification is unwarranted.

Although Koch seems to be aware of the unequal spread of the documentation (1987: 248; 1991: 90 fn. 8) and population density (*ibid.* 260), these issues are mentioned only in passing. An attempt at converting absolute numbers for each region to a relative weight within the Persepolis economy at large has not been undertaken. This is particularly problematic when it comes to the coverage of the Fahliyān region by the Persepolis archive. It is clear that this region was very prosperous in the Achaemenid period, and had a number of larger settlements, notably the important towns of Hidali and Hunar. Yet, thus far only two texts are known, mentioning Hidali and Huhnur respectively (PF 0749; NN 2589), which record *any* offering performed at these locations. That these offerings were *lan* sacrifices can hardly stand as proof that *lan* was poorly represented in the 'Elamite' Fahliyān region, and even less that it that it represented a typically Iranian rite.

Another complicating factor is that the Fahliyān region in particular had a larger, semi-autonomous tribal (and presumably agro-pastoralist) population that did not fall under the archive's purview. Settlements included in the Fortification network may well have been largely confined to the region's larger valleys. In addition, the western part of the Fahliyān region may have been an administrative borderland between the Persepolis and the Susa administrations.<sup>524</sup> In short, the ways by which Koch quantifies her material are open to debate.<sup>525</sup>

<sup>523</sup> Cf. De Jong 1997: 357-62 and Stausberg 2002: 90; 2004: 54-7, 469-70 (with refs.).

<sup>524</sup> The existence of a regional administration at Susa is indicated by MDP 11 308, a PF-type text found at the site. The tablet documents ghee dispensed as royal provisions in

3.4.9. *A test case: Gisat and Matezziš* – One example may illustrate the intricate problems mentioned in the previous section. The town of Gisat, to be situated somewhere in the Fahliyān region, may have had a shrine or sanctuary where, among others, Napiriša, Nahhunte and DIL.BAT were venerated. A functionary with the name Ururu is mentioned in the Neo-Elamite *Persepolis Bronze Plaque*, a text that includes a section on offerings for various gods.<sup>526</sup> His namesake, Ururu, a *šatin* (cultic expert) at Gisat, occurs in the Fortification archive. Here, the homonymy may have a certain significance and could point to a hereditary line of *šatin* or local rulers with cultic functions (cf. §4.1.4 below). In short, the town should qualify, at least along the lines of Koch's thinking, as a "Hochburg der alten Götter."<sup>527</sup> Still, Persian Ururu is mentioned only twice, sacrificing to various named and unnamed gods at Gisat. The *lan* offering, however, is attested six times for the same town.

five villages and is sealed with PFS 0007\*, which is also found (frequently) on Persepolis Fortification tablets. A second Elamite text from Susa, MDP 28 468, may also date to the Achaemenid period. On these tablets cf. §2.1.3 with fn. 177 above (with references) and Henkelman [forthc. 1]. There are also some bullae with Achaemenid sealings known from Susa (Amiet 1972 I: 284-7, n° 2202-3, 2226-31; II: pls. 37, 189-90; cf. Garrison and Root 2001: 35) that point to the presence of an Achaemenid archive and administrative activity at Susa. Important towns like Hidali and Tirazziš/Šīrāz may be presumed to have hosted local archives as well. The *kanzam appa hidali daki*, "the treasure deposited at Hidali" (or "sent to Hidali") in NN 1564 may point to an administrative centre at that town (cf. PF 0874). See also Stolper 2004b: 309 (Hidali); Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2006: 4 (Tirazziš).

<sup>525</sup> Aside from the above objections, not all of Koch's geographical ascriptions are solid and, in other cases, the references are incomplete (in many cases this is excusable as Koch could not use Hallock's unpublished editions for her 1990 monograph). The degree of uncertainty is not always indicated, which, particularly for non-specialist users of *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft*, or studies thereof (notably Koch 1987), constitutes a considerable problem.

<sup>526</sup> On the document see Cameron *apud* Schmidt 1957: 64-5, Stolper in Carter & Stolper 1984: 53 and (on DIL.BAT) Vallat 2002b.

<sup>527</sup> I have purposely used this phrase, although Koch coined it for Tikraš (1977: 139; 1987: 250-1), which she describes as an Elamite 'Enklave' (on this terminology cf. §4.1.5 below). It would have been more consistent if Koch had labelled Gisat and Hidali, both important centres of Elamite culture in the Neo-Elamite period, as Elamite strongholds as well. Yet, instead of doing so, Koch (1987: 273, 275) puts a lot of stress on the fact that Gisat (as well as Hidali) was situated at the *border* with Fārs (and not in the 'Elamite' inland region), and ignores the apparent local religious tradition (sanctuary, 'Ururu'). In doing so (and only by doing so) can she account for what she perceives as specifically Zoroastrian offerings in the town.



Compare the above case to that of Matezziš, a town in the vicinity of Persepolis: fifteen texts relate to religious activities in or near the place and at least fourteen of these concern *lan* offerings. On the face of it, Matezziš would therefore qualify as a real Auramazdā-minded place. This impression changes when the numbers involved come into focus: the name Matezziš occurs over a hundred times *in toto*, Gisat less than twenty times.<sup>528</sup> Also, in the case of Matezziš, provisions were allocated monthly, not annually (as with Gisat), thus producing more texts – an administrative or bureaucratic oddity, the explanation of which lies probably in the proximity of Matezziš to Persepolis.

The actual annual amounts can easily be calculated: in Matezziš 480 qts. of flour and 180 qts. of wine were provided for the *lan* offering.<sup>529</sup> In Gisat 360 qts. of flour and 360 qts. of beer were issued annually.<sup>530</sup> This means that the wine/beer allocations were twice as high in absolute amounts in Gisat. And given the much lower frequency with which Gisat appears in the texts (for whatever reason that may be), the *lan* offering here was, in a relative sense, also the beneficiary of larger allocations of flour compared to Matezziš in ‘Bezirk 1,’ right in the “Hochburg des *lan*-Opfers” (on the term cf. Koch 1987: 247 fn. 44).

What to make of this comparison between Gisat and Matezziš? Following Koch’s line of reasoning the (relative) importance of *lan* offerings in Gisat would constitute a paradox: Auramazdā is paid less attention in an important town near Persepolis than in ‘Elamite’ country. The situation becomes understandable if one considers *lan* as a precise administrative term for a particular kind of offering with an Elamite past, but applicable to more than just one exclusive god. As such, the strong presence of this type of offering in Gisat, an old cultic centre that seems to have continued to be so into the Achaemenid period, is not a great surprise.

<sup>528</sup> Cf. Vallat 1993a: 68, 178-8 for references. I have not counted the texts that do not mention either Gisat or Matezziš but can be associated with one of these place; doing so would not significantly alter the ratio given here.

<sup>529</sup> Flour, 40 qts. monthly for *lan* at Matezziš: PF 0763 (XII/22); PF 0764 (XIII/22); PF 0761 (IV/23); PF 0762 (VII/23); Fort. 3126 (VIII/23); NN 0250 (IX/23); NN 1601 (I/24); NN 1602 (X/24). Atypical: 60 qts. in PF 0741 (X-XI/14<sup>3</sup>); 20 qts. in NN 0936 (II/23; in Matezziš?). Wine, 15 qts. monthly for *lan* in Matezziš: NN 1140 (III/23); NN 1138 (VIII/23); NN 1141 (X/23); PF 0760 (XI/23). Note that Yašda was probably the successor of Dayurisa as *lan* performer at Matezziš (cf. App.6.5 below). NN 2493: 1-3 (in a journal) may be a summary of multiple wine provisions [for *lan*?] in Matezziš, but the passage is too broken to be certain. Cf. §1 for abstracts.

<sup>530</sup> Flour, 360 qts. annually for *lan* in Gisat: PF 0746 (yr. 22); PF 0747 (23); PF 0745 (24). Beer, 360 qts., *idem*: PF 0748 (22); NN 0748 (25). 120 qts. for 4 months: NN 0822 (24). Compare the listing of annual *lan* allocations in §3.2.1 above.

3.4.10. *lan* and the *Elamites* – Finally, we may turn our attention briefly to the *Elamite* background of the Achaemenid *lan* offering. This background receives minimal attention in Koch's studies, though it has a decisive significance. The material, which will be discussed extensively at a later point (§3.6), may be introduced here as a contrast to the Iranian character that Koch claims for *lan*. The term occurs as the first part of two month names, Lanlube and Langilli (the latter still in use in the Achaemenid period; cf. §3.6.3). *lan-lirira* ("lan performer, officiant"), which appears eleven times in the Fortification texts, is directly related to Middle-Elamite *lam-liri* (cf. §3.6.1 below). Middle Elamite also has the expression *lam-lema*, "as (is) its offering-gift" (cf. §3.6.1.3 below). In the Achaemenid period, *lan* also appears in the Elamite compound *lankul* "offering-prayer" (PF 0772; cf. §3.6.2 below). In addition, *lan* occurs in various personal names from the end of the third millennium down to the fifth century (cf. §3.6.4).

As we have seen, *lan* is related to the verbal root *la-* "to send, to offer" (cf. §§ 3.1.3.1-3, 3.1.3.7 above). In Persepolis, the form *lašda* ("he has sent, offered") occurs remarkably frequently in texts on offerings for Humban.<sup>531</sup> At the same time, various forms based on the root *la-* occur in cultic contexts in earlier Elamite. Vallat (2000a; 2001) discussed *lar*, "officiant" (Vallat: "clergé"), *lap*, "officiants" and Akk. *buhlalē* (< \**puhu-lar*), "seminarist" or, perhaps better, "member of the cultic personnel" (cf. §3.6.5 below). It seems that the deployment of *lan* (with *lan-lirira*, etc.) in religious terminology is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a larger semantic field of derivatives of the root *la-* in both the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid periods. The observation that *lašda* occurs frequently with Humban, but does not occur with other named gods, notably Auramazdā, may therefore reflect a certain continuity of Elamite cultic terminology (cf. §3.6.6 below). As *lan* and *lašda* are closely related, this is, once more, not supportive of Koch's theory of *lan* being Auramazdā's offering.<sup>532</sup>

*lan* ("offering"), as well as *la-* ("to send, to offer") are firmly rooted, not only in the Elamite lexicon, but also in earlier Elamite culture. The link with this past cannot have been completely broken in the Achaemenid period. This is not to say that *lan* remained a purely Elamite rite, but it does certainly suggest that it was not just a convenient neutral word used by the Persepolis scribes to denote an *Iranian* offering for an *Iranian* god. Instead, it seems likely that *lan* was used

<sup>531</sup> It occurs seven times with Humban and twice in texts on offerings "for the gods." *lašda* occurs three or four times in profane contexts (cf. §§3.1.3.6, 3.6.6).

<sup>532</sup> Koch solved this 'problem' by assuming that *lan* and *lašda*, though originating from the same root, "im Laufe der Zeit in völlig *verschiedenen* Bereichen Anwendung fanden" (1977: 140-1, cf. 30-1). The argument is clearly circular as no evidence for any such a distinction is at hand (cf. §3.6.6 below).

because it was a meaningful term denoting a particular type of offering that had an Elamite origin and was reshaped in the process of Elamo-Iranian acculturation to become a *Persian* offering practised in the Achaemenid heartland.

3.4.11. *Summary* – It may be useful to sum up the main points from the above response to Koch, before continuing the discussion on *lan*.

First, and this should be stressed, the purported consistent suppression of the divine name would constitute an inexplicable oddity in terms of attested scribal practices. Referring to a particular god by means of his offering would also be unprecedented (and unnecessary; §3.4.4). Rather, the use of *lan* as solitary term suggests that it denoted a particular offering *sui generis* (such as *šip* and *akriš*; §3.4.1). This also clarifies why *lan*, as a *technical* term for a certain type of offering, could be used alongside *daušiyam*, a *general* term denoting the concrete “offering (gift)” (§3.4.5.5). Thirdly, taking *lan* to denote a particular offering explains why it could be included in lists of divine beneficiaries of sacrificial commodities. Such lists are in fact surveys of *offerings* (including river- and mountain-offerings) made in a particular area, by a particular officiant in a given period. They do not record a single cultic act for several deities and do not, therefore, imply that amidst several named gods, *lan* must refer to a particular god as well (§3.4.2). At the same time, the fact that *lan* is performed by the same officiants who deal with the offerings for both Iranian and Elamite gods is of obvious significance (§3.4.6).

As for Auramazdā, the profile(s) attested in texts relating to this god (cf. ¶7) is (are) incompatible with those attested in texts on *lan* in terms of quantity, purpose (consumption of sacrificial commodities by *kurtas*), frequency and, most important, the personnel involved (§3.4.3). Furthermore, the nearly-ubiquitous use of the determinative <sup>AN</sup> is not a reliable diagnostic tool, let alone an indication that *lan* is the offering for Auramazdā (§3.4.5.1). In case of an exclusive offering for that god, one would have expected an Iranian loanword instead of Elamite *lan* (the Persepolis scribes surely would have known and used such a word). Conversely, the fact that *lan* does not occur in the royal inscriptions in those passages where offerings for Auramazdā are mentioned, is at odds with the contention that it had developed into a term specifically denoting such offerings for Auramazdā (§3.4.6).

*lan* was evidently of some importance in terms of geographical spread and the volume of allocated commodities, but this importance is relative and should not be overestimated (§§3.4.5.2-3). Similarly, there is evidence for royal involvement, but this is hardly unique for *lan* (§3.4.5.6). The fact that *lan* appears in offering lists in 13.6% of its occurrences is not at all unusual (compare the 15.4% in case of Humban; §3.4.5.7). The offering stands out because of its particular frequency, but that defines *lan* only as a special type of offering, not as the Mazdaic state-offering (§3.4.5.4). Finally, *lan* is no exception when it comes to the kind of food

commodities offered: animal sacrifices are definitively *not* excluded as claimed by Koch (cf. §6.5 below). From the perspective of economic value, animals even take up more than half of the volume of commodities reserved for *lan* (§3.4.7).

There is little to support the purported *Iranian* character of *lan*. It occurs with gods of both Iranian and Elamite background (§3.4.6) and with officiants with both Iranian and Elamite titles or designations (*ibid.*). Admittedly it occurs more often with officiants with Iranian designations, but it is questionable whether this points to a clear cultural or ethnic affiliation. The observation that individuals with Iranian designations are attested as officiants for Elamite gods (and *vice versa*) suggests otherwise. On a more general level, the idea that Elamites and Iranians upheld a strict (cultural) separation is unsustainable and notions such as ‘Elamite territory’ and ‘Elamite enclave’ are in fact quite problematic (cf. §4.1.5 below). The claim that *lan* is poorly represented in ‘Elymais’ (an anachronistic term), is based on the assumption of strict cultural separation. Moreover, this assessment of the western sector, rests on absolute numbers that are not corrected on the basis of such variables as population density and the evidently unequal administrative coverage, possibly due to involvement of other regional authorities such as the Susa administration (§3.4.8). A test case concerning Matezziš and Gisat turned out to reverse the image expected from Koch’s views: *lan* is of much greater importance in the old Elamite cultic centre Gisat than in Matezziš, the town closest to the seat of power, Persepolis (§3.4.9).

Perhaps the strong representation of *lan* in Gisat should be taken as indication of the *Elamite* background of *lan*. Elements elucidating this background have already been summed up briefly (§3.4.10) and will be treated more extensively in a subsequent paragraph (§3.6). It appears that the Elamite background was not a ‘dead’ fact of history in the Achaemenid period, but remained productive and significant. I think it would be erroneous, however, to substitute the purported Iranian character of *lan* with an ‘Elamite’ character, for there is nothing to suggest such cultural exclusivity in the Achaemenid period. Rather, *lan* must have been refined in the process of Elamite-Iranian acculturation to become a truly *Persian* offering. It is this perspective that will be pursued in subsequent paragraphs (§§3.6-7), after a concise survey of other scholars’ opinions on *lan* (§3.5).

### 3.5. *lan* after Koch

3.5.1. *Endorsing the pre-eminence of Auramazdā* – Unrestrained support for Koch's thesis on *lan* is found in Gregor Ahn's *Religiöse Herrscherlegitimation im achämenidischen Iran* (1992: 106-7). Though criticising other parts of Koch's work on Achaemenid religion (notably on the interpretation of [the] Mišebaka), Ahn embraces the explanation of *lan* as "der offizielle Opferkult für Ahuramazdā."<sup>533</sup> Like Koch, Ahn subsequently arrives at the unwarranted concept of "klare Begrenzungslinien" between Zoroastrian and 'foreign' gods and their respective cults (cf. §3.7. below).

Of more interest is the survey of Achaemenid religion that concludes Jean Kellens' *Le panthéon de l'Avesta ancien*. The author seeks to establish a unifying concept from the evidence of the onomasticon, the royal inscriptions and the Fortification material (Kellens 1994: 123-6). The picture sketched is laudable for stressing the elusiveness of the idea of Mazdaic monotheism in each of these three corpora. However, an unfortunate trust is placed in Koch's conception of *lan* as the exclusive (state) offering for Auramazdā (cited from Koch 1991). Kellens describes *lan* as taking a pre-eminent place amidst a series of different sacrifices for "une poignée de divinités mineures" and sees this as a reflection of the religious outlook of the inscriptions. I merely underline once more that there is no evidence for the association of *lan* with any particular god, and even less for a connection with Auramazdā. In fact, there are just a mere ten occurrences of Auramazdā in the archive (cf. ¶7), which certainly is quite bleak when compared to the 26 appearances of Humban (cf. Apps.4-5, ¶4). Thus, if one were inclined to force the matter, one would have to style the Fortification material as predominantly 'Humbanist' rather than predominantly Mazdaic.

Clarisse Herrenschmidt also briefly considered the *lan* sacrifice (1995/96: 229). She follows Koch in stating that, at Persepolis, "le culte d'Ahura Mazdâ ... est appelé *lan*." In addition, she describes the word *lan* as a "forme rare du verbe

<sup>533</sup> That Auramazdā is never mentioned with *lan*, and that *lan* is an Elamite term, is explained by Ahn as a scribal custom (as Koch does; cf. §§3.4.1, 3.4.4, 3.4.6 above). Further proof for the connection with Auramazdā is found in a purportedly unique involvement of the court (see §3.4.5.6 above) and the majority of Iranian designations for the officiants (see §3.4.6 above). At one point, Ahn clearly misrepresents Koch by stating that *lan* is the only offering "das verwaltungstechnisch sichergestellt ist." The absurdity of this remark is manifest: *all* transactions recorded in the Fortification archive were, naturally, 'sichergestellt' by the Persepolis authorities. Ahn refers to Koch (1977: 176 and 1988a: 395), but she speaks only of the unique regularity of *lan* in comparison to other offerings arranged for by the administration (cf. §3.4.5.4 above).

« être » en élamite,” but does not substantiate this idea, which may have been inspired by Weißbach (1911: 75 fn. b). The latter’s interpretation of *lan* is highly problematic, however (cf. §3.1.2 above). At any rate, *lan*, as term or as concept, does not offer the remotest support for the inference that in the Achaemenid context, like in the *Avesta*, “les dieux sont caractérisés par l’être.”<sup>534</sup>

3.5.2. *Exit Zarathuštra* – A first critique of Koch’s views and methods regarding Achaemenid religion was given in Mary Boyce’s discussion of the Fortification texts in *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. II (1982: 132-49). Boyce offers some acute and helpful observations,<sup>535</sup> but, in the end, does not supply the debate on *lan* with new arguments. Morrison Handley-Schachler’s more recent study (1998), devoted entirely to *lan*, repeats some of Boyce’s observations, but proposes a different reading of the material, presenting *lan* as a specifically ‘magian’ rite. Both scholars dismiss the idea that *lan* was exclusively associated with Auramazdā and performed in the name of a Zoroastrian state religion.

Boyce suggested that *lan* was “a technical term for ‘act of worship’ in general” (1982: 133), effectively restating the position of Cameron and Hallock (cf. §3.3.1 above). The main argument is that recipients of provisions for *lan* can have Elamite or Iranian names and designations (*šatin* and *makuš*). Significant as this observation is (cf. §3.4.6 above), it does not automatically imply that *lan* should refer to an act of worship “in general.” This conclusion would only be warranted if the existence of two rigidly separated religious spheres were proven. The Fortification archive suggests the contrary. Moreover, the way *lan* is used by the scribes as an autonomous catchword indicates that it was a precise denominator, not a vague and general term (cf. §§3.4.1-2 above).

Next, Boyce holds that *lan* cannot possibly be taken as Zoroastrian as provisions for *lan* always consist of one single commodity, whereas Zoroastrian acts of worship involve various different commodities. Three cases of multiple

<sup>534</sup> Koch’s theory on *lan* is also briefly discussed in Briant’s synthesis of Achaemenid history (1996: 259-60, 942), as well as in Stausberg’s recent survey of Zoroastrianism (2002: 184). Both authors express due caution as to the identification of *lan* as the sacrifice for Auramazdā (Briant: “il manque ce qu’on peut appeler une confirmation expérimentale”). A less cautious acceptance of Koch’s ideas is found in Hutter’s survey of Persian religion (1996: 239-40). P.G. Kreyenbroek cited Koch 1987 as argument for his viewpoints in a lecture on ‘religion under the Achaemenids: presuppositions, questions, facts’ (British Museum 1/x/2005 [to be published in: J. Curtis & St J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia*, London]).

<sup>535</sup> Notably on the presumed religious titles *hatramabattiš* and *haturmakša*. Cf. Boyce 1982: 136-7 (qualifying Koch’s “rash deductions” as “unscholarly”). See also Boyce’s review (1979) of Koch 1977.

commodities allocated to a single officiant for *lan* at the same location and in the same period prove this contention to be incorrect.<sup>536</sup> At least liquids and cereals where regularly combined in a single *lan* offering (cf. §3.2.1 above and Koch 1977, *passim*). In addition, it may be noted that Boyce's argument fails to recognise that wine/beer and cereals are *invariably* accounted separately in the administrative data stream (cf. §2.4.1.2 above). Handley-Schachler too claims that there are no cases of wine and cereals for the same *lan* offering<sup>537</sup> and supports this by qualifying the idea of separately recorded liquid and cereal provisions as an unlikely "administrative inconvenience" (1998: 201). Such statements hardly reflect a profound acquaintance with the Fortification archive.<sup>538</sup>

3.5.3. *Officiants or middlemen?* – Boyce, in addition to the points discussed above, suggests that while some individuals are described as *lan* performers (*lan-lirira*), others, who are not qualified as such, may just be intermediaries who did not

<sup>536</sup> The matching texts are: PF 0746 + PF 0748, PF 0745 + NN 0822 and NN 1138 + Fort. 3126 (cf. §1 for details). Apart from these, there are a number of semi-matching cases with different periods, but with the same locations and recipients.

<sup>537</sup> Fort. 3126 was not accessible to Handley-Schachler, and precisely this text is the counterpart of one of the texts in his sample (Yašda performing monthly *lan* offerings at Matezziš; 1998: 200). The texts of the other two matches (cf. fn. 536 above) were, however, available to him. Note that the speculation on the statistical chance that (in the published sample) 9 texts for 9 *different* months would survive is misguided. With an original corpus of 50 texts on wine and flour for *lan* at Matezziš in Dar. 23 and 24 (the latter had 13 months), and a surviving corpus of 10 texts, the likelihood of a match is 18% ( $9 \times \frac{1}{50}$ ). That 2 from 10 surviving texts (20%) together form one matching pair is almost *exactly* what is to be expected statistically. A remarkable feature of this group of texts is, incidentally, the unusually high agreement of box numbers (all 4 wine texts in box 0832, 2 of the flour texts in boxes 0710 and 1010 each), which seems to suggest that they were stored together, thus explaining the survival of 10 out of 50 texts. Compare the picture for the whole *lan* corpus: the original archive (in yrs. 13-28) comprised an estimated 100,000 (or more) tablets, of which a 5% sample (*ca.* 5,000) is available (cf. §2.7.3 above for the calculation). A proportional extrapolation (which seems warranted) from the present 81 *lan* texts would yield an original corpus of *ca.* 1,600. Given these numbers, the chance of finding a pair of matching texts in the available sample of *lan* texts is about 5% ( $80 \times \frac{1}{1,600}$ ). The number of matches (6 texts, or *ca.* 7.5%) within these 81 texts roughly fits these speculations.

<sup>538</sup> Compare also Handley-Schachler's remarks on 1) the supposed unlikelihood of dividing 40 qts. over 30 days as that would constitute "awkward" amounts (1998: 201) – in fact such fractional amounts must have been very normal as daily rations for *kurtaš*; 2) the word *partetaš* in NN 2259: 7-8, claimed to be "not otherwise known" – in fact it occurs in 36 PF and 4 PT texts (cf. §6.7.1 fn. 984 below).

themselves officiate in a *lan* offering. She finds support for this in the observation that sometimes a recipient is introduced as *haturmakša*, while an individual with this designation may appear in purely administrative contexts “as a middleman engaged in collecting some kinds of goods” (1982: 135).<sup>539</sup> While the characterisation as ‘middleman’ actually is not very precise for *haturmakša* (he belongs to the sphere of supply officials), the observation on profane activities of ‘priests’ is in itself valid and important. It was this same phenomenon that was noticed by Handley-Schachler (1998: 197-200) who used it as the centrepiece of his study. Assuming that the *lan* sacrifice was “an exclusively Magian rite” (*ibid.* 204), he necessarily had to consider those cases in which (a person known to be) a *šatin* receives provisions for *lan* as “exceptions” that he had to neutralise.<sup>540</sup> Finding that some of these individuals are also active as supply officials, etc., Handley-Schachler surmised that, whenever a *šatin* received provisions for *lan*, he, as a middleman, actually passed the commodities on to the magoi, who then performed their exclusive rite.

As I see it, Boyce and Handley-Schachler have signalled a phenomenon of great consequence, yet without acknowledging its actual spread across the *entire* Persepolis ‘clergy’ (cf. Kawase 1978). If one reconstructs, as far as possible, the professional biographies of all the officiants in the PF texts (not just the ones that would seem to prove one’s point), it appears that many of them held positions of some importance within the system of distribution and accounting.<sup>541</sup> The ob-

<sup>539</sup> A similar (erroneous) inference was made by Bickerman & Tadmor 1978: 257-8 (layman recipients are “intermediaries”). Hallock himself considered the possibility of middlemen, but did not press the matter (1969: 26).

<sup>540</sup> From this alone it is evident that his thesis on *lan* is untenable. Cf. Vallat’s response (2002/03: 539-40), “en aucun cas cette cérémonie ne peut être réservée aux mages.”

<sup>541</sup> Take, for example, the case of Tiyama. In PF 0377 and NN 1885 Tiyama receives *tarmu* (emmer) and beer “for the gods.” The seals impressed on the tablets are PFS 0061, an office seal used by various suppliers) and PFS 0091, the seal used by Tiyama. The same individual appears, with the same seals, as recipient of sesame and barley (for storage) in PF 0526, PF 0527, PF 0528, PF 0529 and PF 0530 (seals confirmed by M.B. Garrison [pers.comm.]). In addition, we have two texts on sesame yields being put at the disposal of Tiyama (*kurman tiyamana*): PF 0630 and PF 0631. Interestingly, these texts are sealed with PFS 0091, Tiyama’s seal, and with PF 0254 (seals confirmed by M.B. Garrison [pers.comm.]). The latter is impressed on the left edge of the tablets, the side normally reserved for the supplier’s seal. Apparently Tiyama is using his personal seal alongside a seal used in his capacity of *kurman* official. But there is more: Tiyama also occurs five times as official responsible for (*šaramanna*) or assigning (*damanna*) groups of *kurtas* (PF 1008, NN 0054, NN 2128, NN 2488, Fort. 5231). The seal he uses in this function is PFS 0035\* (seal inscription not yet identified); in three cases it occurs



servation applies to individuals without specific religious designation, but also to those introduced as *šatin*, *makuš*, etc. Obviously, this circumstance is fundamental to our understanding of state involvement in religious matters, but it does not justify a characterisation of recipients of commodities for cultic purposes as middlemen. The main *raison d'être* of the – intricate and obviously tailor-made – administrative system was to make the streams of commodities directable, retrievable and accountable. In each of these three aspects, accountability was the main goal. This does not allow the systematic suppression of the names of the ultimate recipients and performers of offerings.<sup>542</sup> Secondly, in those rare cases where the first recipient actually hands the received commodities over to a second person, this second person is mentioned by name (as in NN 0561, discussed by Handley-Schachler 1998: 197). Thirdly, the scribe would hardly mention the religious designation of the first recipient, if this information were redundant (if not confusing) because he was only a middleman not directly involved in the prospective sacrifice.<sup>543</sup> Re-analysis of the examples named by Handley-Schachler (Umbaba, Bakabadda, Irdaupirriya) indeed shows that these individuals were, unquestionably, *directly* involved in religious matters. That such officiants appear in other functions as well, is a circumstance both underestimated and misinterpreted by Boyce and Handley-Schachler.

alongside PFS 0061 (PF 1008, NN 0054, NN 2128), which firmly links this Tiyama to the one receiving sesame and barley and the one sacrificing emmer/beer to “the gods.” All these texts are dated to Dar. 23-25. Thus, as the particular clustering of seals and the limited period reveal, we are dealing with one and the same Tiyama who at the same time was responsible for groups of workers, had quantities of barley and sesame at his disposal, and sacrificed beer and emmer (perhaps also used for brewing beer) to the gods. Note that the 900 qts. of *tarmu* (emmer) “for the gods” in PF 0377 would suffice to provide one of the groups of *kurtaš* under Tiyama’s supervision with beer rations; this may be another case of a calculated economic use of sacrificial commodities. Note also that a Tiyama occurs in three texts dated to Dar. 22, as recipient of flour and wine for *kurtaš* (PF 1097, PF 1112, NN 1106). This Tiyama, who uses PFS 0265, may be the same individual, before he got promoted to the position he had from Dar. 23 onwards. On seals PFS 0035\* and PFS 0061 cf. App. 6.5 fn. 1126 below.

<sup>542</sup> Actually it is the double absence of the name *and* the seal-impression of the ultimate receiver that makes Boyce’s idea unlikely; her system allows for the middleman’s sealing only. Handley-Schachler goes even further, suggesting that some provisions were split up and were partly used for offerings by the recipient, partly passed on to a second officiant with an exclusive cult (1998: 198). Razmjou (2004a: 105) raises a similar suggestion that is unlikely on the same grounds.

<sup>543</sup> Thus, it would, e.g., be inexplicable why Umbaba (one of Handley-Schachler’s ‘exceptions’) is *consistently* labelled as *šatin* when receiving sacrificial provisions.

3.5.4. *Magian ‘titles’* – A point that deserves separate attention is Handley-Schachler’s distinction between magian and non-magian ‘titles’ (1998: 196). *pirramadda*, *haturmakša* and *lan-lirira* are recognised as magian ‘titles’ (better: designations) because they occur in combination with *makuš* and not with *šatin*. The combinations indeed exist, but they are not exclusive: not every *pirramadda*, etc., is necessarily also a *makuš*.<sup>544</sup> From the seven individuals designated as *lan-lirira*, two (Attebaka, Tarmiya) cannot be identified as *makuš* and the same is true for one individual (Amnara) out of four designated as *pirramadda*. For *haturmakša* the case is even more illuminating: only eight *haturmakša* persons are also known as *makuš*, against 21 who are not.<sup>545</sup> Still, Handley-Schachler handles the designation *haturmakša* as if it were an automatic indication of what he calls the magian religion. After a few pages this inference has turned into an established fact, in a discussion of certain offerings:

All these are *known to be* Magian sacrifices because there are cases of their being performed by men bearing the titles of Magus, *haturmakša* or *pirramasda*.  
(1998: 203; italics mine, WH).<sup>546</sup>

Note that the offerings at stake in the citation above are those for Mariraš and <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>, offerings also carried out by individuals designated as *šatin*. Those cases are all presumed to be exceptions (each *šatin* assumed to be a middleman) – the circularity of the argument is palpable.

3.5.5. *Notions on Achaemenid religion* – Apart from the technical problems discussed above, the studies by Boyce and Handley-Schachler are also hampered by a number of *a priori* notions on Achaemenid religion. Though they both criti-

<sup>544</sup> This is not to say that there is nothing special about ‘*makuš*.’ My suggestion is that *makuš*, unlike other qualifications (e.g., *lan-lirira*), was a real title (not a designation). It may have been a term referring to a broad scope of (possible) professional activities and therefore frequently in need of additional qualification (*pirramadda*, *haturmakša*, *lan-lirira*). *makuš* is clearly different from *šatin*, which does, apparently, never require additional qualification and must have been well-defined. In the light of such observations, it is pointless to state that “the Magi ... never allowed themselves to be described as *šatins*” (Handley-Schachler 1998: 196). Cf. also fn. 557 below. On *pirramadda* and *haturmakša* cf. §3.4.6 (with fnn. 516-7) above.

<sup>545</sup> *haturmakša* also attested as *makuš*: Irdaupirriya, Irdazamna (if = Irdazana), Irdumasda, Kurzirrukka, Parmiyana, Pirrutikka (if = Pirraššukka), U(k)piš, Yašda. *haturmakša* not attested as *makuš*: Atturma (Antarma), Babba, Babena, Barritukka, Battiyašba, Dayuriša (Dayurisa), Irdasušda, Irdasara, Išpiddama, Kakka, Kartukka, Mankaparna, Midayaduš, Pirrašda, Rašma, Rauzikka, Šimuda, Šudakka, Tiriya, Umak(k)a, Zatriš.

<sup>546</sup> For *pirramasda* read *pirramadda* (cf. §3.4.6 fn. 517 above).

cise Koch's work, their approaches in fact differ but little in outlook. Especially the idea of strictly separated religious spheres in the Achaemenid heartland proves to be discouragingly durable (this is clearly what prompted the idea of 'middlemen'). It may be useful to point out two cases where such – mostly implicit – notions are tangible.

3.5.5.1. *The ethnicity of the Great God* – Boyce's evaluation of the purportedly distinct religious spheres is revealing: whereas the Elamite pantheon in Persepolis is a loose and 'eclectic' whole, the Persians, though perhaps not clearly Zoroastrian, adhered to a purely-Iranian faith and abstained from venerating any divine being "characterised in writings of faith as a Daeva" (1982: 141). I will refrain from discussing the idea of more and less enlightened religions (cf. Hinz, Koch), but I do want to emphasise that Boyce's assessment is based *solely* on the assumption that all gods venerated by *makuš* officiants were exclusively Iranian. This is generally questionable, and simply incorrect in case of <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MES</sup>, the old Elamite god Napiriša (cf. §3.4.6 above and ¶5 below). The weighty Elamite evidence on <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MES</sup> is ignored by both Boyce and Handley-Schachler. For Boyce this 'Great God' can be no other than "the ever-unnamed Varuna 'the Baga,' *evidently* enormously popular in Achaemenian Persia" (1982: 139; italics mine, WH).<sup>547</sup> Solid evidence for Varuna in Achaemenid Persia is, in fact, entirely non-existent.<sup>548</sup> Similarly, the deduction that <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MES</sup> was an (otherwise unattested) exclusively *Median* god only because the magoi sacrifice to him (as implied in Handley-Schachler 1998: 197, 199), is, frankly, quite bizarre.<sup>549</sup>

<sup>547</sup> Note that Hinz (1970: 428-9) initially claimed that the 'Great God' was no other than Auramazdā himself (cf. §3.3.2 above). For <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MES</sup>/Napiriša see §3.4.6 and ¶5.

<sup>548</sup> Boyce seems to read *mišebaka* as "Mithra and the Baga," but the administrative contexts and the spelling exclude this interpretation (cf. references in §4.2 fn. 755). That theophoric names with OPers. *baga-* should refer to "the Baga" (Varuna) is unsubstantiated. The only possible (yet uncertain) case is that of the PN *Miššabaka* (with different spelling, \**Miça-baga-*; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 246 [4.2.1088]), but that name does not mean "Mithra *and* the Baga" either. The critique by Koch (2002: 22) on Boyce's ideas is, in this respect, fully justified. Note that purported early-second millennium attestations of the name Varuna in Elamite (Zadok 1984a: 47 [279]; Blažek 2002b: 233) are equally questionable.

<sup>549</sup> Apparently, it is an established fact for Handley-Schachler that the magoi were Medes. This is also the reason why Ziššawiš, Parnakka's deputy and purportedly son of Datis the Mede, must be a *makuš* as well, hence his involvement in magian rites (*sic!*). Cf. the critical remarks by Briant 2001: 115-6.

3.5.5.2. *A jealously guarded ceremony* – The idea of strictly separate religious spheres finds dogmatic expression in Handley-Schachler's work. "The Magi, and perhaps the Medes in general" (!), lived in isolated communities founded at locations of their choice. It was only here that *lan* was performed, "in the places which *they* thought suitable" (1998: 203; italics mine, WH). *lan*, an exclusive magian rite, was of no "real significance to the royal administration" (*ibid.* 201-2).<sup>550</sup> It was conducted "solely by the desire of the Median worshippers who took part or attended and not at the behest of the state" (*ibid.* 202). The magoi, "guardians of Median religious orthodoxy," a "priesthood which jealously guarded its own ceremonies and never took part in the rites of other nations," did not tolerate "any adulteration or tampering from outside" and were "not willing at all to participate in the cults of Persians and other foreigners" (*ibid.* 204).

It may be concluded that the author of the passages quoted here must have misunderstood the nature of the Fortification texts as the records of a *state* institution. The idea of an aggressively xenophobic community choosing its own secluded residences in the heart of the empire, yet fully involved in the Persepolis administration, with their sectarian 'magian' rite organised, subsidised *and* accounted for by the state, is indeed perplexing, but it is not new. In fact, Koch's view of 'pagan' (Elamite) worship in Achaemenid Fārs works with similar notions, notably the idea that animal sacrifices were abhorrent to the Persepolis officials, but were, at the same time, organised and recorded by the same bureaucracy (cf. §4.4.1 below). It seems, then, that the concept of a 'state religion' is quite popular, whereas the implications of 'state archive' are not always fully embraced.

3.5.6. *lan and Elamite-Iranian acculturation* – In a short reaction to Koch's work, Richard Frye refuted the interpretation of *lan* as the exclusive offering for Auramazdā on the basis of the "syncretism and multi-faceted worship" found in the Fortification texts (1984a: 122).<sup>551</sup> Though Frye assumes, in the end, separate religious spheres (court vs. local inhabitants), his intuitive approach deserves merit

<sup>550</sup> This ignores the fact that twice provisions from the King for *lan* are recorded (cf. §§3.2.1, 3.4.5.6 above).

<sup>551</sup> Some inaccuracies are clustered in Frye's fn. 134: 1) Koch does not claim that Mithra is absent from the PF corpus due to oversight, but simply because she explains *mišebaka* – on sound linguistic grounds – as "All Gods" (not "Mithra the Baga" as Frye 1984b: 172 fn. 4; cf. §4.2 fn. 755 below); 2) The background of the god Turme/a remains uncertain: the firm assertion that he is Elamite is interesting, yet unfounded (cf. ¶15); 3) PF 0773 does not record a *lan* offering performed for an Elamite deity, but the allocation of wine for both *lan* and Mariraš (a deity with Iranian name, yet of uncertain identity; cf. §4.2 fn. 755 below). Cf. Koch's reaction to Frye (1987: 256 fn. 93).

for not forcing a Zoroastrian or Iranian interpretation, but accepting the religious amalgam found in the Fortification material just as it is (as Cameron and Hallock had done; cf. §3.3.1). A comparable outlook *vis-à-vis* the Fortification archive, though not focussing on *lan* in particular, is found in several other publications.<sup>552</sup>

3.5.7. *lan* as an autonomous term – The most significant study on *lan* since Koch's dissertation (1977) is without doubt that by Shahrokh Razmjou, 'The *lan* ceremony and other ritual ceremonies in the Achaemenid period' (1997; 2004a; 2005a).<sup>553</sup> Unlike previous responses to Koch's work, it is based on a thorough acquaintance with the Persepolis material. Its greatest value, however, lies in the fact that it consistently avoids taking an *a priori* stand on the question of Achaemenid Zoroastrianism in relation to *lan*. Razmjou's approach is that of a concise, factual presentation of the available evidence from the accessible parts of the Fortification archive (including the Hallock Nachlaß).<sup>554</sup> The author wisely refrains from dogmatic assertions as to the precise qualities of the offering ("it remains ... mysterious"), but does offer preliminary suggestions on both its nature and origin.<sup>555</sup>

<sup>552</sup> Stronach (1984: 486-7) does not discuss *lan* as such, but underlines the modest position of Auramazdā and distills from the PF archive the image of "an intriguingly fluid and relaxed religious climate [...] in the Persian homeland in early Achaemenid times." Earlier still, M. Dandamaev (1975a: 196-8; cf. *idem* in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 339-41) had acknowledged the meaningful absence of a privileged position for Iranian gods. His explanation – that the Persians subsidised the cults of Elamite gods simply because they lived in their territory – strikes me as too mechanical, however (cf. §4.4.1 below). The "lengthy period of interaction between the Persian and Elamite populations of Fars" (Stronach) offers a better starting-point for an explanation (cf. §3.6 below). See also Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1980: 16-7; 1995) on the status of Auramazdā in the inscriptions vs. that of the PF texts (cf. §3.3.3.3 fn. 481 above) and Potts 1999a: 345-8 and B. Jacobs 2006: 217 on the veneration of Elamite gods in Persepolis. Incidentally, Dandamaev's statement (1975a: 196) that the PF tablets include allocations of "vin, æufs, grain, etc." for various cults (my italics, WH) must have arisen from some misunderstanding or erroneous translation: no eggs are hidden in the archive.

<sup>553</sup> The Persian version of this article was published in 1997. Its author kindly gave me access to the final version of the expanded and revised English study (2004a). Though Razmjou's and my views coincide on various important points and though we fruitfully discussed these on several occasions, we arrived at our conclusions independently.

<sup>554</sup> I will not repeat these data (commodities, quantities, frequency, officiants), as an extensive survey (based on a few more texts) is given in §3.2 above. Razmjou's suggestion (2004a: 105) that single commodities (instead of combinations of wine and grain, etc.) may have been allocated for *lan* is incorrect (cf. §3.5.2. fnn. 536-7 above).

<sup>555</sup> These suggestions include: 1) a possible relation between *lan* and the ritual(s) recorded in the ME stele from Haft Tepe published by Reiner (1973a; cf. §3.7.7 below); 2) a

Throughout Razmjou's study, acculturation of Elamites and Iranians is stressed as an important factor that shaped the religious landscape of the Persian heartland enduringly. The Elamite origin of *lan* is underlined (though not extensively discussed), as well as its association with gods and officiants with both Elamite and Iranian names and designations (cf. §3.4.6 above).<sup>556</sup> Implicit criticism of Koch is voiced in the stress given to NN 2202:2 (*lan* 'for Humban'; but see now App.1) and NN 2259:5-8 (livestock for *lan*; cf. §6.4 below). Also, the splendidly eloquent absence of an *Iranian* term that one would have expected instead of *lan* if it were the exclusive offering for Auramazdā is pointed out (cf. §3.4.6 above). Razmjou rejects the idea that *lan* is restricted to a single god (cf. §3.4.1 above) and explores the possibility that *lan* could denote "a kind of blessing ceremony" directed at no particular god. This tentative suggestion is, at any rate, laudable for restoring to *lan* the status of a distinctive and autonomous *terminus technicus*.

There are a few points on which one could disagree with Razmjou. That allocations for offerings would (regularly) have been passed on to secondary recipients not mentioned in the texts (2004a: 105) seems unlikely in view of archival practice and the demands of accountability (cf. §3.5.2). Also, I am not convinced by the arguments adduced in favour of a sort of *cursus honorum* for officiants (*haturmakša – lan lirira – makuš lan lirira*).<sup>557</sup> Yet, these differences of opinion do not affect our agreement on the fundamental notion that *lan* does *not at all* reflect a Mazdaic state religion (or the like) introduced by the Iranians, but, quite to the contrary, seems to be a true showcase for Elamite-Iranian acculturation (cf. §§3.6-7).

comparison of *lan* with the ritual mentioned by Šābuhr I in his Ka'ba-ye Zardošt inscription (cf. §3.7.7); 3) a possible relation between *lan* and those Persepolis reliefs that depict 'servants' bringing edible commodities (*contra*: Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993c, 1998: 29-30 [bringers of *bāji*-]).

<sup>556</sup> Razmjou (2004a: 108) points to two texts in particular (NN 2211:4-5 and NN 2337:1-2) that have a closely related set of data, except for the officiant, who is a *makuš* in the first case, but a *šatin* in the second. Cf. ¶1 for abstracts.

<sup>557</sup> The assumption rests on a reading of the officiants' qualifications as status-implying *titles*, instead of contextually (*viz* administratively) significant *designations* of the individuals involved (as I would propose). Regardless of this difference of perspectives, I certainly agree with Razmjou that the designation *lan-lirira* is sometimes presented as some sort of *extra* qualification (as in *makuš lan-lirira*): "it seems that *lan-lirira* was a separate skill, which a *magus* could gain" (Razmjou 2004a: 108). It may have been used to narrow down the wide range of activities that a *makuš* could engage in (cf. §3.5.4 above with fn. 544). In this respect, Elamite *šatin* seems to have been defined more precisely, implying a more limited professional scope (hence the lack of additional qualifications occurring with this term).

3.6. *Elamite lan*

Apart from being an Elamite term, Achaemenid *lan* refers to an older Elamite cultic vocabulary in which various derivations of *lan* and the verbal root *la-*, “to send, to offer,” were used. A number of these have already been referred to in a previous paragraph (§3.4.10) in order to demonstrate that the insistence on the purported Iranian character of *lan* is, at the very least, one-sided.

Though *lan* was no neologism coined by the Persepolis scribes, its meaning and implications may of course have developed considerably since the Old Elamite period. In theory, the term *lan* could have developed into a denominator of a typically Iranian type of offering. Such semantic changes can, however, only be assumed on the basis of a full review of the older attestations of *lan* in combination with solid external evidence. It should not be read into the Achaemenid *lan* texts just by virtue of unproven notions on the religion of that period.

*lan* itself does not occur in pre-Achaemenid texts, unless *lak-pi-la-an* in S 281:22-3 should be read *lak-pi la-an*<sup>558</sup> or the word division in MDP 55 30: 1, 3, 7, 8 should be changed to read *la-an*.<sup>559</sup> Given the number of compounds containing the word (e.g., *lam-liri*), it would be erroneous to put much weight on this observation.

<sup>558</sup> The text reads: <sup>22</sup> [x] *ka<sub>4</sub>-am-su si-hi-kak*<sup>MES</sup> -na <sup>23</sup> *lak<sup>1</sup>-pi(-) la-an(-)mar-ra ma-da-ak<sup>1</sup>*. Jusifov (1964: 247) interpreted the phrase as “2 petites brides de cuivre pour un âne (plutôt un cheval) on a faites” (translation after the Russian by F. Vallat). In doing so, he followed Bork (1941: 3) who interpreted *lakpilan* – “*lak* ‘Esel’ [+]*pi-la* (< älterem \**pula*) ... ‘Berg’ ” – as the Elamograph of ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MES</sup>, literally “Esel der Berge,” hence “Wagenpferd.” See also EW s.v. *lak-pi-la-an* (“Pferd(?)”). The suggestion is attractive in the sense that in similar contexts (S 104:5-6; S 108:rev.1-2; S 142:6-rev.1°), ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MES</sup> occurs in the same position as *lakpilan*. Vallat (1977a: 243) alternatively suggested the reading *lakpi lan*, but wisely abstained from translating the opaque phrase. Interestingly, S 281 has several entries on objects received by various gods, such as the [*šu-kur-ru-]um*, “spear,” received by Šidanu in l.24 (cf. Vallat 2002/03: 536). As far as it can be understood, the entry under discussion here (ll.22-3) seems profane in character, however. *kamsu* was identified by Bork as a Kassite word that appears in Akkadian as *kamūsaš* (a bronze component of harness; cf. EW s.v. *qa-am-su* with refs.). The word *si-hi-kak*<sup>MES</sup> has been explained as “bronze” (or “copper”) ever since Scheil’s first proposal to that effect (1907: 31). One is tempted, however, to connect it to the AElam. (pseudo-)logogram <sup>GIŠ</sup>SI.KAK<sup>MES</sup> (var. SI.KAK<sup>MES</sup>), “lance, spear” (cf. Henkelman 2002) and read it as *si<sup>hi</sup>-kak*<sup>MES</sup>. On *madak* (not “Medisch” as EW s.v.) cf. Henkelman 2003a: 202-5.

<sup>559</sup> The text is one of two (the other is MDP 55 82) written largely in Elamite and composed in early Sukkalmah-period Susa; they have recently been published by Katrien de Graef (2006: 39-40, 117-8, 184-5). MDP 55 30 is, apparently, an inventory of missing items.

The following paragraphs aim to cover the pre-Achaemenid material on *lan* and its relevant cognates, though many passages are broken or otherwise difficult to understand and will merely be referred to. The evidence excludes the purported attestations of *lan* in Linear Elamite as the arguments in favour of its identification appear to be ill-founded (cf. App.2 below). For practical reasons, the survey below is organised thematically rather than diachronically.

3.6.1. *Oblator in Middle Elamite* – The designation *lan-lirira* occurs twelve times in the available sample of Persepolis Fortification texts, always in the context of a *lan* sacrifice. In seven of these cases, the officiant also has the title *makuš* (*makuš lan-lirira*; cf. §3.2.1 above). Even though its etymology may not be immediately clear, *lan-lirira* obviously describes the activity of the celebrant in the *lan* ceremony. As such it has been translated as “*lan* performer(?)” by Hallock (1950: 239-40; 1969: 26, 721) and as “célébrant, officiant” by Vallat (2000a: 1066; 2002/03: 540; cf. §3.1.3.1 above).

In Old and Middle Elamite royal inscriptions, a designation *lam-lir* (*la-am-li-ir*, *la-am-li-ir-ri*) occurs three times.<sup>560</sup> This compound of an inanimate and an animate noun, both with gender suffix ([*la.m-li.r*]) may be interpreted as “offering-giver” or “oblator.” *lam* is in fact a morphological equivalent of *lan* as both *-m* and *-n* are gender suffixes that form inanimate nouns (cf. Vallat 2000a: 1065).

3.6.1.1. *Cultic activity at Hupšan* – Two occurrences of *lam-lir* appear in the great Šilhak-Inšušinak stele (EKI 54 L.95, IV.34-5°). This text starts with an invocation of the gods (cf. Vallat 2002/03: 533-4, 537), followed by a prayer for the life of king Šilhak-Inšušinak I (ca. 1155-1125) and his family. Next is a long series of paragraphs, each opened by the exclamation “O Inšušinak, Lord of the Acropolis!” in

In rev.13, *ša-ti-in* could be the Elamite word *šatin*, “cultic expert,” rather than a variant spelling of Akk. *šatti* (“years”), as the publisher suggests.

<sup>560</sup> A fourth occurrence may be found in EKI 55:1, where König reads *la-al-li ir-na-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>-[ti-ih<sup>2</sup> ...]*. Other word divisions seem possible, such as *la-al-li-ir-na-<sup>r</sup>at<sup>1</sup>(-)[...]*. Reiner (1953: 34 fn. 4) may have thought of this *lallirna* when, writing about nasalisation in Elamite, she contrasted “*lamlirri* and *lalliri*.” It would seem possible to explain *lallirna* as a development from *lam-lirna*, but the reading is uncertain and the passage is too broken for any sustainable conclusion. Also uncertain is [*te-]im-ti la-an(-)[...]* (EKI 68:16-7). König (1965: 144 fn. 1) proposed *te-im-ti la-an-[li-ir-ri]*, which is possible, but not more than that. Even more uncertain is *ta-ka<sub>4</sub> la-an[...]* (EKI 51 V.5). Note that the form *la-am-li-ri* in Linear Elamite (cf. EW q.v.) does not exist (cf. App.2 below).



which the city-god is implored to hear the king's prayers and realise his requests.<sup>561</sup> What these wishes are is revealed in a series of paratactic final subordinate clauses ("so that ..."), the contents of which are different for each paragraph. The first occurrence of *lam-lir* is in the sixth paragraph (EKI 54 1.84-96). The following middle section of the inscription deals with Šilhak-Inšušinak's military deeds.<sup>562</sup> The fourth column again contains a series of invocations, but here the text is very damaged. The second occurrence of *lam-lir* is in a heavily restored passage similar to that of the first occurrence and will not be discussed here. As for the first occurrence, the relevant passage reads:

<sup>1.91</sup> *ù a-ak* <sup>SAL.AN</sup> *nah-hu-un-te-ù-tù šu-ru ni-ka<sub>4</sub>-me na-ap-* <sup>92</sup> *pi-ip ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti-ip na-*  
*ap-pi-ip* <sup>AŠ</sup> *an-ša-an-pi* <sup>93</sup> *na-ap-pi-ip* <sup>AŠ</sup> *šu-še-en-pi i hu-ut-ta-ak-na a-ak* <sup>94</sup> *šu-ru ni-*  
*ka<sub>4</sub>-me ú-ri-ip še-ik-pi-ip me-ni-ip ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti-ip* <sup>95</sup> *a-ak ba-la* <sup>AŠ</sup> *šu-še-en-ip hu-up-*  
*ša-an la-am-li-ir-ri* <sup>96</sup> *i hu-ut-ta-ak-na*

<sup>1.91</sup> (...) so that for me and Nahhunte-utu, our wish(es)/good fortune, (by) the <sup>92</sup> gods of Elam, the gods of Anšan, <sup>93</sup> the gods of Susa, (that) it be realised. And <sup>94</sup> that our wish(es) (by) the elders, *šekpip* (and) princes of Elam, <sup>95</sup> and (by) the citizens<sup>7</sup> of Susa, (and) (in the land of) Hupšan (by) the offering-giver, <sup>96</sup> (that) it be realised.<sup>563</sup>

<sup>561</sup> Grillot translates the formulaic opening phrase as "ô (dieu) Inšušinak, seigneur de la Ville-haute, toi, tu me donnes ta faveur, moi Šilhak-Inšušinak ... je t'ai prié, écoute ma prière, réalise ma demande, ... afin que ..." (1973: 161). Cf. §6.4 fn. 940 below.

<sup>562</sup> Cameron 1936: 113-9; Labat 1975a: 489-93; Stolper in Carter & Stolper 1984: 41; Potts 1999a: 240-6; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 467.

<sup>563</sup> Text: König 1965: 124. For *šuru* (and AElam. *širi*) see Hinz 1974b ("Glück, Heil, Wohlergehen"); cf. Grillot 1988: 62 ("vœux"), Vallat 1998c ("désirs") and Malbran-Labat 1995: 173 ("chance, succès"); Tavernier 2007d: 281. Hinz and Grillot *ll.cc.* both translate the first three lines of the passage (ll.91-3). For the *-na* particle in *huttakna* cf. §6.4 ad l.26 below. I assume that *urip* is a cognate of *uripupi* (AElam. *irpippi*) as in *sunkip uripupi*, "(my) kings of old" or "predecessor-kings" (cf. EW s.v. *ú-ri-pu-pi*, with refs.). EW s.v. *ú-ri-ip* has "Glaubige, Fromme(?)," but I see no argument that favours that interpretation. The "elders of Elam" are addressed in a letter by Assurbanipal (BM 132980) recently published by Matthew Waters (2002a; cf. §1.4.3 above). EW s.v. *še-ik-pi-ip* proposes "*Künstler* (?)" (pl.), vgl. *iteriert še-iš-ki-ip Bildschnitzer* (pl.)" for *šekpip*. Perhaps a more logical cognate is Neo-Elamite *šikšibbe/šeksippi*, which denotes a certain class of cultic personnel (on the word cf. Vallat 2002/03: 540 and §6.7.6.3 fn. 1038 below). For *menip* (cf. *menir*, *menik*, *halmenik*) cf. Steve 1967: 45 ("princes"); Grillot 1984: 186-7 and EW s.vv. *me-ni-ik*, *me-ni-ir* (with refs.). Reiner translates l.94 as "old(?) ...-s, leaders of Elam" (1960: 100). For *bala šušenip*, "citizens of Susa," see Vallat 1980a: 4 (*pace* EW s.v. *ba-la* ["das Böse" hardly fits the present context]). Hinz took *hupšan* as a finite verb and translated l.95 as "Das Böse meide die Susaer!" (1952:

Apart from the two occurrences in EKI 54, *lam-lir* is also attested in EKI 70C IV 12-3. König (1965: 20) already assigned this text, a fragment from a four-columned stele, to the Old Elamite period. More recently, the attribution of the text to one of the Epartid kings was confirmed on orthographic grounds (Vallat 1990a; cf. 1993b). Both Kutir-Nahhunte (I) and Temti-[Agun] are mentioned in the text (ll.7-8), which led Vallat to ascribe it to the latter sovereign. In any case, the name of Temti-Agun serves as a *terminus ante quem* and dates EKI 70C to the seventeenth or sixteenth century (later Sukkalmah period). Unfortunately, various lacunae in the relevant passage render the syntax opaque and a reliable interpretation almost impossible. The immediate context of *lam-lir* reads:

<sup>12</sup> ... *hu-ur-ti ha-da-am-ti-ip-na* <sup>13</sup> *hu-up-ša-an la-am-li-ir-na te-im-ti-na* <sup>14</sup> [.....-]  
*na* ...

<sup>12</sup> ... the people<sup>?</sup> of the Elamites, <sup>13</sup> (in/at) Hupšan, of/for the offering-giver, of/for the lord, <sup>14</sup> of/for [.....] ...<sup>564</sup>

Remarkably, the three occurrences of *lam-lir* follow directly after the mentioning of Hupšan, which suggests some particular connection.<sup>565</sup> König thought of Hupšan as the name of certain feast,<sup>566</sup> but it is in fact a toponym, perhaps denoting both a region and a city.<sup>567</sup> Still, König's idea retains a certain attraction as it appears that

249-50; EW s.v. *hu-up-ša-an*), but there is little doubt that a GN is meant (cf. below). Lines 95-6 are translated by Hinz (1952: 250; EW s.v. *la-am.li-ir-ri*): "Durch den Kultopfer-Priester möge dies bewirkt werden."

<sup>564</sup> On *hur-ti* (also *hurtir*, *hurtibe*, *hurdu*, *hurtu*, *hurtur*) cf. Scheil 1904: 41; 1911: 6 (*hurdu*, "people"); *idem* 1932a: 74-5 (*hur-ti*, "people, armée en général"); Labat 1951: 41 (*hurtibe*, "ses sujets"); Hinz 1967b: 73-4, 76, 88-9 (*hurdu*, "Untertanenvolk," *hurtibe*, "Untertanen"); Grilhot 1973 (*hurtu*, "people(?)"); *idem* 1977: 40 (*hurtu*, "officier(s), noble(s)"); EW s.v. *hu-ur-ti* ("Untertanenvolk"). König (1965: 146 fn. 2) surmised that the following nine nouns with the postposition *-na* are dependent on *hur-ti* and I have followed this suggestion in my translation. Alternatively, *-na* in *Hatamtipna* may refer to another object, in which case one could take *hur-ti Hatamtip* together and translate "... for/of the people<sup>?</sup> (of) the Elamites, (in) Hupšan for/of the offering-giver, etc." The EW (*l.c.*) takes *hupšan* as a finite verb ("der fürchte das Untertanenvolk der Elamer!"), as in EKI 54 (cf. fn. 563 above). See also EW s.v. *la-am.li-ir*.

<sup>565</sup> As was already pointed out by Scheil 1932a: 75. Scheil interpreted *lam-lir* as an adjective qualifying Hupšan and tentatively translated it as "le lointain, le vaste."

<sup>566</sup> König 1965: 99 fn. 11, 190 ("ein Fest oder Opfer").

<sup>567</sup> As two brick inscriptions (with the same text: MDP 53 10A 5°, 10B 5-6°) found at Deh-e Now (KS-120) mention Hupšen, it was initially believed that the large tepe of Deh-e Now was the ancient city of Hupšen (Hinz 1964: 100; Steve 1968: 299-301; cf. EW s.v. *hu-up-še-en*). Later commentators have expressed caution on the possible but as yet

Hupšan/Hupšen hosted a specific cultic activity. Apart from the above texts, this may be inferred from the Neo-Elamite *Šutruru Stele*, which concludes by stating the totals of livestock (intended for a large sacrifice) “on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month Lanlube (at) Hupšan<sup>2</sup>” (*hu-up-[še<sup>7</sup>-en<sup>7</sup> ...]*).<sup>568</sup> If indeed there was such a feast at Hupšan, it would seem that “*lam-lir* (at/in) Hupšan” is not merely a descriptive designation of any officiant celebrating at that location, but rather a title defined by the characteristics of the feast. Regrettably, the contexts of *lam-lir* do not allow for more certainty on this point. Having said that, it remains true that our evidence, particularly EKI 54 I.91-6, presents *lam-lir* as an important cultic term.

3.6.1.2. *li-* and *liri-* – In 1950, Walther Hinz was the first to connect Middle Elamite *lam-lir* with Achaemenid Elamite *lan-lirira* (1950a: 292; cf. 1952: 249); he derived the second part of both compounds from the verbal base *li-*.<sup>569</sup> In the same year, Hallock independently argued against the assumption (cf., implicitly, Cameron 1948: 7) that *lirira* could be derived from *li-*. Instead, he proposed to derive it from a verbal base *liri-*, “to perform(?)” which he also identified in the form *lirimanu* in PF 0753 (1950: 239-40; cf. *idem* 1969: 27, 721).

Hinz and Hallock may both have been right: *lan-lirira* and *lam-lir* do seem to be closely related (semantically and morphologically) and ultimately derive from the base *li-*. In the case of *lirira*, *li-* seems to have been reduplicated to *lili-*, which

uncorroborated identification (Steve 1987: 28; Vallat 1993a: 104; Potts 1999a: 233). Note that the two bricks from Deh-e Now refer to the land Hupšen (*hal hu-up-še-en*) rather than the city. On Deh-e Now cf. Steve, Gasche & De Meyer 1980: 80, 100-1; Carter & Stolper 1984: 36, 162-3, 169; Potts 1999a: 55, 206-7, 232-3, 237, 264-5. Compare also the text from Tepe Horriyeh published by Vallat 1990c.

<sup>568</sup> EKI 74 II.45-6 (on the stele cf. §6.4 ad I.14 below). The restoration is supported by the fact that EKI 74 mentions king Šutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699 BC), the king who commissioned EKI 73 in which Hupšen is mentioned (EKI 73A 9; on Šutruk-Nahhunte II cf. Vallat 1995). Conceivably, it is no coincidence that the sacrifice at Hupšen indicated by EKI 74 took place in the month Lanlube (cf. §3.6.3.1 below). Hupšan/Hupšen also occurs in EKI 45 IV.10; MDP 53 10A 5°; MDP 53 10B 5-6°. The last two inscriptions speak of “Manzat et Nindara le dieu d’Élam et du pays de Hubšen” (Steve 1987: 28). Nindara can perhaps be identified with Šimut (Steve *l.c.*). The significance of Assyrian references to Aia and Nergal of Hubšal/Hubšan, first discussed by Scheil 1932a: 75, is uncertain (Steve *l.c.*; Vallat 1993a: 104 s.v. Hupsana).

<sup>569</sup> The connection was accepted by Steve (1967: 98) and Koch 1977: 50. The former erroneously refers to *lan-lilira* in PFT, a noteworthy lapsus calami (cf. below).

in turn dissimilated to *liri*.<sup>570</sup> That derivative root may have acquired an independent semantic status. Corroboration for this hypothesis may be found in the Middle Elamite form *lilira* in TZ 44:2, which represents the intermediate stage between *lir* and *lirira*.<sup>571</sup> The form *lirimahsi* in EKI 54 II.9 suggests that the dissimilation of *lili*- to *liri*- already occurred in Middle Elamite.<sup>572</sup>

The reduplication of *li*- conceivably implies a shift in the meaning of the verb. Grillot (1987: 32) surmised that a reduplication like this “peut marquer un intensif ou un itératif ou encore correspondre à un complément d’objet au pluriel” (cf. Steiner 1990: 152-3; Krebernik 2005: 175; Vallat [forthc.]). It is hard to delineate a more concrete contrast in individual cases, such as *lili*-/*liri*- vs. *li*-. The reduplicated base *lili*-/*liri*- seems, in Middle, Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite texts, to be confined to cultic contexts. It may therefore be taken as an intensive *vis-à-vis* the simple base *li*- and as such probably came to be considered as an independent verb from which forms like *lirima* (NN 2259:8), *lirimanu* (PF 0753, NN 0556), *lirimak* (NN 2259:6), and *lan-lirira* could be derived.<sup>573</sup>

3.6.1.3. *Middle Elamite lam-lema* – A second expression, closely related to *lam-lir*, is Middle Elamite *la-am-li-e-ma*.<sup>574</sup> The word appears in TZ 55:6, and can plausibly be restored in TZ 53A 6, TZ 53B-C 6, and TZ 54 6.<sup>575</sup> The inscriptions, commissioned by Untaš-Napiriša, are written on the back of terra-cotta bulls (TZ 53) and griffins (TZ 54 and, apparently, TZ 55) that guarded the gates northeast and northwest of the ziggurat of Čoḡā Zanbīl. They basically have the same structure: the king intro-

<sup>570</sup> An r/l interchange is not uncommon in Elamite; cf. Khačikjan 1998: 8-9; Vallat 2000a: 1068-9; Stolper 2004a: 71; Henkelman 2003a: 224 fn. 152. This, rather than an OPers. *l*-dialect, may explain some of the forms in Mayrhofer 1973: 113-4 and 1979: 301.

<sup>571</sup> Steve 1967: 84 considers a reduplication of the root *li*- (for which he compares *lilin* and *lin* in EKI 74 II.14, 43) and derivation from a root *lilu*- as alternative possibilities. The EW s.v. *li-li-ra* opts for the latter (“Aufbrechender, Fortziehender”). Yet, the parallelism of *Nusku lilira* in I.2 and *Nusku lina* in I.4 rather pleads for Steve’s first suggestion. *Nusku lilira* may be “Nusku the Giver” (*vel sim.*). Elsewhere (s.v. *li-li-en*) the EW does acknowledge the derivation of *lili*- from *li*-. Grillot (1987: 32) and Stolper (2004a: 78) cite *lili*- < *li*- as an example of C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>1</sub>- reduplication.

<sup>572</sup> Reading by the EW s.v. *li-ri-ma-h-si*, “sie haben zelebriert,” i.e. [*liri.ma.h.š*].

<sup>573</sup> Alternatively, one might assume that *lam-liri* became fossilised and was re-nominalised by adding a secondary gender suffix ([*la.m/n-li.r.r*]). This solution would leave other forms with *lili*- (e.g., *lilira*) and *liri*- (e.g., *lirimak*) unexplained, however.

<sup>574</sup> I am grateful to Françoise Grillot for sharing her thoughts and notes on this subject with me.

<sup>575</sup> Texts in Steve 1967: 92-8. TZ 55:6 has *la-am-li-e-<sup>2</sup>ma*, TZ 53A 6 *la-am* [...-]*ma*, TZ 53B 6 *la*-[...-]*ma* and TZ 54:6 [...-]*li*-[...-].

duces himself and claims that, unlike former kings, he has made the animal out of *mušiya* (Steve 1967: 95, “terre cuite vernissée”).<sup>576</sup> TZ 53a continues as follows:

<sup>5</sup> ... *si-a-an-ku-uk* <sup>6</sup> x *šir<sub>8</sub> um* <sup>7</sup> *la-am-[li-]e<sup>1</sup>-ma zu-uz-ka-táh* <sup>7 AN</sup> *in-šu-<sup>1</sup>uš<sup>1</sup>-na-[ak]*  
 ... <sup>8</sup> ... *ú<sup>2</sup> tu<sub>4</sub>-ni-ih*

<sup>5</sup> (at) the *siyan-kuk* <sup>6</sup> [an object], as his offering-gift, I put in place; <sup>7</sup> to Inšušinak ...  
<sup>8</sup> ... I gave (it).<sup>577</sup>

After this, the king continues his prayer to Inšušinak and concludes with DN ... *u lina telakni*, “may (what I have made), as gift from me, be accepted by DN.”<sup>578</sup> The *lina* in this last phrase resumes *lam-lema*, which in turn qualifies the object (whatever x *šir<sub>8</sub> um* may have been) put in place or deposited by the king as a votive gift.<sup>579</sup> As a whole the word is to be analysed as [la.m-li.e.m.a], literally “offering-it-gift-his/its-it-which.”<sup>580</sup>

<sup>576</sup> The name of the animals is damaged in all cases. In TZ 53a:3, Steve read *pu<sup>2</sup>-ru<sup>2</sup>-x-<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>*, which Grillot (pers.comm.) tentatively restored to *bu-<sup>1</sup>ru-ú-um<sup>1</sup>* and explained as loan from Akkadian *būrum*, “calf.” The EW (s.v. *pu(?)*-*ru(?)*-x-[u]m) rejects Steve’s reading and instead proposes *ki<sup>2</sup>-iz<sup>2</sup>-[zu-]um*. The latter suggestion is not very attractive since Untaš-Napiriša seems to describe the terra-cotta bull itself and because the word *kizzum* apparently was reserved for the Susa temple complex (cf. Grillot 1977: 51-72, esp. 70-1; *idem* 1983a: 2 fn. 5, 15; *idem* 1986a: 179; Vallat 2002/03: 541-2). Our text, on the other hand, speaks of the *siyan-kuk*, i.e. the Čogā Zانبīl temple-complex (in which it was found). TZ 54 and TZ 55 may have mentioned a word for griffin (TZ 55:3, [x-]zu-um). On these and other Elamite griffins see Alvaraz-Mon [forthc. 2].

<sup>577</sup> The term *siyan-kuk* exclusively denotes the whole Čogā Zانبīl complex. For *zuzkatah*, “I put in place” (*zuka-* [reduplicated] + *ta-*) see Steve 1967: 95. On the verbal base *zuka-* cf. Grillot 1978b. At the start of l.6, the EW (s.v. *ri(?)*-*im-um*) proposes to read *rimum*, “Aurochs, Wildstier,” from Akk. *rīnum*. Grillot (pers.comm.) suggests *si-a-an ku-uk ak<sup>2</sup>-šir<sub>8</sub>-e*, “gardien du siyan kuk,” for ll.5-6. Semantically, *akšire lam-lema*, “as his (or the *siyan-kuk*’s) guardian-offering-gift,” seems attractive, but whether the first sign can be read as AG remains uncertain. It seems that TZ 54 and TZ 55 have a different word preceding *lam-lema*. EW s.v. *la-am.li-e-ma* translates the passage as “in Siyankuk ließ ich einen Wildstier(?) als Kult-Stiftung(?) aufstellen.”

<sup>578</sup> For *lina* see EW q.v. (with refs.); cf. Grillot 1973: 147.

<sup>579</sup> Cf. Steve 1967: 95 “dans le Lieu-saint un (génie, du genre *lamassu*, *šêdu* ou *kâribu*)+ (qualificatif) j’ai mis en place.”

<sup>580</sup> Steve (1967: 95) takes *-ma* as locative “à joindre à *siyan kuk* par lequel commence la proposition,” hence his translation “dans le Lieu-saint” (my italics, WH). I hesitate to follow this interpretation because the locative element normally follows the place or object of location, not the located object itself. Contrast Achaemenid Elamite <sup>AN</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup> *tu-ir-ma-ir pu-in-ki-te-ma* (DB<sub>e</sub> II.47), “the second month, end-its-in,” i.e. “by the end

The significance of the four Čogā Zānbīl inscriptions (TZ 53-5) is that votive objects, probably guardian creatures, are described as *lam-li-*, “offering-gift.” This demonstrates, as *lam-lir* does, the importance of the root *la-* and its derivative *lam* (~ *lan*) within the Elamite cultic vocabulary. The giving of offerings could be described by a combination of *la-* and *li-*. Achaemenid Elamite *lan-lirira*, the designation of the oblato, seems to fit into this tradition seamlessly. In PFT, *lan-lirira* is, in my view, not a merely descriptive term, but an inheritance from the Elamite background of Persian culture.

3.6.2. *Achaemenid Elamite lankul* – The word *lankul* (*la-an-ku-el*<sup>581</sup>) occurs only once, in PF 0772, where it seems to denote the context of the performance of a *lan* offering. Hallock thought of it as a “site of religious ceremony,” assuming that *lankul* was a compound with *lan* and a second, unknown element (1969: 720). Other commentators have followed this assessment.<sup>582</sup> A more attractive solution is to take *ku-el* as a root noun that has cognates in the verbal base *kula-/kulla-* and the noun *kul/kula/kulaya/kulli*, “to pray” and “prayer.”<sup>583</sup> *lankul* probably means “offering-prayer.”<sup>584</sup> The text with *lankul* reads:

- of the second month” (cf. Bork 1933a: 9, “an seinem Ende”) and *hal-pi* <sup>1</sup>*du*<sup>1</sup>*-hi-e-ma* (DB<sub>e</sub> I.33), “death, possession-his-in,” i.e. “by his own death” (cf. Stolper 2004a: 77).
- <sup>581</sup> Hallock (1969: 229) cautiously writes *la-an-ku-EL*, leaving open the possibility that EL has another value than *el* (*dam*<sub>0</sub> or *ram*<sub>0</sub>). Despite his doubt (*ibid.* 83), the value *el* is well attested in Achaemenid Elamite, however. It is required in *e-el*, *hu-el* (compare *e-ul* and older *hi-el*, *hi-li*), “gate.” Other values of EL are rare (cf. Steve 1992: 164).
- <sup>582</sup> Hinz 1970: 439 (“Kultstätte”); Koch 1977: 135-6 (“Kultstätte”); *idem* 1987: 266 (“Kultopferstätte”); EW s.v. *la-an.ku-el* (“Kultopferstätte(?)”); Vallat 2000a: 1066; Razmjou 2004a: 103-4, 108-9 (considering a possible link with NPers. *langar*, in its archaic meaning “a monastery or ritual place of Sufis, where food was distributed amongst people, especially those who were poor”). On PF 0772 see also §3.4.3 above.
- <sup>583</sup> Cf. Hüsing 1908b: 17-8 (“bitten, Bitte”); Scheil 1911: 28; Pézard 1924: 13; König 1965: 55, 197; Steve 1967: 55; Reiner 1969: 100; Grillot 1971: 231; *idem* 1973: 161; Hallock 1973a: 150; M. Lambert 1974: 9-10 (but rejecting *kula* and *kul* as cognates of *kulla*); EW s.vv. *ku-la*, *ku-la-a*, *ku-la-an*, *ku-la-h*, *ku-la-ra*, *gú-li-ir*, *gú-lu*, *ku-ul*, *ku-ul-la-ak*, *ku-ul-la-an*, *ku-ul-la-an-ka*, *ku-ul-la-an-ri*, *ku-ul-la-áš-da*, *ku-ul-la-áš-na*, *ku-ul-la-áš-ni*, *ku-ul-la-áš-pi-na*, *ku-ul-la-h*, *ku-ul-la-hu*, *ku-ul-lak*, *ku-ul-lak-na*, *hh.ku-ul-la-la*, *ku-ul-la-ma*, *ku-ul-li*, *ku-ul-li-h*; Vallat 1997b; Stolper 2004a: 75, 81. Grillot & Vallat 1984: 25 translate *kullanri* as “qui ... bénit” but do not explain their reason for doing so. Hinz (1970: 439) identified the element *kul* in *lankul* with the *kul* in EKI 75:9 which he tentatively translated as “Gebiet” (cf. *idem* 1962b: 108; Koch 1987: 266 fn. 159; see also M. Lambert 1974: 9). The interpretation of the relevant passage in EKI 75 is unfortunately uncertain itself. Hallock, in an unpublished note, suggested a link

<sup>1</sup> 7 *mar-ri-iš* 2 QA <sup>2</sup> GİŠ GEŠTIN<sup>MEŠ</sup> *kur-mán* <sup>HAL</sup> 3 *ka<sub>4</sub>-ra-ia-u-da-na* <sup>4</sup> HAL *iš-kam-tak-ka<sub>4</sub>* <sup>5</sup> HAL *ma-u-da-ad-da* <sup>6</sup> PAP 2-be-da <sup>HAL</sup> ma- <sup>7</sup> *ku-iš-be du-šá* <sup>8</sup> 11<sup>71</sup> *la-an-ku-el* <sup>9</sup> 1<sup>71</sup> *tu-ma* <sup>AN</sup> 10 *da<sup>71</sup>-u-si-ka<sub>4</sub> la-* <sup>11</sup> *an-na ha hu-ut-* <sup>12</sup> taš <sup>AS</sup> *be-ul* 21-um- <sup>13</sup> *me-ma*

<sup>1-2</sup> 72 qts. of wine, <sup>2-3</sup> allocation of Karayauda, <sup>4-7</sup> Iškamtakka (and) Maudadda, total two magoi, received; <sup>8-9</sup> during 11<sup>71</sup> *lankul* <sup>10-2</sup> they utilised it as offering-gift for *lan*. <sup>12-3</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> year.

The amount of 72 qts. in PF 0772 is relatively low: annual amounts of 120 or 180 qts. of beer/wine for *lan* seem to be the norm.<sup>585</sup> As two officiants receive the amount and as 360 qts. is a known annual amount (of beer) for *lan*, “72 qts.” may be an error for “720 qts.” (2 x 360 qts.).<sup>586</sup>

At any rate, the wine seems to have been distributed over eleven, or rather twelve *lankul*.<sup>587</sup> Many texts on *lan* include a distributive formula specifying a daily or even monthly amount (e.g., PF 0748). It may be that the reference to 12 (?) *lankul* in PF 0772 serves the same administrative purpose, viz specifying that the amount of wine was not dispensed at once, but on multiple occasions throughout the year.<sup>588</sup> As such, *lankul*, “offering-prayer” does not necessarily have to be anything extraordinary, but may be an alternative or more precise term for the ceremony that is usually referred to as *lan*. I am inclined to think that PF 0772 does not record anything unusual, but that the idiosyncrasy of its scribe resulted in a deviant, more explicit way of describing things. This pertains not only to the

between *lankul* and the month name Langilli (on which §3.6.3.2 below) without elaborating on this suggestion. Langilli is never written with KU, but there are some indications that KU was sometimes pronounced /ki/ in Achaemenid Elamite (Tavernier 2007d: 288), which makes it possible that *la-an-ku-el* was pronounced /lankil/.

<sup>584</sup> Incidentally, the ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ku-ul-la-na* (PF 1670) and ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>HAL</sup> EŠŠANA-na *ku-li-na* (PF 1765) may well be “(royal) horses of prayer, (royal) horses relating to prayer” and refer to the role of horses in Persian religion and the funerary offerings for of Persian kings (cf. Hdt. I.189, VII.40, VII.113; Xen. Cyr. VIII.3.12, 24, Anab. IV.5.35; Arr. Anab. VI.29.7; Curt. III.3.11; Strabo XI.14.9, XV.3.7).

<sup>585</sup> See §§3.2.1 and 3.7.3; cf. Koch 1977: 135. Other texts with low annual (?) amounts of wine for *lan*: PF 0773 (20 qts.); NN 0548:18 (20 qts.); NN 2265:1-4 (20 qts.); NN 2268 (10 qts.); Fort. 8960 (20 qts.).

<sup>586</sup> 360 qts. of wine/beer: PF 0748; NN 0748; NN 0822. Compare PF 0755 in which 720 qts. is issued for two *lan*.

<sup>587</sup> As Koch (1987: 266 fn. 158) surmised, “12” would seem more logical, as 72 qts. is not divisible by 11. Hallock transliterated the broken passage as 11<sup>71</sup>, but that only means that he could see 10+1. Though no trace of it survives, there is room for an extra wedge and I therefore suggest the reading 12<sup>71</sup>.

<sup>588</sup> Compare the phrase “six *lan* are being performed” in NN 2259:5-6 (cf. §6.4 ad l.6).

mention of *lankul*, but also to the unparalleled absence of the determinative <sup>AN</sup> in *la-an* (cf. §3.4.5.1 above) and to the term *dausika*. *dausika* is unique, yet plausibly synonymous with the frequent *daušiyam*, “belonging to an offering” (cf. §3.2.1).

*lankul* may be an Achaemenid neologism or continue an older term that by chance does not occur in the existing corpus of Old, Middle and Neo-Elamite texts. In any case, however, *lankul* is a derivative of *lan* and the scribe of PF 0772 expected his colleagues to understand what *lankul* meant in the context of a *lan* offering. As such *lankul* is anyhow important because it either signifies the survival of not just *lan*, but a semantic field surrounding it (cf. *lan-lirira*) or, as an Achaemenid neologism, it underlines that *lan* remained a productive term from which compounds could be derived.

3.6.3 *Month names with lan* – There are two month names, attested in different periods, that contain the word *lan*. It should be emphasised from the start that month names (like personal names; cf. §3.6.4 below) are, in principle, unreliable as indicators of beliefs or cultic practices. This point is rightly stressed by Rüdiger Schmitt (1991b: 113-4). Month names tend to be conserved, despite changes in the religious life of a given culture (our “January” is just one example). It is therefore not my intention to demonstrate that the Elamites during the reign of Darius still celebrated their ancestral *lan* rites just because the month name Langilli was retained in the Elamite calendar. On the other hand, such month names were obviously meaningful in their original context. They certainly merit discussion as part of the *lan* dossier, because they imply the importance of the term and the concept of *lan* at least at an early date.

3.6.3.1. *Lanlube* – The month name Lanlube is first attested in the Akkadian texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa.<sup>589</sup> Later, the month name occurs in one of the Akkadian Haft Tepe texts, in a number of late Middle Elamite Malyān texts and in the Neo-Elamite *Šutruru Stele*.<sup>590</sup> As Reiner has shown, Lanlube was the sixth month in the Elamite calendar.<sup>591</sup>

<sup>589</sup> Most of these texts are published in MDP 10, 18, 22, 23, 24, one by De Meyer 1973. Cf. EW s.vv. *la-al-lu-bi*, *la-al-lu-bu-um*, *la-an-lu-be*, *la-an-lu-bi-e*, *la-lu-be*, *la-lu-bi-e*, *la-lu-bi-um* and *la-lu-bu-um* for attestation, to which add MDP 55 37:6 (De Graef 2006: 127). Compare also EW s.v. *la-lu-bi-ti*.

<sup>590</sup> Haft Tepe: HT 28:10 in Herrero 1976: 96-7; cf. Herrero & Glassner 1991: 80 (read “*la-al-lu-u-bi-e*” for “*a-al-lu-u-bi-e*”). Malyān: cf. Stolper 1984a: index s.v. IT1 *la-lu-be*; cf. *ibid.* 14-5. *Šutruru Stele*: EKI 74 II.45-6. See also EW s.vv. *la-al-lu-u-bi-e*, *la-lu-be*.

<sup>591</sup> Cf. Reiner 1973a: 97-102 replacing Hinz 1963: 12-8, who considered Lanlube to be the first month (on Hinz’s “*la(n)hum*” see Reiner 1973a: 99 fn. 20). Note that the Haft



Lanlube also appears in later Mesopotamian astrological texts and month lists, either as the sixth or the seventh month.<sup>592</sup>

It seems that the form Lanlube (*la-an-lu-be*, *-bi-e*; only in Sukkalmah-period texts) became Lallube (*la-al-lu-u-bi-e*, *-lu-bu-um*) and, finally, could be written with single consonant (*la-lu-be*, *-bi-e*, *-bi-um*, *-bu-um*). The spelling *la-lu-be* is the only one attested in Elamite texts (TTM, *Šutruru Stele*). It is hard to say whether this implies that a possible original connection with the word and concept of *lan* was lost to the speakers of the language (but cf. below).

Ferdinand Bork, in 1910, first surmised that Lanlube might be an Elamite name ending in the plural animate gender suffix *-p*.<sup>593</sup> That the Elamite texts always spell the month name with *-be* endorses this idea. More adventurous is Bork's inference that the month name may refer to a "Göttergruppe." The EW (s.v. *la-an.lu-be*) chose not to follow either of Bork's ideas and proposed "(göttliche) Gegenwarts-Nähe" instead. This interpretation apparently rests on an understanding of the name as *\*lan-lup*, the second element of which is the verbal base *lup-/lip-* (cf. EW s.vv. *lu-be-en*, *lu-pi-en*; see also Steve 1967: 69). As I understand it, this etymology implies a root noun (*lup*), but this fits the consistent spelling on *-be* (not *-ip*) uneasily. Another possibility, suggested by the base *lup-/lip-*, is that Lanlube contains an (older) variant form of the verbal base *li-*. As such, it could be explained as *\*lanlip*, "(month of) offering-givers" (cf. *lam-lir*). Yet, though a change of the root vowel from *u* to *i* is not uncommon in Elamite (compare, e.g., *zukka-* and *sikka-*), it is not as yet attested for *li-*.

One final point concerning Lanlube needs attention: the occurrence of the month name in the Neo-Elamite *Šutruru Stele* (EKI 74) from the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte II (717-699).<sup>594</sup> A larger part of this document seems concerned with the delivery of livestock from various districts to Šutruru the *bašišu* GAL (< Akk.

Tepe Stone Stela 1, which prompted Reiner's enquiry into the Elamite calendar, is broken at the passage where the sixth month is mentioned (l.3). Reiner restored ITI *la-lu-bi-e* (*ibid.* 87; followed by Basello 2002: 19), but Herrero & Glassner (1991: 80 fn. 5) alternatively proposed *ta-aš-ri-i-ti* in accordance with the occurrence of that month name in ll.24, 29 of the same inscription. On the Susa and Anšan calendars in general see also Cohen 1993: 362-6 and Basello 2002.

<sup>592</sup> Cf. CAD L 48 s.v. Lallubû; AHW 530 s.v. La/ullubû(m), Lanlubû; Reiner 1973a: 97-102. Apart from astrological texts, solar omens (*Enuma Anu Enlil* 28.104 in Van Soldt 1995a: 108) and month lists, the dictionaries also refer to an occurrence in an Assyrian kinglist published by Gelb (1954: 222 l.36, ITI *lu-lu-bi-e*).




<sup>593</sup> Bork 1910a: 101, reluctantly supported by Hrozný 1911: 93.

<sup>594</sup> Cf. §3.6.1.1 above and §6.4 ad l.14 below. A number of passages from the stele are discussed by Grilhot 1971; Koch 1980: 108-13; Waters 2000: 18-9, 45 fn. 22 (toponyms) and index s.v. EKI 74.

*pašišu rabû*, “high priest”) under the aegis of king Šutruk-Nahhunte (so Reiner 1969: 61-2).<sup>595</sup> As stated above (§3.6.1.1), the inscription ends with what seems to be a grand total of livestock and flour (II.43-5) and a date formula: “on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of the month Lalube (at) Hupšan<sup>2</sup>” (II.45-6). The last preserved line has, in broken context, the logogram PAD<sup>MES</sup> (Akk. *kusāpu*, a bread cake, an offering bread; cf. CAD K 583-4). What we have, then, is apparently a large sacrificial feast at the end of the month La(n)lube. That this feast should take place at Hupšan is noteworthy, for the toponym is connected to *lam-lir* in Middle Elamite texts (cf. §3.6.1.1). All this suggests that the date of the feast may not be fortuitous and *could* relate to the month name containing the word *lan* “offering.”

3.6.3.2. *Langilli* – The second month name which, plausibly, contains the word *lan*, is Langilli. It occurs in the Fortification tablets and belongs to the Elamite calendar that, concurrently with the Old Persian calendar, was used by the Fortification bureaucracy. Hallock was first to determine that Langilli was the eighth month in this calendar (1950: 241-2; cf. 1969: 74), corresponding to the Old Persian month Markašanaš (\*Vṛakažana-). Possibly, Langilli was already used as a month name in late Neo-Elamite Susa.<sup>596</sup> The word also occurs twice as a cultic (?) term in Middle Elamite inscriptions.

<sup>595</sup> The title or designation occurs in EKI 74 II.1-2, 5-6, 7-8, 10-1, 16-7, 26. It is also attested in EKI 85:22, but its occurrence in *PBP* rev.9, as read by Hinz (<sup>GAM</sup>*pa-ši-šum ra-<sup>r</sup>bu*<sup>MES</sup> MUNUS<sup>MES</sup>; see EW q.v.) seems doubtful. Compare also EW s.vv. v.v.*ba-šiš* and *ba-ši-šu*. For the Akkadian word see CAD P 253-5 s.v. *pašišu*.

<sup>596</sup> The months in the Susa Acropole texts are written logographically; the eighth month is referred to as (ITI) APIN (e.g., S 98 rev.12). The Fortification text NN 1349 may use the same logogram. The document records allocations of barley rations during six months, <sup>AN</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup> <sup>AN</sup>UM<sup>2</sup>-*ma-ik-mar ku-iš* <sup>AN</sup>zik-li-ma, “from the month <sup>AN</sup>UM<sup>2</sup> through the month Zikli.” As Zikli is the first Elamite month, one would expect Langilli (VIII) instead of <sup>AN</sup>UM<sup>2</sup>. The sign in question, , indeed does look like UM, though the first two horizontals are a bit vague and may belong to an erased sign. In his ms., Hallock ventured the idea that ‘UM’ actually is the (hitherto unattested) AElam. form of APIN (cf. EW s.v. d.UM), which would take the form \*. Strictly speaking this would not prove that NElam. APIN () was pronounced Langilli: the logogram may have referred to different names for the eighth month in different periods. Yet, it seems more likely that the scribe of NN 1349 adhered to an old scribal tradition, and knew that “Langilli” (rather than “month VIII”) could be written APIN. Compare the logogram SIG<sub>4</sub> for the third month in the Acropole texts and in PF 1803 and PF 2055 (Hallock 1978: 111; EW s.v. SIG<sub>4</sub>.lg). Compare also GU<sub>4</sub> in the Acropole texts and <sup>AN</sup>GU<sub>4</sub><sup>MES</sup>, in PFA 11 for the second month (Hallock *l.c.*; EW s.vv. GU<sub>4</sub>, d.GUD.lg).

In the Fortification archive, Langilli occurs 31 times. <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-e-ul-li* is the most frequent spelling, which may derive from <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-gi-ul-li* (Langilli > \*Lannelli > Lanelli).<sup>597</sup> Hallock suggested “(the month of) administering the *lan* (ceremony)” for Langilli (1969: 74). This proposal is based on the identification of a root *gil(i)*– “rule, govern, be master over” by Cameron (1948: 94-5) and Hinz (1950a: 287 fn. 13) attested in <sup>HAL</sup>*ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-ba-da* <sup>GIŠ</sup><sup>MÁ</sup><sup>MES</sup> *gi-ul-li<sup>1</sup>-ra*, “Megabates the ship-commander, admiral” (PT 008) and <sup>AS</sup>*da-a-ia-ma* ... <sup>DIŠ</sup>*gi-ul-ú-ip*, “the countries (which were) governed” (XPh<sub>e</sub> 13).<sup>598</sup> The root also occurs in earlier Elamite, such as the Neo-Elamite inscription EKI 71A-B:4, *pinigir kikki gilirra*, “Pinigir, mistress of heaven.”<sup>599</sup> Thus, Langilli may indeed be analysed as [lan.gil(l)i], and could mean “(the month) ruling/commanding the offering(s)” (*vel sim.*).<sup>600</sup>

Given its name, one might expect an accumulation of cultic activity in the eighth month, but this is not the case. First, there is no grouping of *lan* or other sacrifices in the eighth month. Six Fortification texts out of 38 that relate to cultic activity and that mention a single month are dated to the eighth month. This is not significantly higher than the numbers for other months.<sup>601</sup> Moreover, the six texts

<sup>597</sup> Occurrences: <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-gi-ul-li* (PF 1329, PF 1521, NN 0081, NN 1515), <sup>AN</sup>*la-<sup>1</sup>an-gi-ul<sup>1</sup>-la* (PF 0997), <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-gi-la* (PF 1477, PF 1499, PF 1507, PF 1534, NN 0540, NN 2403), <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-gi-ul* (PF 1238, NN 0866, NN 2076), [<sup>AN</sup>]*la-gi-<sup>1</sup>ul<sup>2</sup>-li<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>* (NN 1209), *la-gi-ul* (PF 1568, Fort. 9407), <sup>AN</sup>*la-an-e-ul-li* (PF 1681, PF 0710, PF 1001, PF 1052, PF 2061, NN 1128, NN 1247, NN 1674, NN 1922), *la<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-ul-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>* (NN 1133), (<sup>AN</sup>)*la-e-li* (PF 1651, NN 0343, NN 1909), *la-x<sup>1</sup>-ul-li* (NN 1207). For <sup>AN</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup> <sup>AN</sup>UM<sup>2</sup> in NN 1349 cf. fn. 596 above. See also EW qq.v. and Hallock 1969: 720 (for “PF 1321:12f.” read “PF 1329:12f.”).

<sup>598</sup> Bakabada/Megabates: cf. Lewis 1984a: 600; Briant 1996: 365. <sup>GIŠ</sup><sup>MÁ</sup><sup>MES</sup> *gi-ul-li<sup>1</sup>-ra*: Cameron *l.c.*; EW s.v. (GIŠ).MÁ.lg *gi-ul-li-ra*. XPh<sub>e</sub> 13: Cameron 1959: 472, 474 (“they were mastered”); cf. Vallat 1977b: 49 (“sont soumis (?)”) and EW s.v. v. *gi-ul-ú-ip* (“ich war Herrscher über sie” viz. taking the form as [gili.u.p]). The OPers. version, XPh<sub>p</sub> 17, has *patiyaxšayai*, “I ruled (them)” (text: Schmitt 2000a: 89-92).

<sup>599</sup> Cf. Hinz 1950a: 287 fn. 13; text in Grillot 1987: 62. On *gil(i)*– see also Hinz 1962b: 113-5 (EKI 76); Steve 1967: 91-2 (TZ 51); Hallock 1969: 713; Rosenkranz 1971: 209; Zadok 1984a: 20 [97]; Grillot & Vallat 1984: 23, 27 (ME *gi-el-hu-na*, “afin que nous commandions” [cf. Zadok 1995: 245]); EW s.vv. *gi-el-at-ti*, *gi-el-hu-na*, *gi-el-ti-na*, *gi-il*, *gi-il-li-te-ma*, *gi-il-li*, *ki-li*, *gi-li-ba*, *gi-li-ip*, *gi-li-ir-ra*, *gi-li-ir-ra*, *gi-li-ra*, *gi-lu*.

<sup>600</sup> Taken less literally, Langilli could perhaps be “(the month that is the) foremost in offering(s).” Alternatively, *gil(l)i*– could be the Achaemenid form of older *kul(l)a*–, “to pray.” The word *lankul* (“offering-prayer”), if pronounced /lankil/, would then be a cognate (cf. §3.6.2 above).

<sup>601</sup> At any rate, the numbers are too small for a reliable analysis. For what it is worth, the distribution of offerings over single months is as follows: I (2), II (1), III (6), IV (3), V (0), VI (6), VII (2), VIII (6), IX (5), X (3), XI (1), XII (3), XIII (1). These numbers are flawed in the sense that they include occasional monthly (rather than annual) allocations for

dated to the eighth month all use the Old Persian, not the Elamite month name. It must therefore be concluded that the meaning of Langilli was either no longer relevant to religious life in the Persian heartland, or that it was connected to certain feasts or sacrifices not documented in the (edited) Fortification texts.

It is possible that Langilli (VIII) replaces older Lanlube (VI). The names do seem to have a common constituent (*lan*). The fact that they denote the eighth and the sixth month respectively is not a grave problem, as other months seem to have changed their position as well. Thus, late Middle Elamite Adari and Belili (I and IV in the Sukkalmah calendar) return in the Elamite calendar from Persepolis as Hadar (III) and Belilit (VI).<sup>602</sup> Yet, the precise historical relation between the Elamite calendars from various periods and regions is not very clear and does not allow for an elaboration on the possible link between Langilli and Lanlube.

Regardless of the question whether Langilli replaced Lanlube, *langilli* may have been an older term that only came to be used as a month name in a later period. This appears from a Middle Elamite occurrence of the word, unfortunately in obscure context, but probably not referring to the month name: TZ 30:4 has *la-an-gi<sup>2</sup>-el-li<sup>2</sup>*, already connected by Steve (1967: 59) to Langilli. The brick inscription is a votive text commemorating the construction of a temple for the god Kirmašir (cf. OElam. Kirwasir) and, perhaps, Inšušinak.<sup>603</sup>

It may be concluded that a month name with *lan* was twice introduced in Elam: once in the Old Elamite period or before (Lanlube) and once in the Neo-Elamite period or before (Langilli). Though it is impossible to demonstrate that the original significance of the month names was preserved and was still understood

*lan*. Allocations of this kind occur only in Matezziš and have their *raison d'être* in bureaucratic circumstances, not in cultic context (cf. §3.2.1 above). If the *lan* sacrifices are filtered out, 25 texts remain: I (1), II (0), III (5), IV (2), V (0), VI (5), VII (1), VIII (4), IX (4), X (1), XI (0), XII (2), XIII (0).

<sup>602</sup> Cf. Steve 1967: 90 (“bien que le -*t* final fasse difficulté” [in the name Belilit]); Stolper 1984a: 14-5. Basello 2002: 26, 36 seems to assume a general shift by one month between the Malyān and Persepolis calendars. In his reconstruction, MElam. Lanlube started as VI (Haft Tepe), subsequently shifted to VII (Malyān) and then was replaced by Langilli (VIII) in the Persepolis calendar. This hypothesis supports the case for the link between Lanlube and Langilli, but it necessarily has to remain speculative since the position of none of the Malyān months can be fixed at present (cf. Stolper *o.c.* 15).

<sup>603</sup> The text is collated in König 1965: 177-8 (EKI 7 V:4-5), where *la-an gi-el-li-[it<sup>2</sup> ...]* is printed. The reading of *lan* and *gilli* as separate words here (apparently accepted by Vallat 1977a: 243), seems unnecessary to me given the evident parallel with later Langilli and Steve's *la-an-gi<sup>2</sup>-el-li<sup>2</sup>* therefore remains preferable. See also EW s.v. *la-an-gi(?) -el-li(?)*. The EW s.v. *d.kir-ma-sir* seems to suggest that TZ 30a and EKI 7 V are two distinct texts, which they are not.

(in case of Langilli) in the Achaemenid period, the mere fact that *lan* was twice used to denote months that apparently had a special place in Elamite religion (as sacrificial months) is very relevant because it shows, once more, that *lan* was a concept firmly rooted in Elamite culture.

3.6.4. *Personal names with lan* – The caveat expressed on the significance of month names for cultic practices or religious beliefs (cf. §3.6.3 above) should be repeated in the case of personal names. It is interesting to see that compound names with the element *lan* exist in all periods of Elamite history and this does indeed underline the importance of the term within Elamite culture, but it does not mean that the beliefs of a given period can be read from those names, nor that the persistence of such names in the Achaemenid period points to an unaltered significance of the concept of *lan*. Bearing in mind these limitations, a few personal names with *lan* may be singled out to illustrate its use.

The first name to be mentioned is Lambani, a theonym occurring only in the so-called *Treaty of Narām-Sîn*, the oldest extant Elamite text. Lambani is one of the gods invoked as witnesses to the covenant between the Sargonic ruler and his Elamite colleague.<sup>604</sup> Next is Lanum, mentioned in an Ur III text (in relation to the Elamite city of Adamdun), which may be the semitised form of a *lan* name.<sup>605</sup> More certain is the case of Lagugu, known from the Akkadian administrative texts of Sukkalmah-period Susa. Conceivably, this is the same name as Lankuku, attested in Middle Elamite inscriptions as the father of Kuk-Kirwaš, one of the first Sukkalmah rulers.<sup>606</sup> Other Old Elamite names may contain also the element *lan*, such as Lani, but these cases are much harder to judge.<sup>607</sup>

<sup>604</sup> The name occurs in EKI 2 II.4 and was read <sup>AN</sup>*la-a-an-ba-ni* by Scheil (1911: 5) and König (1965: 28), and <sup>AN</sup>*la-àm-ba-ni* by Cameron (*apud* Hinz 1967b: 91 fn. 69; cf. EW s.v. d.*la-àm-ba-ni*). The element *ban(i)* occurs in various other personal names (cf. Zadok 1984a: 34 [172]; §4.1.2 fn. 704 below). On the *Treaty of Narām-Sîn* cf. §5.1.

<sup>605</sup> So Zadok 1991: 227 (“but the name is too short for unambiguous interpretation”). Text: Pettinato & Picchioni 1978: 66 (n° 66: rev.1-2); cf. Owen 1981: 247. Compare also Zimzilāḥ, another Ur III name, that contains *lah* “I offer” (see Vallat 2000a: 1069).

<sup>606</sup> Lagugu: MDP 28 441:5 (Scheil 1939: 85-6); cf. Zadok 1983a: 103 [67] (comparing the name to Lakaka) and EW s.v. *la-gu-gu* (referring to Lankuku). Lankuku: EKI 48: 1.30-1, 48A:20-1, 48B:24. Zadok (1984a: 23 [110, *in fine*], 26 [124]) takes Lankuku as a compound from *lan* and *kuk* (“protection”), which seems attractive. The EW (qq.v.) interprets both Lagugu and Lankuku as compounds from *lan* and *gugu* (“Friede, Eintracht, Harmonie(?)”) or *kuku* (“Eintracht, Friede(?)”) respectively. On Kuk-Kirwaš and Lankuku see also Vallat 1990b: 122; Vallat & De Meyer 2003: 223.

<sup>607</sup> Lani: Vallat 1980b: 135 with fn. 4 (not discussing a possible meaning); Zadok 1984a: 118 (suggesting derivation from *lan*); EW s.v. *la-ni* 2 (equating the name with *lani*,

The Middle Elamite onomasticon has thus far not yielded any clear *lan* names.<sup>608</sup> Mention should be made, however, of the female name Rišap-La (<sup>SAL</sup>ri-ša-ap-<sup>AN</sup>la) in a brick inscription of Huban-numena (ca. 1350-40). The first element, *rišap* is easily understood (“great ones, the Great Ones”); the second, <sup>AN</sup>la, is unprecedented but may be an inanimate noun without gender suffix with more or less the same meaning as <sup>AN</sup>la-an in Achaemenid Elamite (“offering, oblation,” cf. §3.1.3.1 above). Several interpretations of the compound name seem possible, such as, perhaps, “divine/offering/gift of/for the Great Ones.”<sup>609</sup>

The name Lanruku possibly occurs in a Middle or early Neo-Elamite tablet in the British Museum.<sup>610</sup> Another significant name, this time in a text securely dated to the late Neo-Elamite period, is Lalintaš.<sup>611</sup> It has been interpreted in various ways, such as Vallat’s “(le dieu) Lali l’a établi” (2000b: 29).<sup>612</sup> In view of

“Silber”). Compare also the GN *la-ni*.KI (EW q.v.; Vallat 1993a: 155). Also uncertain are Lama (EW s.v. *la-ma*), Lamama (EW s.v. *la-ma-ma*; Zadok 1983a: 103) and *la-nu*-[ú<sup>?</sup>]-u (EW qq.v. [reading Hinz]).

<sup>608</sup> Lalummešu in HT 12 and HT 452 (Herrero 1976: 110-1) may be unrelated to *lan* as are the other names with *lal* mentioned by Zadok 1984: 26. Zadok (*ibid.* 54) interprets Lalummešu as “Lal has followed me.” If anything, Lakaka (<sup>DIS</sup>la-ka<sub>4</sub>-ka<sub>4</sub>, <sup>DIS</sup>la-a-ka<sub>4</sub>-ka<sub>4</sub>) in TTM 6, TTM 7 and TTM 46 (Stolper 1984a: 35-6, 76) is derived from the verbal root *la-*, rather than from *lan*. The name may derive from \*Laka (“sent, given”), as a hypocoristicon of the common C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>a type (cf. Zadok 1983a: 102-3). Zadok 1991: 227 mentions the name Parlah (“from MB Susa”), the last element of which could also be derived from *la-*.

<sup>609</sup> Text: EK1 4C 5 = IRS 21:5 (*takkime ... Rišap-Lame*, “for the life of Rišap-La...”). On the name cf. EW s.v. f.ri-ša-ap.d.la (“die Großen sind es durch göttliche Nähe(?)”) and Zadok 1984a: 26 [121], 36 [198a] and 51 (taking the name as adjective + substantive, which is technically correct, though *rišap* is used in absolutive sense).

<sup>610</sup> Text: BM 136846 rev.8 in Walker 1980: 77. Hinz & Koch read the line as [<sup>BE</sup>]la<sup>?</sup>-an-ru-ku DUMU mi-it-[...] (EW s.v. [hh.l]a(?) -an.ru-ku; cf. *idem* s.v. *ru-ku*). Only the final vertical of LA remains; the restoration of the name is therefore quite uncertain. The fragmentary text is dated to the MElam. period by Walker (*ibid.* 76), to the late MElam. period by Steve 1992: 21, and to the Neo-Elamite period by EW p.1323.

<sup>611</sup> Cf. above §3.1.3.4 with fn. 423. The name appears in a Neo-Elamite inscription (“Lalintaš son of Ibunukaš”) on a silver rhyton probably belonging to the Kalmākarra hoard and published by Vallat 2000b (= Kal. 14 in Henkelman 2003a: 217, 221-3). It also appears, several times, in the Acropole texts from Susa (occurrences: Vallat *ibid.* 29 fn. 4). “People of Lalintaš” are known from the same archive (on these groups cf. Vallat 1992/2002; Henkelman 2003a: 212-3; §1.4.6 above).

<sup>612</sup> Vallat’s interpretation analyses the name as [lali.n.ta.š]. EW s.v. hw.la-li-in-taš tentatively proposes “(Gott) Lali verhalf dazu,” which is similar to Vallat’s interpretation, apart from the assumed derivation of *-taš* from *dah-* (“to help”). Zadok (1991: 232)

the regular combination of the verbal roots *la-* and *li-* in compounds, analysis of the name as [la.li.n.ta.š], could also be suggested. If correct, this would yield the interpretation “(DN) established/created as offering-gift” (*vel sim.*). One may compare the Neo-Elamite name Linlakka, “Sent as gift” (cf. §3.1.3.4 above).<sup>613</sup> Finally, in the Achaemenid period, we find a woman named Lanunu. The name was interpreted as a hypocoristicon based on *lan* by Zadok (1983a: 103; *contra*: EW s.v. f.*la-nu-nu*).<sup>614</sup>

Not all of the names adduced in this survey can securely be related to *lan*, nor do *lan* names occur in great numbers in any of the periods discussed. Even so, it is also true that names with *lan* span almost two millennia and, though not directly revealing religious beliefs or cultic practices, they attest to the enduring productiveness of the term *lan* in creating apparently new names.

3.6.5. *Officiants and cultic personnel* – Having reviewed nouns, month names and proper names containing the element *lan*, we may now turn to some cognates derived from the root *la-*. The most important of these are designations for cultic personnel, namely *lar*, *lap* and Akk. *buḫlālē* (< \**puhu-lar*). Each of these terms has already been discussed by François Vallat (2000a; 2001; 2002/03: 539-40); the following survey is largely based on his findings.

The word *lar* is a nomen agentis from the root *la-* with animate gender suffix ([la.r]). Vallat translates it as “clergé.” In line with what has been concluded earlier on *la-* and *lan-*, and also to avoid possible anachronistic implications of the term ‘clergy,’ the translation “officiant” is preferred here (cf. §3.1.3 above). *lar* occurs four times: in two Middle Elamite inscriptions by Šilhak-Inšušinak I, in a late Neo-Elamite inscription on a bowl plausibly from the Kalmākarra hoard, and on a gold ceremonial object reportedly discovered in Rām Hormoz in 2007. The Kalmākarra inscription is unpublished, but reportedly contains the phrase <sup>AN</sup>*la-ar* <sup>AN</sup>DIL.BAT-*na*, “officiant of DIL.BAT,” apparently as a title or designation of king Anni-šilhak of Samati.<sup>615</sup> This particular use of *lar* is an additional argument for

takes the name as a proper name + personal pronoun + verb, apparently assuming [lal.un.ta.š], “Lal established/created me” or [lal.in.ta.š], “Lal established/created it.”

<sup>613</sup> The DN Laliya (<sup>AN</sup>*la-li-ia*) in two Neo-Elamite texts (S 80:8; *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* rev.39) may be relevant here as well. Cf. EW s.v. d.*la-li-ya* and Vallat 2002/03: 535. The name is already attested in early Sukkalmah-period Susa (MDP 55 5:1 in De Graef 2006: 83; cf. *la-li-ki* in MDP 55 74 III.14’).

<sup>614</sup> Lanunu: PF 1226, NN 0358. The name Lanukaš/Lanuka (PF 0126, PF 0127, PF 0132, PF 0828, NN 0508, NN 1626, NN 1698) may, on the other hand, be Iranian (so Hinz 1975a: 155 and Tavernier 2007a: 235 [4.2.1010]).

<sup>615</sup> W.G. Lambert *apud* Mahboubian 1995: 31 quotes *la-ar* <sup>AN</sup>DIL.BAT-*na*, which is repeated in Vallat 2000b: 1069-70 and interpreted as “clergé de DIL.BAT.” The

preferring the translation “officiant” over “clergé.” The other Neo-Elamite inscription, from Rām Hormoz, reads *la-ar-na*, “belonging to the officiant.”<sup>616</sup>

Of the two Middle Elamite inscriptions, only one is published. The unpublished inscription is cited by Vallat:

*ha-al-e la-ar-e hu-te-pi lu-mu-uh*

his land, his officiant(s), his *hutepi* I burnt down<sup>617</sup>

The other, published, inscription, is harder to understand. The relevant phrase (EKI 45 VIII.17-IX.2) is quoted here with Vallat’s translation (2000a: 1070-2):

transliteration available to me has PN<sub>1</sub>, King of Samati, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, <sup>AN</sup>*la-ar* <sup>AN</sup>DIL.BAT-*na* (note the determinative preceding *la-ar*). There is no way of checking this transliteration, as no photographs are available and the object is either still on the market or has been purchased by a private party. Even its attribution to the Kalmākarra hoard is not completely certain, though its mention in Mahboubian’s catalogue (1995) strongly suggests so to me. The case of this bowl perfectly illustrates the outrage of the organised plundering of Kalmākarra Cave and the consequent loss of invaluable information on the Neo-Elamite principality of Samati to the scholarly world (cf. §1.4.5 above). See also Henkelman 2003a: 214-227 (with fn. 151 on DIL.BAT) and the acute remarks by Muhly 2004. King Anni-šilhak appears in another (?) Kalmākarra inscription (Vallat 1996b; Henkelman *l.c.* [Kal. 2]) and the Neo-Elamite tablet s 94 (Vallat *ibid.*). DIL.BAT first occurred in Iran in the late Neo-Elamite period (Vallat 2002b: 141-2; 2002/03: 535); the goddess(es) referred to by the logogram has (have) not been identified with certainty. Vallat (2002b: 143) thinks of “la grande divinité suméro-accadienne” venerated in Elam under the names Inanna, Ištar, Bēltiya and Nanaya. Other interpreters thought of Narsina (Hinz 1962b: 110; cf. EW s.v. d.DIL.BAD, followed by Lambert in Mahboubian 1995: 31) or ‘Parti’ (*recte* Mašti; König 1965: 160 fn. 12; Grilhot 1971: 231-2).

<sup>616</sup> Read from photographs shown to the author. Cf. §1.4.5. fn. 82 above on Rām Hormoz.

<sup>617</sup> Cf. Vallat’s “j’ai détruit par le feu son pays, son clergé, ses officiers” (2000a: 1070). For *lumu-* “burn down” cf. Steve 1962: 73; EW s.v. *lu-mu-un-ra*; Grilhot 1987: 51-2. Vallat apparently took *hutepi* (“officiers”) as derivative of *hute-*, a base of uncertain meaning. Compare especially the form *hu-te-ip-ra* in EKI 80:5 = IRS 62:5 (left untranslated by Malbran-Labat 1995: 140). Vallat points to the alternation of *hit* (“army?”) and *hutepi* in the two Šilhak-Inšušinak texts under discussion and in the phrases *hi-it-i na-at-ti-ih*, “j’ai vaincu son armée,” and *hu-te-pi-i na-at-ti-ih*, “j’ai vaincu ses officiers” (both in unpublished Šilhak-Inšušinak texts; cf. Vallat 2000a: 1072). Alternatively, *hutepi* could be derived from *hutta-*, “to make, to do,” but this option is less likely. Confirmed cases of forms with single *-t-* that derive from *hutta-* (e.g., *hutašda* for *huttašda* in PF 0351 and PF 0368) seem to be confined to AElam.



viii.17 ... *ha-al*-<sup>18</sup> *li la-ar-e hi-it-e* ix.1 *ma-an a-ni a-ha-an*<sup>2</sup> *hu-ra-an*

qu'aucune décision ne soit là favorable à son pays, à son clergé, à son armée!<sup>618</sup>

The plural form of *lar*, *lap*, is attested once, in a late Elamite inscription of Tepti-Huban-Insušnak (*ca.* 550-530), EKI 85.<sup>619</sup> Together with the Kalmākarra inscription mentioned above, this text is of particular importance to the present discussion because of its late date. Though fragmentary, it can be deduced that EKI 85 lists cultic personnel (and perhaps some court officials as well) who receive cattle and sheep or goats. These individuals are collectively referred to as *lap* in line 23, which may provisionally be translated as:

PAP 31 GUD<sup>MEŠ</sup> rPAP<sup>1</sup> 186 rUDU.NITÁ<sup>1MEŠ</sup> *la-ap-ma hu-sa*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *-ik si-na a-hi la-ha-na*

Total: 31 head of cattle (and) total: 186 head of sheep/goats, for the officiants, which is to be brought<sup>2</sup> to the grove (and) there to be slaughtered.<sup>620</sup>

Finally, the narration of the fifth campaign against Elam and the famous sack of Susa by Assurbanipal contains a passage on the removal and deportation of cultic statues with their adornments, temple utensils, *šangē* (and) *buhlalē*.<sup>621</sup> It had already been surmised that *buhlalē* is a designation of a certain kind of priest, like

<sup>618</sup> The basic meaning of *hal(li)* is “land,” but it can also be used for “city” and “people” (EW s.vv. *ha-al*, *ha-al.lg*, *hal*, *h.hal.lg*; Vallat 2000a: 1071; Tavernier 2007e: 65; cf. §4.3 below). The meaning “army” for *hit* (first proposed, though without argumentation, by Hüsing 1910: 16), is certainly possible and is reportedly confirmed by unpublished texts (Vallat *o.c.* 1072; cf. fn. 617 above). The quoted interpretations of *man* and the verbal root *hura-* are uncertain, but seem feasible for at least some other occurrences of these words (cf. EW s.vv. for references). In any case, the general sense of the phrase is a curse against a triad of land/people, officiant(s) and army. On EKI 45 VIII.17-IX.2 cf. also Grillot 1977: 48 (and p.25 on *man*), tentatively translating *man ani ahan huran* as “que aucun évènement ne soit propice(?)”.

<sup>619</sup> Unless <sup>GAM</sup>*la*<sup>?</sup>-*be*<sup>?</sup> (EW q.v.) is the correct reading of *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* rev.27. Unpublished autograph copies and transliterations of the document do not endorse this reading, however. Similarly *la* (EW q.v. “= *lan* Kult (?)”), in the same text (l.48), should be treated with caution and may be a first syllable rather than a distinct word.

<sup>620</sup> For discussion of this passage cf. §6.7.6.3 below. Vallat translates the first part of the quoted passage as “total: 31 bœufs; total: 186 moutons pour les clergés” (2000a: 1070).

<sup>621</sup> Prisms A VI.46, F V.33; text and translation: Aynard 1957: 54-5; Borger 1996: 54, 241. Borger took the varia lectio <sup>lu</sup>*sa-an-gu-ge-e* as the original form, considering it as a loan from Elamite that was changed, by popular etymology, to <sup>lu</sup>*sa-an-ge-e* in later editions (1996: 54 assumes). This solution implies that the change probably took place twice, in editions A and F of the annals. This, and the absence of an Elamite etymology seem to plead for a scribal error rather than an Elamite loan.

the preceding *šangē* (“temple administrators”), and is probably Elamite.<sup>622</sup> Vallat (2001) subsequently saw that *buhlalē* is a compound from *puhu* and *lar*, with added Akkadian plural ending. The original form would have been *\*puhu-lar*.<sup>623</sup> Depending on which interpretation one chooses for *puhu*, different translations are possible. Vallat takes *puhu* literally as “enfant, jeune” and gives “enfant(s) du clergé” or even “séminariste(s)” (comparing *puhu-teppi*, “les apprentices-scribes, les écoliers”). Without denying the possibility that *puhu* in *buhlalē* means something like “apprentice,” one of the alternative uses of *puhu* may apply here.

In Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite *puhu* not only denotes “boy,” “child,” or “apprentice,” but also “servant, page,” “subordinate,” “citizen, member of an ethnic/tribal group,” and “member of a professional group.”<sup>624</sup> As such, *puhu* is not unlike Akkadian *māru* (“son, boy”), which can also refer to a member of an ethnic, tribal or professional group.<sup>625</sup>

To illustrate the uses of *puhu*, a few examples may be cited. The *puhu samatip* of Acropole text S 94 are not “Samatian boys,” but “Samatian tribesmen.”<sup>626</sup> Likewise, the *puhu parnakkana* (e.g., PF 1944:1-3) are not so much “boys of Parnakka,” but “pages of Parnakka” who formed what may be described as an ‘elite servant taskforce’ (¶133-6). Such taskforces formed the professional entourage of royal women and high-ranking officials in the Persepolis economy. Similarly, the *puhu ziyānup* in the unpublished *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* (rev.15) are either “temple servants” or “temple personnel.” The term occurs already in Middle Elamite in the triad *sugir puhu siyannir ak zukkīr*, “king, temple officer (lit. son of the temple), or regent.”<sup>627</sup> Especially in the last example *puhu* must point to

<sup>622</sup> Cf. AHW 136 s.v. *b/puhlalū*; CAD B 307 s.v. *buhlalū*; EW s.v. *LÚ.bu-uh-la-le-e*.

<sup>623</sup> As Vallat points out, Elamite *r* sometimes is rendered by *l* in Akkadian.

<sup>624</sup> On the various uses of the word *puhu* cf. especially Glassner 1994: 222; Giovino 1995. See also Hallock 1960: 93-4; 1969: 39; EW s.v. *pu-hu*; Lewis 1994: 24, 26; Briant 1996: 950; Aperghis 2000: 134-5, 137-8; Tavernier 2007e; ¶129-37.

<sup>625</sup> Cf. AHW 616 s.v. *māru(m)* 8-12; CAD M 314-6 s.v. *māru* 4-5 citing (*inter alia*) *mār gallābī*, (“member of the barbers’ guild”) and *mār ištari* (“worshipper of a goddess”). See also Kraus 1973: 65-77 and compare *mārāt bīti* in MDP 28 471:14 from Sukkalmah-period Susa (Scheil 1939: 111-2; Hinz 1971d: 671).

<sup>626</sup> Cf. Vallat 1996b (“citoyens samatéens”). Another example is found on a fragment of the Atta-hamiti-Insušnak stele: *šušun hanīh ak puhur šušunra ir hanīh*, “I cherished Susa and I cherished the citizen (lit. son) of Susa” (EKI 87:5-9).

<sup>627</sup> Text: EKI 45 VII.6-8. König (1965: 100) already translates *puhu siyannir* correctly as “als Kind (= als Angehöriger) des Tempels.” Both he and Grillett (1977: 21, 44-5) took the phrase to be in apposition to *sugir*, “king” (Grillett suggests the figurative translation “descendant légitime”). The EW (s.v. *pu-hu si-ya-an-ni-ir*) may be right, however, in surmising “hier werden also drei Machthaber in absteigender Reihenfolge genannt.”

membership of a professional class rather than subordination or apprenticeship. The *\*puhu-lar* may, likewise, be a member of the class of officiants (or sacrificial priests). If so, Assurbanipal's juxtaposition of *šangē* and *buhlalē* makes, I think, better sense, for it would cover both the administrative and the cultic personnel of the temple.

To summarise: it appears that *lar* and *lap* are used as general terms for officiants and other cultic actors. As such *lap* collectively describes the cultic personnel in EKI 85. Similarly, *lar* apparently is the term *par excellence* that describes the 'priestly' class of Elamite society, as shown by the triads in Šilhak-Inšušinak's inscriptions. Secondly, the contexts of *lap* in EKI 85 and *buhlalē* (*\*puhu-lar*) in Assurbanipal's *Annals* suggest a certain professionalism, though not necessarily a full-time priesthood. In EKI 85 the list of cultic officials described as *lap* includes two *šatin* (cultic experts), a "high-priestess of the 'aside' temple of Humban," and a "high-priest of the temple of *kamrum*, but also some court officials" (cf. §6.7.6.3). As for *buhlalē*, whether it denotes "apprentice-officiant" or "member of the cultic personnel," it does in any case refer to (semi-)professionals working, or apprentices being trained, in Susa's and Elam's sanctuaries. If *buhlalē* is indeed, as I think, a collective for "cultic personnel" (as opposed to *šangē*, "temple administrators"), it conceivably describes all officiants to whom a role in the daily performance of the official cults is assigned. The use of the term 'priest' would be rash in this context, but the fact remains that *lar* and *lap* are not merely occasional designations. This observation will prove to be of some importance to the understanding of *lan* in the Fortification archive.

3.6.6. *Humban and lan* – As has been noticed earlier (cf. §§3.1.3.6, 3.4.10), there is a remarkable correlation between the use of *lašda*, "he has offered," and the name of the (originally) Elamite god Humban. Though *lašda* occurs three or four times in various profane contexts (cf. §3.1.3.6 with fn. 434 above), it is used most conspicuously in cultic contexts. Of nine such texts, seven deal with provisions for offerings for Humban, the remaining two with offerings "for the god(s)." It hardly needs to be stressed that we are dealing here with small numbers, so caution is warranted. Still, there is not one text in the available sample that uses *lašda* in combination with a named god other than Humban and this is likely to be significant.

See also Diakonoff 1985: 15. For *zukkīr*, "regent, governor" see Grillett 1978b: 85. Compare also NElam. *pu-hu-ri si-ia-an* <sup>AN</sup>*in-šū-ši-na<sup>1</sup>-ak-mi-ra*, "servant of the Inšušinak-temple" ([*puhu.r siya.n DN.m.r.a*]) in EKI 74 1.37-8 (cf. II.13-4, 17); on this see Bork 1910b: 571; EW s.vv. *pu-hu-ri*, *pu-hu-ur* and *pu-hu-ur-ri*.

Besides, the use of *lašda* mostly comes with a construction unattested elsewhere in texts on cultic provisions. The relevant passages are listed in table 3.8:<sup>628</sup>

<i>tablet</i>	<i>transaction</i>	<i>DN-na(-ma)</i>	<i>lašda</i>
NN 0339	(wine Kitikka received)	<i>umbanna</i>	<i>ha lašda</i>
PF 0341	(wine Akbaka received)	<i>umbannama</i>	<i>ha lašda</i>
PF 0345	(flour Supra received)	<i>umbannama</i>	<i>lašda</i>
PF 0343	(wine Supra received)	<i>umbannama</i>	<i>lašda</i>
PF 2029°	(wine Supra received)	<i>umbannama</i>	<i>lašda</i>
PF 0344	(wine Supra received)	<i>umbaninnama</i>	<i>lašda</i>
NN 0251°	(wine) <i>umbanna laka</i> ; (Supra received it)	<i>nappinama</i>	<i>lašda</i>
NN 0173	(barley Ummanna received)	<i>nappanna</i>	<i>ha lašda</i>
NN 0984	(barley Harpipi received as <i>gal</i> )	<i>nappina</i>	<i>lašda</i>

table 3.8: *lašda* in cultic contexts

A surprising feature of these passages is that most of them differ from standard descriptions of cultic action that omit *lašda* and the element *-ma*, and instead typically take one of following forms:

PN *duša*, DN-*na ha huttašda*

PN received, he has used/prepared it for the gods (e.g., PF 0361)

PN *dušda daušiyam* DN-*na*

PN received as offering-gift for DN (e.g., NN 1134)

But six of the texts listed in table 3.8 above have the following pattern:

PN *duša*, DN-*nama (ha) lašda*

PN received, he has offered (it) as/in (the offering) of DN

The translation given here takes *-na* in DN-*nama* as the normal attributive suffix.<sup>629</sup> The expression DN-*na*, “of/for DN” is elliptical because the object to which it is an

<sup>628</sup> The quoted passage from PF 2029 is broken: <sup>AN</sup>r<sup>1</sup>um<sup>1</sup>-ba-in-na-[ma] <sup>1</sup>la-iš<sup>1</sup>-[da]. The same is true for NN 0251: <sup>1</sup>na<sup>2</sup>-]ap-pi-<sup>1</sup>na-ma<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>la-iš<sup>1</sup>-da (collation WH; cf. §3.1.3.5 fn. 426). Cf. ¶4 for text abstracts. Possibly, NN 0065:1-2 belongs here as well, but the text is broken: [x ŠE.BAR<sup>MES</sup> ...] <sup>1</sup>na-ap-pan-na(-)ma(-) <sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>2</sup>(-)x [... ..] <sup>1</sup>du<sup>2</sup>-iš.

<sup>629</sup> I do not think that the unusual spelling *-in-na* for *-na* in PF 0344 (<sup>AN</sup>um-ba-an-in-na-ma) is significant here. Koch (1977: 30-1) saw the form as the key to understanding the DN-*na-ma* constructions, assuming that *-in-na* is used to make adjectives.

attribute (an offering or ritual) is not mentioned. Parallel, but more explicit constructions with *-nama* are known, such as *halmi PN-nama* (“in accordance with a sealed document from PN”).<sup>630</sup> The suffix *-ma* is used variously in Achaemenid Elamite.<sup>631</sup> In *DN-nama lašda*, it specifies the sacrificial commodities that are offered “as (offering) of DN” or “in/during (the offering) of DN.”<sup>632</sup>

It would seem that, in cultic contexts, the verbal base *la-*, “to offer,” implies the offering itself, hence the elliptical expression *DN-nama lašda*. This underlines, once more, the relatedness of *la-* and *lan* “offering.” Interestingly, the implicit object of *la-* “to offer” is already known from older Elamite, in the expression *DN lah*, “I offer (an offering) to DN” (cf. §3.6.7 below). Not only was this use of *la-* still known in the Achaemenid period, but in the available sample it is specifically used “for the gods” and for Humban. This apparent selective link between *lašda* and an originally Elamite god may be explained by assuming that an older Elamite

*umbaninnama* would mean “in einem humbanischen (Opfer)” (cf. EW s.v. *d.um-ba-an-in-na*). *Umbannama* (*DN-na-ma*) would just be an abbreviation of the full form. Yet, the evidence for *-inna* as an adjectival formant is slight. It is true that *har-da-iš-da-na* <sup>AS</sup>HAR <sup>MEŠ</sup>*-in-na* (DPC<sub>e</sub>; cf. DSab<sub>e</sub> 1-2) can be interpreted as “stone window-frame,” but this is not compulsory and “window-frame of stone” is equally possible. Other cases are open to one explanation only, such as <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA <sup>DIS</sup>EŠŠANA-*ip-in-na*, “King of Kings” (DPA<sub>e</sub> 2) or <sup>AS</sup>kan-ti <sup>AS</sup>an<sup>1</sup>-za-ir-in-na-ma ul-la-ka<sub>4</sub> “delivered at the storehouse of Anzar” (PF 0548). The last two examples show that Hallock (1969: 735) was probably right in assuming that *-in-na* is just a variant of *-na*. The same seems true for the *-inni* forms identified by Rossi (2000: 2083, 2094-5); some of these may, moreover, be interpreted as nouns on *-n* with a *-ni* suffix.

<sup>630</sup> Compare also the frequent date formula of the type <sup>AN</sup>ITI <sup>MEŠ</sup>*markašanašnama* (lit. “in the month of Markašanaš”).

<sup>631</sup> The suffix is used with locative (*kantima*, “at the storehouse”), temporal (*bel kima*, “in one year”), instrumental (*halpi duhema*, “by his own death”) or qualitative (<sup>GIS</sup>GEŠTIN <sup>MEŠ</sup>... *galma*, “wine ... as ration”) colour. Cf. Hallock 1969: 722.

<sup>632</sup> Vallat (2000a: 1067) translates PF 0341 as “...NP<sub>2</sub> a reçu pour le culte de Humban qu’il avait assuré ici.” I do not believe that *-t* in forms like *lašda* ([la.š.t(a)]) invariably expresses anteriority (cf. Stolper 2004a: 82), or that *ha* (“ici”) is exclusively locative. For arguments against the interpretation of *la-* as “vouer un culte à” cf. §§3.1.3.2-7 above. I agree, however, with Vallat’s interpretation of *Umbannama* as “pour le culte de Humban.” Other commentators basically ignored the specific construction. Hallock (1969: 151) translates *umbannama ha lašda* in PF 0341 as “... issued (it) for (the god) Humban.” Hinz (1970: 427) rendered *umbaninnama lašda* in PF 0344 as “er hat sie für Gott Humban geopfert,” but modified his view in the EW s.v. *la-iš-da*. There, PF 0341 is translated as “für Gott Humban hat er ihn hier weitergegeben (verwendet).” Note that EW s.v. *d.um-ba-an-na* gives a completely different interpretation of the same text (“hat er in einem humbanischen [Opfer] hier geopfert”).

cultic vocabulary was preserved in the Achaemenid period. As such, the use of *lašda* fits the hypothesis that *lan* was not inherited as an isolated term, but as part of a semantic field. In other words, the use of *lašda* articulates, though indirectly, the Elamiteness of *lan*.

The apparent link between *lašda* and Humban and its possible consequences for the background of *lan* did not escape Heidemarie Koch. For her, the specific use of *lašda* presented a difficulty with regard to the related term *lan* because she considered *lan* as the exclusive offering for Auramazdā (cf. §3.4.10 fn. 532 above). To tackle this difficulty, Koch tried to differentiate *lan* and *lašda* as much as possible. She stressed that *lan* itself never occurs with Humban and surmised that *lan* and *lašda* “ursprünglich von derselben Wurzel abstammend, im Laufe der Zeit in völlig *verschiedenen* Bereichen ihre Anwendung fanden” (Koch 1977: 140-1).

It is unquestionably true that texts with *lan* and texts with *lašda* are different. Texts on cultic provisions for Humban, including the above *lašda* texts, generally have different amounts and frequencies from the ones known for *lan*. Besides, *lan* offerings and offerings for Humban are recorded side-by-side (NN 2372:1-2), so there is really no question about the distinctiveness of both types of offering.

*lan* constituted, as we have seen, a type of offering *sui generis* that probably was not connected to one single god (cf. §§3.4.1-2 above). An ‘offering for Humban’ probably was specific too and the central authorities in Persepolis would be aware of its characteristics and requirements in terms of provisions. All of this does not mean, however, that they belonged to different religious spheres or to the cults of different religions. One surely misses the point when assuming that because *lan* and *lašda* appear in different contexts, they must be *entirely* disconnected. As the unproven premises of this argumentation, that *lan* is the exclusive offering for Auramazdā, has been shown to be unsustainable, the whole line of reasoning now appears to be circular: *lan* must be exclusive to Auramazdā and *therefore* is disconnected from *lašda* which occurs mainly with Humban. By contrast, there actually is evidence for a larger semantic field emanating from the root *la-* in both pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid Elamite. The terms *lan* and *lašda* are both rooted in older Elamite cultic vocabulary and this is the link that really matters. The case of *lašda*, it may be repeated, reinforces the notion of the Elamiteness of *lan*.

3.6.7. *Magical spells* – Finally, a number of Mesopotamian magical spells may be mentioned. *lah* (\**lah*), “I offer” (intransitive) occurs in four such texts. The spells are written in Sumerian, but include one or several lines in Elamite (serving as magic words). More or less the same formula is used in all four texts. As Vallat (2000a: 1067-9) has recently discussed this intriguing set of documents, a single

example will suffice here.<sup>633</sup> A small chlorite amulet published by W.G. Lambert (1976: 61-4) and dated sometime in between “the beginning of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the end of the Kassite dynasty” contains the following passage (ll.4-7):

<sup>4</sup> *zi-ib-ši la-aḥ* <sup>5</sup> *nu-me la-aḥ* <sup>6</sup> *ši-ti la-aḥ* <sup>7</sup> *hu-úḥ la-aḥ*

<sup>4</sup> I offer to Zibši, <sup>5</sup> I offer to Nume, <sup>6</sup> I offer to Šiti, <sup>7</sup> I offer to Huḥ<sup>634</sup>

Most of the names in these texts are otherwise unknown, but they do seem to be Elamite and some can be recognised as badly blurred forms of known Elamite divine names.<sup>635</sup> Does this mean that the Mesopotamian spells preserve formulae actually used in Elamite cultic practice? This seems at least feasible, though one has to reckon with a certain degree of type copying (coining words that sound like Elamite). Clear parallels from Elam unfortunately do not exist, but that may be a matter of selective preservation. In any case, the form *lah*, “I offer,” must have been borrowed from Elam, whatever its original context may have been.<sup>636</sup>

<sup>633</sup> The texts are: LB 1005 (Böhl 1934: 31-2; Van Dijk 1982: 102), YBC 5627 (Tonietti 1979: 309-10; Van Dijk, Goetze & Hussey 1985: n° 89), an amulet in the de Serres collection (W.G. Lambert 1976: 61-4, quoted below) and s 7/1600 (Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994: 73-4). Earlier discussions of this material are found in Tonietti 1979: 309-13; Van Dijk 1982 (discussing the background of the use of Elamite in these spells); Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994: 73-82; Vallat 2000a: 1067-9.

<sup>634</sup> Vallat 2000a: 1067 translates “j’ai voué un culte à Zibši, j’ai voué un culte à Nume, j’ai voué un culte à Šiti, j’ai voué un culte à Huh.” Lambert read *gú-úḥ* (l.7), which has been emended by Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi 1994: 76, 77 fn. 11 to *hu-úḥ* (cf. Vallat *l.c.* fn. 17). The Elamite passages in other texts (quoted after Vallat) are:

*zi-in-zi la-aḥ zi-hi la-aḥ hu-úḥ la-aḥ hu-úḥ-ti la-aḥ hu-úḥ-me la-aḥ* (LB 1005)

*zi-im-zi ra-ḡaḥ<sup>1</sup> nu-me la-[aḥ] hu-úḥ-me<sup>1</sup> [la-aḥ] hu-úḥ [la-aḥ]* (YBC 5627)

*si-en-ti la-aḥ nu-me la-aḥ nu-ud la-aḥ si-it la-aḥ* (s 7/1600).

<sup>635</sup> Šiti was compared by Vallat (2000a: 1068; 2002/03: 530, 538) to Zit in the OElam. *Narām-Sîn Treaty* (EKI 2 l.6; cf. ★ ad NN 0654). The divine entities Nume and Huḥ may have parallels in the Elamite onomasticon (*idem* 2000a: 1068). Vallat also observes that Zibši/Zinzi/Zimzi may continue a single theonym (*ibid.*). Could this be Tepti/Temti? The latter is sometimes spelled *še-im-ti* or *si-im-ti* in Akkadian (Zadok 1984a: 3, 43 [246]; 1991: 234; cf. Vallat 1996c: 315 with fn. 129; Stolper 2004a: 70), which may point to an affricated dental *t*<sup>s</sup> (the DN may have been pronounced /cempti/). On Tepti/Temti cf. Vallat 1983b: 14-6; EW s.v. *te-im-ti*, *d.te-im-ti*, *te-ip-ti*, *d.te-ip-ti*.

<sup>636</sup> Some confirmation of the use of \**lah* in Elamite is found in names that contain the element *lah*, such as Tanhalah (a Šimaškian; Zadok 1991: 228, 235) and Parlah (at Susa; cf. §3.6.4 fn. 608 above). Vallat mentions the Ur III name Zimzilah, but stresses that the individual bearing this name may not have been an Elamite.

### 3.6.8. Summary

The survey of terms related to *lan* in pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid Elamite in the preceding paragraphs has yielded the following results. The term *lan-lirira*, “oblator” continues Middle Elamite *lam-lir* (§3.6.1.1), a designation prominently listed among the princes of Elam and the citizens<sup>9</sup> of Susa in Šilhak-Inšušinak’s great stele. This and the other two attestations of *lam-lir* occur in contexts that also mention the region or city of Hupšan and that may relate to a particular feast at that location in which a/the *lam-lir* performed a certain cultic task (§3.6.1.2). Other designations for cultic personnel are directly derived from the root *la-*: *lar*, *lap* and *\*puhu-lar*. The first, *lar* (“officiant”), occurs in a Middle Elamite triad, apparently as a general denominator of the priestly or cultic sector of Elamite society (§3.6.5). It also occurs, significantly, in late Neo-Elamite inscriptions, in one of which it pertains to a king. Thirdly, the plural *lap* is used to describe the collective of cultic professionals and officials listed in EKI 85, a text that predates the reign of Darius I by at most a few decades (cf. §6.7.6.3 below). A certain professionalism is also implied in the term *\*puhu-lar* in the Assyrian report on the sack of Susa, where it denotes “member of the cultic personnel” (or “apprentice-officiant”) and describes a group responsible for offerings, as opposed to *šangē*, (“temple administrators”). It may be concluded that occupational designations with *la(n)* can be used as a collective, but they do not seem to be essentially meaningless, general terms. Most occurrences imply a certain professionalism (though not necessarily priesthood).

*lan* also occurs in the Middle Elamite compound *lam-li* (in *lam-lema*, “as its offering-gift”) and qualifies terra-cotta guardian animals at the gates of Čoḡā Zambīl (§3.6.1.3). Like *lam-lir* (*lan-lirira*), *lam-li* is composed of the roots *la-* and *li-*, a combination that also occurs in some names like Linlakka and, possibly, Lalintaš (§3.6.4). Achaemenid Elamite *lankul* is also a compound from *lan* and probably means “offering-prayer” (§3.6.2).

It deserves emphasis that *lan* seems to have remained a formative element throughout the documented history of the Elamite language. It occurs in a variety of proper names (§3.6.4) and in two month names (§3.6.3), Lanlube and Langilli, the second of which was retained in the Persepolitan Elamite calendar. While it is impossible to assess whether these months remained cultically special, they both may have been named after sacrificial feasts initially held in those months. That the Neo-Elamite *Šutruru Stele* refers to a feast held at Hupšan at the end of the month Lanlube (VI) may not be a coincidence (cf. the *lam-lir* in Middle Elamite Hupšan). Finally, we find the verbal base *la-* used in specific cultic contexts: in pre-Achaemenid Elamite in the form *\*lah* (though only attested in Sumerian spells) and in Achaemenid Elamite in the form *lašda*. It is noteworthy that the latter form is especially attached to the cult of Humban.



The most important conclusion emerging from the preceding paragraphs is without any doubt that *lan* was not an isolated term in either pre-Achaemenid or Achaemenid Elamite. In the Achaemenid period *lan* occurs side by side with *lankul* and *lan-lirira* and it is closely related to *lašda*. This semantic *complex* undoubtedly finds its origin in older Elamite cultic terminology, even if some words (*lankul*) are not attested before the Achaemenid period. Older Elamite has not yet yielded the term *lan* (or *lam*), but had compounds like *lam-lir* and *lam-li* and a wider semantic field including *lar*, *lap*, *\*puhu-lar* and the predicate *\*lah*. On the basis of such evidence, it becomes increasingly evident that *lan* itself cannot be viewed as a single inheritance that was isolated from its previous context as Koch's interpretations imply. Instead, the evidence adduced here should be described in terms of a developing cultic vocabulary that continued into the Achaemenid period, with *lan* as leitmotiv, not as single heirloom. Against the background of this broad rather than narrow continuity, it is hard to believe that Achaemenid Elamite *lan* had lost all previous socio-religious associations like those in *lam-lir*, *lam-li* or *lar*. In other words, I readily assume that the 'Sitz im Leben' of Achaemenid *lan* may have differed from cultic practice and religious beliefs in earlier periods, but it acquired new significance by means of an evolutionary development rather than a revolutionary rupture that transformed *lan* into the Zoroastrian state-sacrifice. *lan* was not a term without a past when it was used by the Persepolis scribes: the semantic field surrounding it proves that *lan* is firmly rooted in Elamite history.

### 3.7. *The officiant's share*

3.7.1. *The state of affairs* – The preceding paragraphs have yielded a number of characteristics of *lan* and its background. The present paragraph aims to combine these insights and add some new ones in order to reconstruct the outlines of the Achaemenid sacrifice as precisely as the available evidence allows.<sup>637</sup>

From a morphological perspective *lan* is not a complicated term: it is an inanimate noun that simply means “what is offered,” hence “offering, oblation.” But what it denoted exactly in the context of the Fortification archive is less clear, even though the ceremony is once described as *lankul*, “offering-prayer” (cf. §3.6.2. above). It seems that it denotes the ritual *act*, not so much the commodities used for it. Those are often referred to as *gal* or *daušiyam*, both “offering[-gift]” or “sacrificial [foodstuffs].” As a ritual act, *lan* did not have to be qualified, not because it was linked to a particular god, but because it was an offering *sui generis*. It implied specific requirements in terms of provisions and frequency; as such *lan* could be deployed as a meaningful technical catchword and could be used alongside offerings for named gods in inventories. In this sense, *lan* is treated exactly like other terms for specific types of offering such as *šip*, *akriš*, *kušukum*, offerings during certain months, offerings at certain topographical features (mountains, rivers) or offerings at certain locales (reservoirs, wine storages). Mentioning the *type* of offering rather than its divine beneficiary or beneficiaries was apparently a regular bureaucratic feature.

In the unlikely case that there were strict cultural barriers between Elamites and Iranians, *lan* would be a border-crossing phenomenon. Instead of being exclusively Iranian, linked to Auramazdā or even a Zoroastrian ‘state-offering,’ *lan* seems to fit nicely in the panorama of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. Rooted in the Elamite past and cultic tradition, Achaemenid *lan* came to denote a type of offering that could be performed by all kinds of cultic personnel, notably *šatin* and *makuš*. It is found in the immediate vicinity of Persepolis, but also in the old Elamite towns of Gisat, Hidali and Hunar (Huhnur; cf. App.6.2 below). Although inventories of offerings do not reflect a cultic reality (combined cults), they do enumerate offerings carried out under the aegis of a single official and performed by a single officiant in a single region. In these lists *lan* is found with gods of both Iranian (e.g., Išpandaramattiš) and Elamite (e.g., Napiriša, Humban) descent.

It is not very easy to narrow down the definition of *lan* from this point onwards. Its cognate *lašda* has an interesting attachment to Humban, but this is a case of traditional vocabulary rather than an indication of a narrow definition and a limited applicability of the root *la-*. This appears from the wide range of

<sup>637</sup> See also the summaries in §§3.1.5, 3.4.11 and 3.6.8 above.

equivalents used for the verbal base *la-* in Achaemenid Elamite: *li-* (“to send, deliver”), *hutta-* (“to make, prepare”) and *dunu-* (“to give”). Also, words related to *lan* in pre-Achaemenid Elamite are sometimes used as a general or collective term. An example is *lap* (“officiants”), which designates all cultic professionals and officials mentioned in EKI 85.

So what makes *lan* special? The fact that it has a relatively wide geographical coverage and occurs in 81 texts does not in itself signify anything else than that it was a regular way of making offerings. There are a few indications of involvement of the higher social strata (such as the 148 head of livestock allocated for *lan*), but in this respect the *šip* offering is much more prominent (cf. §6.4 ad 1.2 below and \*§6.4.1-2). There are, however, two characteristics of *lan* that clearly set this type of offering apart: its specific frequency and the fixed amounts of sacrificial commodities. A third clue is provided by the pre-Achaemenid evidence: though not exclusively, designations derived from *la-* (*lam-lir*, *lap*, \**puhu-lar*) are repeatedly used for specialist officiants, such as the cultic personnel of temples or the collective of Elam’s ‘clergy.’ These three clues will serve to establish a tentative definition of Achaemenid *lan*.

3.7.2. *Reconsidering the frequency of lan* – In her dissertation, Koch stressed the uniqueness of *lan* in view of the regularity of the allocations for this type of offering (1977: 137):

Eine derartige festgelegte Rationierung läßt sich bei keinem anderen Opfer, für welchen der in den Buchungstäfelchen auftretenden Götter auch immer, feststellen.<sup>638</sup>

This assertion is only partly accurate: *lan* is indeed special in that its provisions are regulated on a *monthly* basis (cf. §3.7.2.2 below),<sup>639</sup> but regulation as such is quite normal in the Fortification archive (cf. §3.7.2.1 below). Besides, provisions for monthly offerings occur with *šumar* and *bašur* sacrifices as well. Texts concerning those sacrifices may in fact yield a clearer image of *lan* (cf. §3.7.2.3 below).

<sup>638</sup> Cf. Koch 1977: 130, 149 (“Außer den ... *lan*-Opfern lassen sich keine regelmäßigen Opfer nachweisen”), 176 (“So ist das Opfer für Ahuramazdā, das normalerweise mit dem elamischen Wort *lan* = ‘Opfer’ bezeichnet wurde, das einzige, dessen regelmäßige Durchführung von der Verwaltung her sichergestellt ist”); *idem* 1987: 242-3. Koch’s position was adopted by Kellens 1994: 124.

<sup>639</sup> An observation also stressed by Handley-Schachler 1998: 201-2; Razmjou 2004a: 109. Cf. §§3.2.1 and 3.4.5.4 above.

3.7.2.1. *Other regular offerings* – Most texts on *lan* explicitly refer to a twelve-month period (cf. ¶1). Often, the amount issued per month is specified. Four cases even stipulate the daily amount (PF 0746, PF 0748, PF 1953:1-3, NN 0822). In case of provisions for shorter periods, the number of months is always indicated and the amount is divisible by the given number of months. It is clear, however, that other types of offerings were subject to fixed regulation too, be it not on a monthly, but on an annual basis. To illustrate this, Parnakka's own testimony may be quoted here (PF 2068:1-11):

<sup>1</sup> Diš<sub>r</sub> <sup>ir-iš-<sub>r</sub> ti<sup>1</sup>-man-ka<sub>4</sub> tu<sub>4</sub>-ru-</sup> <sup>2</sup> iš<sub>r</sub> <sup>Diš<sub>r</sub> pá<sub>r</sub>-na-ak<sup>1</sup>-ka<sub>4</sub> na-an</sup> <sup>3</sup> KI+MIN 50 <sup>Giš<sub>r</sub> BAR<sup>MEŠ</sup><sub>1</sub></sup>  
<sup>ŠE.BAR<sup>MEŠ</sup></sup> <sup>ap</sup> <sup>4</sup> id-du <sup>HAL</sup> <sup>šá-tin-be</sup> <sup>HAL</sup> <sup>ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-</sup> <sup>5</sup> be <sup>AS</sup> <sup>ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ma-ru-kaš-ma hu-</sup> <sup>6</sup> ud-  
<sup>da-iš-ni</sup> <sup>AS</sup> <sup>da-u-šá-um</sup> <sup>7 AN</sup> <sup>na-ap-pan-<sub>r</sub>na</sup> <sup>ap<sup>1</sup>-pa</sup> <sup>AS</sup> <sup>8 ka<sub>4</sub>-a-ma-ru-kaš-<sub>r</sub>ma<sup>1</sup></sup> <sup>AS</sup> <sup>be-</sup>  
<sup>edge</sup> <sup>9</sup> ul 22-um-me-man-na sa- <sup>10</sup> ap ap-pu-<sub>r</sub>ka<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-da ap <sup>11</sup> du-nu-<sub>r</sub>ka<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> zī-la

<sup>1-2</sup> Speak to Irištimanka, <sup>2-3</sup> Parnakka speaks as follows: <sup>3-4</sup> 500 qts. of barley issue to them: <sup>4-5</sup> the *šatins* who (are) at Gimarukkaš, <sup>5-8</sup> let them utilise/prepare (it as) offering-gift for the gods who (are) at Gimarukkaš. <sup>8-9</sup> In the 22<sup>nd</sup> year, <sup>9-11</sup> as previously was given to them, thus (issue to them).<sup>640</sup>

As this text clearly implies, and as Koch admits elsewhere (1977: 128; 1987: 263), standing arrangements for offerings at certain places existed and Parnakka could simply refer to these when ordering barley as in PF 2068 (or wine, as in PF 2067). It is remarkable that letter orders by Parnakka were apparently necessary to effectuate the annual provisions for Dar. 22 at Gimarukkaš, but this may be due to special circumstances. In other texts, annual amounts are repeated without any apparent direct intervention by Parnakka. There are feasts for which fixed amounts were issued at a certain time, such as the *akriš* at Pasargadae for which 500 qts. of barley were issued in the sixth month of Dar. 18, 19 and 23.<sup>641</sup> Also, there are several

<sup>640</sup> Cf. PF 2067, which is virtually identical apart from the name of the scribe and the commodity issued (300 qts. of wine). In 1.7 *appa* is translated as referring to *nappanna*. The relative pronoun may be taken as accusative (“the gods whom [they venerate] at GN”). See Stolper 2004a: 76 on this usage of *appa* and compare, e.g., PF 1097, PF 1589, PF 1597, PF 1602. Alternatively, *appa* may be the inanimate relative and refer to *daušam*, as Koch (1977: 66-7) prefers: “als Opferspende für die Götter ... welche in ... (üblich) ist.” Indeed, *appa* is used in the same text (PF 2068:11) to refer to inanimate *halmi*. Hallock (1969: 639) seems to favour *appa* as inanimate relative too (“the libation that (is/are) at GN”). Still, the interpretation given here seems preferable because of the word order. For *sap appukada ... zila* cf. *sap appa anka appukada hi zila* in DB<sub>6</sub> I.47-8.

<sup>641</sup> Cf. NN 2035, PF 1942:1-2, PF 0774. On *akriš* cf. Koch 1977: 141 (“ein besonderes Fest zu einem festen Termin”).

series of texts that record identical, apparently annual amounts for offerings during multiple years.<sup>642</sup> Table 3.9 below lists nine of such series of texts.<sup>643</sup>

<i>tablets</i>	<i>years</i>	<i>provisions for offerings</i>
PF 0356; PF 0357; PF 0358	18, 19, 21	50 qts. of barley ‘for the gods’ received by Ummurdak
NN 2348:12-4, 15-6, 17-9	18, 19, 20	10 qts. of wine for a Karbašiya offering
NN 2348:12-4, 15-6, 17-9	18, 19, 20	10 qts. of wine for a <i>kušukum</i> offering
NN 2035; PF 1942: 1-2; PF 0774	18, 19, 23	500 qts. of barley for an <i>akriš</i> offering
PF 0361; NN 1672	22, 23	50 qts. of barley ‘for the gods’ received by Nabapiš
PF 0363; PF 0364	23, 24	3 sheep or goats ‘for the gods’ received by Akšimašra
PF 0771; NN 0683	23, 27	40 qts. of beer for Auramazdā received by Irdabada
PF 0337; NN 0366	20, 22	400 qts. barley for Auramazdā received by Bakabana
PF 0336; PF 0337	19, 20	400 qts. barley for Mišdušiš received by Bakabana

*table 3.9: series of annual provisions for offerings*

Combined with the evidence from PF 2067 and PF 2068, cases like those listed above show that fixed annual amounts for certain offerings at certain locations were a normal phenomenon. This, in turn, suggests that the administrators in Persepolis worked with prescriptive documents on standard provisions for a number of offerings, be it some sort of cultic calendar, a royal decree, or simple

<sup>642</sup> These texts give only a year date and do not mention months or a period, which suggests that they deal with year totals.

<sup>643</sup> Sometimes no years are given in one or several interrelated texts. As it may be assumed that different years are at stake, these texts can be added to those in table 3.9: 530 qts. of barley received by Miššezza for Mišdušiš and a Sakurraziš offering in Dar. 22 and two more years (NN 0613, NN 0679, NN 1679); 120 qts. of wine ‘for the gods’ received by Irteya in Dar. 19 and another year (PF 0373; NN 1613); 600 qts. of barley given to Pidaka for offerings for Humban in Dar. 23 and two more years (PF 0349, PF 0350, NN 0893). In other cases the amounts are identical and the contexts similar, but the (same?) divine beneficiaries are referred to by different names: 100 qts. of barley received by Karsuka ‘for the gods’/a *kušukum* offering in Dar. 22, 24 (PF 0360; PF 0799); 60 qts. of beer received by Karsuka ‘for the gods’/Humban in Dar. 22, 23 (NN 1315; NN 0109); 4 sheep/goats sacrificed by Attuk(n)a for four different offerings/‘for the gods’ in Dar. 22 and another year (PFa 03; PF 0362); 160 qts. of barley received by Ummana(na) ‘for the gods’/for a *šip* for Zizkurra at Pumu in Dar. 23-24 (NN 0173; NN 0654).

lists of offering (derived from a cultic calendar or royal decree).<sup>644</sup> An important part of the expenses for cultic activities must have been regulated in this way.<sup>645</sup>

3.7.2.2. *A monthly sacrifice* – If *lan* is special, it is not because its provisions are regulated and fixed (“regelmäßige Durchführung”), but because they refer, implicitly or explicitly, to a *monthly* and sometimes to a daily ceremony. A series of twelve monthly, or 360 daily offerings cannot be established for any other offering with the exception of the *šumar* and *bašur* offerings plus a few isolated cases (all discussed below). Apart from these exceptions and *lan* itself, we never find offerings repeated during several or twelve successive months. The stipulation “for a whole year” occurs frequently (though not in the texts listed in table 3.9 above), but this does not imply a *monthly* sacrifice and in most cases the amounts involved are either too small or not easily divisible by twelve.<sup>646</sup> Similarly, occasional texts on provisions for offerings during a single month do not seem to be part of a twelve-month series, but rather document occasional (annual, biennial, triennial) sacrifices such as the *šip* and *akriš* feasts.<sup>647</sup>

To recapitulate: it appears that a number of offerings were regulated by a fixed schedule. Some were performed annually, or at several occasions throughout the year, whereas *lan* was performed every month. The Persepolis administrators typically worked with single texts summarising total annual amounts for all other types of offering, but in the case of *lan* they stressed its monthly character.

<sup>644</sup> Documents of this type are items of a ‘Dienstbibliothek.’ Some may have been retroacts (older documents with a relevance for current issues). None of them have survived in the current Fortification sample, either because they may have been written on perishable text carriers (parchment, wax boards) or valuable materials (metal tablets), or because they were stored elsewhere. For ‘Dienstbibliothek’ and retroacts in ancient archives see now Van den Hout 2005: 283-4.

<sup>645</sup> But not all offerings adhere to such regulations. Variations do occur and some cases appear to be incidental. Two examples of varying provisions may be mentioned here. In NN 1751:1-2, 14 Urikama receives 50 qts. of barley for Mt. Šaki ([x]/Dar. 18-19), but he receives 60 qts. for the same beneficiary in NN 2202:3 (Dar 20<sup>9</sup>; cf. §6.4 ad l.3 below). In NN 0650 Ambaduš received 160<sup>9</sup> qts. of barley for Humban, but in PF 0340 he receives only 70 qts. for the same purpose.

<sup>646</sup> NN 1606, NN 2200:1-5, NN 2206:1-3, NN 2265:1-4, NN 2358:1-3, NN 2362:1-5, NN 2372:1-2° and NN 2479:1-4. Cf. §141 fn. 72.

<sup>647</sup> Provisions for *šip* in single months: PF 0672, NN 1665, NN 1701, NN 1731, NN 2225, NN 2259:1-2° and NN 2259:25-6. Provisions for *akriš* in single months: cf. fn. 641 above. Provisions for other offerings in single months: NN 0251, NN 1941, NN 2183:3-4, NN 2259:9-10°, NN 2259:17-8, NN 2477:1-2, NN 2486:47 and Fort. 3543. Compare also the offerings ‘for’ (during) the third, sixth or eighth months (cf. §6.4 ad ll.12, 14 below).

Just how much *lan* adheres to a monthly schedule is nicely illustrated by the fact that it is the only offering demonstrably affected by the occurrence of intercalary months. Flour for *lan* is issued for the thirteenth month of Dar. 22 (PF 0764) and an amount of 195 qts. of flour is given for a thirteen-month period in Dar. 24 (PF 0765).<sup>648</sup> The administrators were apparently instructed to supplement the normal annual total so that *lan* could continue in the additional, thirteenth month.

<sup>648</sup> For intercalary months cf. §2.3.5 above. A third text, NN 2589 (translit. C.E. Jones), records an amount of 195 qts. of flour (cf. PF 0765) for *lan* received by Udaraš in Dar. 23, “during [x] months, monthly he has received 15 qts.” The amounts imply thirteen months, but Dar. 23 did not have an intercalary month, at least not in the Babylonian calendar (cf. Parker & Dubberstein 1956: 30-1; Walker 1997: 23; §2.3.5 above). The Aramaic docket has “year 23.” Though the number is followed by an extra stroke, the reading “year 24” seems unlikely (pers.comm. Annalisa Azzoni 13/III/2007). Instead, one may consider the possibility that Dar. 23 was counted as a thirteen-month year by some scribes, because they included the intercalary thirteenth month from the previous year. This may be implied in PF 1053 and NN 1223 (both Dar. 23) where the date formula starts with the first month, *Hadukannaš*, followed by *bēptika*, lit. “shifted,” hence perhaps “additional” or “intercalary.” For Hallock (1969: 75) and the EW (s.v. *be-ip-ti-qa*), *bēptika* points *not* to the intercalary month itself, but to a month following the intercalation (“shifted”). Yet, in four cases, *bēptika* qualifies the thirteenth Elamite month of Dar. 22 (PF 1046, PF 1049, PF 1057, NN 1469) and consequently cannot but mean “intercalary” (the EW *l.c.* speaks doggedly of “Ausnahmen”). Hartner (1985: 746-8) took this as evidence that *bēptika* invariably means “intercalary” and that a different intercalation system was in use in Fārs during a brief transition period before the standard 19-year intercalation cycle (‘Metonic cycle’) became firmly established (from Dar. 24 onwards). His deduction that Dar. 19 had an intercalary tenth month (because *bēptika* follows the tenth month in PF 1069, PF 1070 and PF 1073) faces several difficulties, however, including the fact that Dar. 19 also had an intercalary sixth month (see, e.g., PF 0660, PF 1790; cf. EW *l.c.*). A way out of this conundrum may be that in years 19 and 22 there simply was no unified way to handle the necessary intercalation. In Dar. 19, the scribes mentioned either an intercalary sixth or a *bēptika* tenth month. Likewise, they mentioned an intercalary twelfth month in Dar. 22, or a *bēptika* first month in Dar. 23. The latter may have led to an occasional counting of Dar. 23 as a thirteen-month year, as seems to be the case in NN 2589. At any rate, the choice for one of the intercalary systems did *not* depend on the scribe or the calendar, Elamite or Old Persian, that he was using (as Hartner thought). This appears from the fact that for both the intercalary months  $\text{VI}^2/19$  and  $\text{X}^{\text{bēptika}}/19$  Old Persian month names are used. What mattered was the region of the scribe’s activity: texts *bēptika* all relate to the Fahliyān region (Dašer, Hutpirri, Zakzaku). It seems, then, that for some time this region did not keep pace with the regular intercalation system. On this system cf. Walker 1997: 23-4; Basello 2002: 15 fn. 18. On cultic activity in intercalary months cf. Robbins 1996: 84.

3.7.2.3. *šumar* and *bašur* – As stated above, *lan* is special because its provisions are based on monthly and even daily offerings, but as such it is not entirely unique. Two other types of sacrifice, viz those characterised by the words *šumar* and *bašur*, fit into this category. This observation may be helpful in narrowing down the definition of *lan*. Apart from *šumar* and *bašur*, there are only three texts recording monthly provisions during a year, or part of a year, for offerings other than *lan*. As in two of these cases the type of offering is unclear and as all three texts are somehow unique, we will concentrate here on the texts with *šumar* and *bašur*.<sup>649</sup>

The word *šumar* probably denotes the tomb, grave, or burial mound of royal and noble Persians.<sup>650</sup> Four texts mention it, two of which record allocations of barley and flour for a period of three months to the servants of the keepers of the *šumar* of Hystaspes and an anonymous deceased person (NN 1700; NN 1848). The two remaining texts deal with allocations of sheep or goats: 24 during a twelve-month period for the *šumar* of Cambyses (II) and the woman Upanduš (NN 2174<sup>651</sup>) and two, apparently, as a year's total, for the *šumar* of a certain Zišunduš (Fort. 2512). Whereas *šumar* may refer to the funerary construction or locale itself, *bašur* (<sup>GIŠ</sup>*ba-šu-ur*) may be an offering table on which funerary offerings could be presented. *bašur* is probably derived from Akk. *paššūru*, “table, offering table,” a

<sup>649</sup> NN 1715 records a provision of 120 qts. of wine for an *akriš* of the gods during 12 months. As such *akriš* may seem to be parallel to *lan*, but elsewhere 500 qts. of barley is issued for what seems to be an annual feast in the sixth month (NN 2035, PF 1942:1-2, PF 0774; cf. §3.7.2.1. fn. 641 above and ¶23 below). The second text, NN 0984, documents an allocation of 400 qts. of barley as offering (*gal*) to a certain Harpipi, who offered it (*lašda*) to the gods during ten months. It is impossible to tell from this text, which god or what type of offering is meant, but it is not excluded that Harpipi performed *lan* sacrifices. The only known annual amount of 480 qts. for an offering is indeed intended for *lan* (PF 1947:3-4°). The third text, PF 0766, pertains to a receipt of 120 qts. of barley by Irdunara for a *daušannuaš* <sup>†</sup> during twelve months. It is hard to establish what kind of offering *daušannuaš* was (the word may well be a compound with *\*dauça-* but the meaning of the second part is unclear; cf. §3.4.6 fn. 509 above and ¶26 below). The supply official of PF 0766 (Bakumira) and the tablet's left-edge seal (PFS 0048) are found together in a number of texts on provisions for cultic activity (PF 0336, PF 0337, PF 0340, PF 0766, NN 0108, NN 0318, NN 0366 and NN 0650). The divine beneficiaries mentioned in these texts are: Humban (3x), Auramazdā (2x), Mišdušiš (2x) and ‘the other gods’ (1x).

<sup>650</sup> Cf. ¶102-15 and *passim* for full discussion of the texts and arguments mentioned here. See also the acute remarks by Tuplin 2008 §1.3 in response to that study. For *bašur* see also §6.4 ad l.20 below. Allocations of oil for the royal graves (*kimālu*) are mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian Palace Archive of Nebuchadnezzar (see Jursa [forthc. 3]).

<sup>651</sup> Read <sup>HAL</sup>*kán-ṛbu-zí-ia*<sup>1</sup> in NN 2174:6-7 (not <sup>HAL</sup>*kan-ṛbu-zí-ia*<sup>1</sup> as printed in ¶110).



term that is regularly used for such a piece of cultic furniture in contemporary Babylonia (cf., e.g., Beaulieu 2003: 190, 217, 346-7). One text (PF 1854) in fact copies the contents of NN 2174 (24 animals in twelve months), but replaces ‘*šumar* of Cambyses’ by ‘*bašur*.’ Another text (NN 2259:19-20) records an allocation of 144 sheep during 11 (*recte* 12) months with which a dedication or offering for/at the *bašur* was made (*ha girašda*). The same stipulation is found in a final text (PF 0302) that documents a provision of 120 qts. of wine for the *bašur* of Cambyses, without specifying the frequency (the amount suggests 12 monthly ceremonies).<sup>652</sup>

The information on funerary offerings found in the Fortification archive is corroborated by the Greek sources. As Arrian (VI.29.7) records, the magoi guarding the tomb of Cyrus II received one sheep and an allowance of flour and wine a day as well as one horse per month to sacrifice to Cyrus. Strabo (XV.3.7) explicitly states that the daily sheep was given for the maintenance of the magoi (σίτισιν...καθ’ ἡμέραν πρόβατον). On the face of it, there is a clear distinction between allocations for the magoi (sheep, flour, wine) and provisions for sacrifices (horses). It may be assumed, however, that the sheep, flour and wine (“from the King”) were in the first place offered for the well-being of the deceased and only then consumed by the magoi. The actual difference hidden in the ancient testimonies is rather that horses were given for monthly, not daily offerings (whether or not the horses were also consumed is another matter). Conversely, it is perfectly conceivable that the animals and wine allocated for *šumar* and *bašur* offerings were consumed by the performers of the ceremony. The flour allocated to the servants of the *šumar* keepers may, along the same lines, have been used as offering, in the form of sacrificial loaves, before it was consumed.<sup>653</sup>

<sup>652</sup> In 146 the tablet numbers of two *bašur* texts have been confused: the expression *bašur Kanbuziyana ha girašda* actually occurs in PF 0302 (not PF 1854) and the expression *ap iddu bašurna* is found in PF 1854 (not PF 0302). Note also the special table with food and other requisits for the δαίμων of the Persian King (τράπεζα ... τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλέως, ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων) mentioned by Athenaeus (VI.60/252b; cf. Shahbazi 1980: 130; Boyce 1982: 254-5; De Jong 1997: 301). According to Athenaeus this was a custom practised by Persians residing near the palace entrances (... τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντες). Compare also the offering table for a deceased ruler (?) depicted on the famous Neo-Elamite spinner relief from Susa (on which see, most recently, Root 2007: 199-200).

<sup>653</sup> These servants were subordinated to *lipte kutip*, “chamberlains,” viz members of the Persian elite and possibly court-officials (NN 1848; 117-29) who acted as *šumar* keepers. From this, it seems possible that the servants, in active duty at the tomb or burial mound, replaced their superiors who were not supposed to sit at the tomb on a daily basis. This does not necessarily change the nature of the flour allocated in NN 1848 (and NN 1700): apart from being used for the maintenance of the keepers or their

The double purpose of *šumar* and *bašur* offerings is inherent in many, if not all types of offerings found in the Persepolis Fortifications texts. In case of larger quantities, the texts regularly state that “afterwards workers consumed” (*meni kurtaš makiš*) the sacrificial commodities.<sup>654</sup> Likewise, the *šip* feasts were not only religious occasions: for the workers attending such ceremonies, celebrating *šip* meant receiving a rare meat portion (cf. §§6.4 ad 1.2 and 6.6.5 below). In case of smaller quantities, consumption by workers is not mentioned, but this does not mean that these offerings did not have an economic value. As it was not customary in Persian religion to burn (parts of) the offering, be it meat or loaves, on a fire altar, the officiant would either have taken all these foodstuffs for his personal use, or shared them with colleagues.<sup>655</sup> The same may be true for beer and wine, from which only small quantities may have been used for libation. Human consumption of sacrificial foodstuffs may have been a general practice in Persepolis, and therefore taken for granted in the documentation. Only when groups of workers were involved, the leading principle of accountability demanded that consumption should be recorded explicitly.

In practical terms, the keepers of a *šumar* and the performers of *bašur* sacrifices had, by their cultic duty, access to a regular income. This may not have been a full wage or ration in all cases, but the officiant’s share was certainly not insignificant. The 120 qts. of wine received by Pimena translates into a monthly share of 10 qts.; normal monthly wine rations for middle-rank officials (including travelling *šalup*, free men) range between 10 and 30 qts. (cf. Koch 1983: 46-7; Brosius 1996: 148-63). Likewise, the 24 head of livestock allocated for sacrifices to Bakabadda and his assistant fit the meat rations for middle-rank officials, ranging from one-third to three animals per month.<sup>656</sup>

delegates, it could at the same time have been intended for regular offerings. This would explain the elaborate context given in NN 1848 and NN 1700, which would seem pointless if mundane flour rations were at stake. If, however, the allocations of flour have only a profane purpose, this would still not alter the conclusions reached on the wine and sheep/goats for *šumar* and *bašur* offerings.

<sup>654</sup> PF 0336, PF 0337, NN 0366, NN 0613, NN 0679, NN 0978 and NN 1679 (cf. §5.4.4 below). Perhaps NN 1193 (barley *napna makka*, “consumed for the god/gods”) and NN 2486:47-8 (fruit *anšima makka*, “consumed at an *anši* feast”) should be added here.

<sup>655</sup> See, e.g., Hdt. 1.132 and De Jong 1997: 118-9, 360-1.

<sup>656</sup> See, e.g., PF 1790, PF 1791 and NN 0644; cf. §6.6.2 with fn. 963. If the 2 sheep/goats in Fort. 2512 are indeed intended for a whole year (cf. §139), and assuming that there are two recipients/officiants, the one-twelfth monthly portion is still higher than that of most meat allocations to *kurtaš* (one-thirtieth portion). If for a whole year, the allocation of livestock must mean some kind of credit. Another possibility, however, is that the livestock was given as a source of milk and dairy products rather than meat.

3.7.2.4. *The meaning of gal* – It is interesting to note that three of the *šumar* texts use the word *gal*. In NN 1700 and NN 1848 it clearly means “ration” (for the servants of the *šumar* keepers), but in Fort. 2512 it seems to denote “offering.” Used in this sense, *gal* also appears in the royal inscriptions.<sup>657</sup> It should be stressed that the two translations used for *gal* obscure the fact that, for speakers of Elamite, it probably implied both shades of meaning at the same time (cf. §3.2.1 fn. 459).

In the Fortification archive, *gal* occurs 46 times in cultic contexts. Richard Hallock assumed that texts with *gal* documented payments to individuals “for the performance of religious duties” (1969: 25). He therefore collected these texts in sub-category K<sub>1</sub> (rations for individuals with religious functions), part of his category ‘K’ (regular monthly rations for named persons). For Hallock, rations and offerings were clearly mutually exclusive classes. Thus, he comments on PF 0773 (*ibid.* 26), a receipt of wine by PN for Mariraš and *lan*, that it

“... may involve deliveries to gods rather than rations. But in the other texts either the use of the word *gal* or the amount given makes it at least probable that the texts concern ration payments.”<sup>658</sup>

Like Hallock, Koch believed in separation of provisions for offerings and rations for cultic personnel. But instead of assuming, as Hallock did, that cultic texts with *gal* describe rations for officiants, she surmised that these refer to sacrificial “Rationen” specifically used for offerings and that allowances for the officiants had to be looked for elsewhere (Koch 1977: 147-8; 1987: 242-4).<sup>659</sup>

The supposed difference between ration payments for officiants and deliveries for the gods is, in my view, illusory. In reality, commodities were issued both for making sacrifices and for consumption by officiants; the term *gal* perfectly covers both functions. That officiants used the foodstuffs of the gods was probably not a secondary factor, certainly not in the eyes of the Persepolis administrators. It may well have been practice to adjust the amounts allocated for sacrifices to the needs of the officiant or, in case of larger offerings, to those of the workers who benefited from sacrificial foodstuffs.

The application of the term *gal* brings us back to *lan*. Of the 46 documents with *gal* in cultic context, 32 pertain to, or include, *lan* offerings (cf. §3.2.1 above).

<sup>657</sup> DSf<sub>e</sub> 16-7 and DSz<sub>e</sub> 15. For the two meanings of *gal* see §3.2.1 above; cf. §114-5, 140.

<sup>658</sup> For Hallock (*ibid.* 19), deliveries for the offerings were rather to be found in texts with PN *huttašda* (“PN has used, prepared [for]”), but without *gal* (category E: utilisation).

<sup>659</sup> Koch refers to PF 1798, a letter order for 90 qts. of flour to be issued for a period of two months to Limepirda, a *makuš* directly under Parnakka’s command. It is rather uncertain, however, whether this document refers to a payment for cultic activity. Cf. §3.7.4 below.

This suggests a special relevance of the term *gal* for *lan* sacrifices. It may well be that the double notion of “ration/offering” expressed by *gal* pre-eminently applies to *lan* offerings. It may therefore be suggested that *lan* was a daily sacrifice that simultaneously functioned as a regular and fixed allowance for cultic personnel.

As we have seen, the provisions based on a *monthly* schedule set *lan*, *šumar* and *bašur* apart from other offerings. In the case of *šumar* and *bašur* it seems feasible that besides the cultic use of the allocations, there was an economic purpose, i.e. maintaining the keepers of the tombs of Cambyses, Hystaspes, etc. by providing them with a basic income. The case of *lan* is in fact even clearer as there is evidence that *lan* was performed every day. As such *lan* translates, in economic terms, into a regular and fixed ration (!) for cultic personnel. This function as basic allowance may be precisely what defined *lan* as a special type of offering in the eyes of the administrators and scribes. It would not only explain its particular frequency and its continuation during intercalary months, but also its popularity as the most common type of offering.

3.7.3. *Reconsidering the amounts reserved for lan* – With the above hypothesis on *lan* in mind, it is worthwhile looking at the amounts of grain, wine, beer and fruit allocated for *lan* in greater detail.

3.7.3.1. *The ratio of grain and wine/beer* – As has been observed earlier, the monthly provision for a *lan* sacrifice seems to have consisted of both grain (mostly flour) and wine or beer.<sup>660</sup> Because only a fraction of the original Fortification archive has survived and only a portion of that corpus has been transliterated, matching texts on grain and wine/beer for the same *lan* sacrifice by the same officiant are very rare (cf. above §3.5.2 with fn. 537). In the available sample, there are only three ‘perfect’ matches (i.e. from the same year) and two imperfect matches (different years, but with the same official). The latter category includes records on fruit (for full abstracts see ¶1).<sup>661</sup>

The texts listed in table 3.10 below show that provisions of beer, wine, grain, and fruit for *lan* are sometimes issued in the same amounts. Dudda and

<sup>660</sup> Cf. §§3.2.1 and 3.5.2 above; Koch 1977: 130-1, 139.

<sup>661</sup> Altogether there are five matches in twelve texts. This excludes the case of Umbaba, who, in PF 1956:1-2, NN 2372:1-2 and Fort. 8960:1-2, receives 30 and 60 qts. of barley and 20 qts. of wine for *lan*. All three texts are inventories, but the names and the number of divine beneficiaries vary; besides they are from three different years and may not pertain to the same place. These differences may, or may not, account for the unequal amounts of grain and wine for *lan* and this makes it hard to evaluate the relevance of Umbaba texts for the present discussion. Cf. App.6.3 below (Umbaba).

Pirrada receive 360 qts. of beer and 360 qts. of flour per annum. Piršamarda receives 120 qts. of wine and 120 qts. of figs in the next year.<sup>662</sup> But the amounts are not always identical: Yašda receives 480 qts. of flour, but only 180 qts. of wine.<sup>663</sup> Also, the amounts may change, as in the case of Aššikka (from 180 to 360 qts.).

<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals</i>	<i>period</i>	<i>officiant</i>	<i>commodity</i>	<i>qts./y.</i>
PF 0746	•PFS 0020; PFS 0111	12m./22	Dudda	360 qts. of flour	360
NN 0339	•PFS 0020; PFS 0111	12m./22	Dudda	360 qts. of beer	360
PF 0747	•PFS 0020; PFS 0111	12m./23	Dudda	360 qts. of flour	360
PF 0745	•PFS 0020; PFS 0111	12m./24	Pirrada	360 qts. of flour	360
NN 0822	•PFS 0020; PFS x	4m./24	Pirrada	120 qts. of beer	360
Fort. 3126	PFS 0145; •PFS x	VIII/23	Yašda	40 qts. of flour	480
NN 1138 <sup>664</sup>	PFS 0145; •PFS 0883*	VIII/23	Yašda	15 qts. of wine	180
PF 0769	PFS 0893, •PFS 0894	ø/24	Piršamarda	120 qts. of figs	120
NN 1262	•PFS x	ø/25	Piršamarda	120 qts. of wine	120
NN 1115	<i>no seal</i>	I-XII/22	Aššikka	180 qts. of <i>tarmu</i>	180
PF 0768	<i>no seal</i>	I-XII/23	Aššikka	180 qts. of dates	180
NN 0598	PFS x; PFS y	1y. <sup>?</sup> /24	Aššikka	360 qts. of barley	360

table 3.10: commodities for lan received by the same officiant

<sup>662</sup> Fruit may serve here as replacement for grain, as it sometimes does in workers' rations; cf. PF 0992, NN 1499, NN 1521 and NN 1934. Apparently, part of the grain ration was paid out in fruit in PF 1947:1-7. Cf. Hallock 1969: 31-2 on PF 0992 (in the other text mentioned by Hallock, PF 0989, <sup>GIŠ</sup>tar<-mu><sup>MEŠ</sup> should be read instead of <sup>GIŠ</sup>MA<sup>MEŠ</sup>).

<sup>663</sup> The reason is probably not that the value of wine was higher than that of beer (allocated to Dudda and Pirrada). Compare PF 0750 and PF 0751. The former text records an annual allocation of 180 qts. of beer for *lan* to Ankumarma, the latter a provision of 30 qts. of wine for *lan* during two months, i.e. 180 qts. per annum, to the same officiant. Likewise, beer and wine rations for high officials are the same: Parnakka receives 90 qts. of either beer or wine daily. There is ample evidence that beer and wine, at least as provisions, were generally treated as equivalents, even though their trading value would have been different (cf. App.4). Beer allocations are more frequent in the western sector, though there are no exclusive beer and wine zones. The reason for this clustering is probably climatic: in the transitional zone between the alluvial plain and the highland of Fārs one would indeed expect the production of both beer and wine. The idea that it was a matter of taste and that the Elamites cherished their beer brewing tradition to such an extent "daß man dort das Bier gleich oder sogar höher schätzte als Wein" (Koch 1994: 135) is hardly convincing.

<sup>664</sup> The left-edge seal on this tablet, PFS 0883\*, is a cross-over seal that also occurs on the uninscribed tablets, where it appears with two other seals (Garrison 2008 §6.3).

It is hard to establish how representative the above small group of texts is. In any case it indicates the possibility of identical amounts of grain (or fruit) and liquids for *lan*. On the face of it, this constitutes a problem for the interpretation of *lan* as an allowance. When full documentation survives, wine/beer rations for individuals or groups are invariably lower than the grain rations for the same recipients. Parnakka, for example, receives 180 qts. of grain and 90 qts. of wine/beer per day and regular monthly rations for travelling *šalup* (gentlemen) include 10 to 30 qts. of wine/beer and 45 qts. of flour.<sup>665</sup> Therefore, if equal amounts of grain (or fruit) and wine/beer were a regular phenomenon in *lan* sacrifices, it would be difficult to maintain that the administration intended them as the officiant's allowance. The question is, however, how regular this phenomenon really was.

It can be calculated that the total recorded volume of allocations for *lan* in grain and fruit was *ca.* 8,150 qts. in 40 texts and text series.<sup>666</sup> The recorded total for beer and wine is 3,500<sup>+</sup> qts. (but probably not higher than 3,600; cf. §3.2.1 with fn. 455 above) in 32 texts and text series. This gives an average annual allocation for *lan* of *ca.* 203 qts. of grain/fruit and *ca.* 113 qts. of wine/beer, with a ratio of about 9:5 for cereals/fruit *vs.* liquids. A 2:1 ratio is normal in the allocations of grain and wine/beer for top-level officials (Parnakka, Ziššawiš), a 3:2 ratio for middle-rank functionaries. These numbers suggest that allocations of grain/fruit and wine/beer for *lan* were not unlike those of rations for human consumers. The three cases listed in table 3.10 of equal cereal and liquid provisions for *lan* can therefore not be representative of a general practice in *lan* sacrifices.<sup>667</sup>

3.7.3.2. *The scale of the allocations* – In the Persepolis economy, the minimum monthly ration of 5 qts. (for children in the youngest age category) serves as a standard: all other rations are multiples of 5 qts. (except the rare 7.5 qts. rations).<sup>668</sup>

<sup>665</sup> On these and other officials and groups cf. Hallock 1969: 27-32; *idem* 1985: 602-7; Koch 1983 *passim* and esp. 46-7; Kawase 1986: 267-8; Dandamaev in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 161-5; Uchitel 1989; Brosius 1996: 148-56; Aperghis 2000: 131-5.

<sup>666</sup> Sometimes, multiple texts on grain or wine allocations for *lan* during shorter periods in the same year are known. Such series of texts are counted as single cases here.

<sup>667</sup> There is some evidence that provisions of some regular *annual* offerings have a ratio of cereals *vs.* liquids similar to that of *lan*. Karsuka receives 100 qts. of barley for the gods/a *kušukum* offering and 60 qts. of beer for the gods/Humban (PF 0360, PF 0799, NN 1315, NN 0109).

<sup>668</sup> Cf. Hallock 1985: 603, "the grain ration scale is based on a unit of 5 qts. per month: this is both the minimum ration (given to some boys and girls) and the common factor in all rations." Lewis (1994: 24), citing an idea by Stolper, points out that ration scales for children are related to their size, as appears from NN 1612 and NN 2409 (correct Lewis *l.c.* fn. 44 accordingly).

This is generally also true for provisions of grain for *lan*, as can be demonstrated by the following overview of annual and monthly amounts for this offering (cf. §3.2.1 above):

qts./y.:	< 60	60	90	120	180	300	360	480	720	1080	#/[x]
qts./m.:	< 5	5	7.5	10	15	25	30	40	60	90	
grain:	2x	2x	3x	6x	5x	/	7x	4x	2x	1x	3x
fruit:	/	/	/	4x	1x	/	/	/	/	/	/
liquids:	6x	/	/	14x	5x	1x	3x	/	/	/	3x

table 3.11: amounts of foodstuffs allocated for *lan*

Nearly all monthly amounts of grain known for *lan* correspond to monthly rations for workers or officials: 5, 10 and 15 qts. are juvenile rations, 30 qts. is the standard ration for male workers (*kurtas*) and 40, 60 and 90 qts. are issued to middle-rank officials such as male and female team-leaders and *etip* (40 qts.), fortress guards and accountants (60 qts.), and ‘treasurers’ (90 qts.).<sup>669</sup> As *lan* performers conceivably were classified as middle-rank functionaries, their monthly allocation would have been 40-45 qts. or more. If the grain provisions for *lan* functioned as an allowance for these people, they mostly must have been partial rather than full rations.

Wine and beer allocations for *lan* seem a bit more liberal in the sense that they regularly correspond to rations for middle-rank officials.<sup>670</sup> Monthly allo-

<sup>669</sup> In the case of grain for *lan*, there are five texts with divergent or illegible amounts. In NN 0936 Dayuriša receives 200 qts. in II/23. As Dayuriša received 40 qts./m. for *lan* in the preceding year (PF 0763, PF 0764), the amount is probably intended for a five-month period even though such is not stated in the text. The 30 qts. of barley allocated for *lan* in PF 1956:1-2, probably result from the fact that *lan* appears here in an inventory (cf. §3.7.3.3 below). The amount issued for *lan* in NN 2337:1-2 is illegible, but 90 or 120 qts. seem feasible (cf. NN 2211:4-5, after which the passage is restored). In NN 0728:1-2, a broken entry, apparently 50 qts. for two *lan* are issued; I have no explanation for this. Finally, PF 2073:3-4 records “1 (BAR) 2 QA” (12 qts.) for *lan* and explicitly states that twelve monthly allocations of “1 QA” were received. A scribal error may be considered here: perhaps the scribe twice wrote QA where BAR was required. 120 (instead of 12) qts. is a regular annual amount for *lan*. It should be noted, however, that PF 2073:1, 2 also record very small amounts (10 qts. for both Adad and Nabbazabba). Koch surmised that the town of Tikraš was small and therefore had an insignificant sanctuary (1977: 133), but this is demonstrably wrong (cf. §4.1.5 below). In addition PF 2073:3 does not record 2.5 qts./month (*pace* Koch 1987: 244 fn. 17).

<sup>670</sup> There are nine texts with divergent or illegible amounts of beer or wine for *lan*. In NN 0561, 15 qts. of wine is issued for *lan* for an unspecified period; a one-month period would seem logical (cf., e.g., PF 0760) but cannot be proven. Four texts have 20 qts. of wine. Three of these (PF 0773, NN 2265:1-4, Fort. 8960:1-3) are inventories, which may

cations of 10, 15 and 30 qts. of beer or wine are well-attested for these officials; 25 qts. of beer are issued once to the foreman of a group of masons (PF 1060).<sup>671</sup> The case of wine and beer is a bit misleading, however, as allocations of less than 30 qts. per month for an adult male can hardly have been full rations. Individuals receiving such low allocations must somehow have supplemented these to reach the subsistence level of 30 qts. of liquids/month (about one litre a day).<sup>672</sup>

It may be concluded that provisions of grain and wine or beer correspond to amounts of the same foodstuffs issued as rations. They cannot, however, have been full rations in most cases. If allocations for *lan* functioned as an allowance for the officiant, they would typically cover only part of his nutritional needs. In other words, the officiant's *gal*, "share," was just that: a share, not a full wage.

3.7.3.3. *lan in inventories* – An additional feature of the *lan* texts seems to underline the offering's function as an allowance. As has been discussed before, 11 out of 81 *lan* texts are inventories naming other offerings besides *lan* (cf. §§3.2.1, .4.2).

An interesting feature of *lan* offerings in inventories is that the amounts of grain and wine allocated for it tend to be relatively low. This can be made visible by listing once more the amounts for *lan*, but this time with the *sep(arate)* allocations and those in *inv(entories)* itemised in sub-categories:

have influenced the quantities (cf. §3.7.3.3 below). The fourth case with 20 qts. (NN 0548:18) is inexplicable, unless a two-month period is implied (as in NN 1230 and NN 1512). The amount of 10 qts. in NN 2268:1-2 may again be due to the inventory in which it appears. In PF 0772, the 72 qts. at 11 (*recte* 12), *lankul*, "offering-prayer," may or may not be an error for 720 (discussion in §3.6.2 above). In PF 0756 and PF 1955:1-3 the amount is (almost) completely broken away (cf. §3.2.1 fn. 455 above on PF 0756).

<sup>671</sup> Cf. PF 1060, in which read HAR.*maz<sub>0</sub>-zi-ip* ("masons, quarrymen") instead of Hallock's initial *har-maz<sub>0</sub>-zi-ip* ("Harmozians").

<sup>672</sup> Note that standard workgroups of *kurtaš* do not seem to receive regular beer or wine rations at all (cf. Hallock 1985: 602-3). According to WHO standards, adult males need *ca.* 2 litres of liquid nutrition (not including water contained in food) per day in the form of fresh water or beverages, but the amount rises to 4.5 litres when performing manual labour in high temperatures. The *kurtaš* must have supplemented their modest beer or wine rations (if any!) with drinking water from springs or wells to meet these minimal water requirements – fresh water of good quality is available in ample supply in Fārs. On beer rations in Mesopotamia cf. Stol 1994: 180. On Neo-Babylonian institutional workers and their rations/salary see now Jursa 2008, who compares this evidence to that of the Fortification and Treasury texts. See also Aperghis 2000: 131-5 on nutrition standards in Persepolis.



qts./y.:	< 60	60	90	120	180	300	360	480	720	1080	#/[x]
qts./m.:	< 5	5	7.5	10	15	25	30	40	60	90	
grain											
sep.	/	/	1x	6x	5x	/	7x	4x	2x	1x	2x
inv.	2x	2x	2x	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1x
fruit											
sep.	/	/	/	4x	1x	/	/	/	/	/	/
inv.	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/
liquids:											
sep.	2x	/	/	14x	5x	1x	3x	/	/	/	3x
inv.	4x	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/

table 3.12: foodstuffs allocated for *lan* sep(arately) and in inv(entories)

Now, why would the amounts for *lan* be lower when listed with other offerings? There is no apparent reason why the gods benefiting from the *lan* sacrifice would suddenly have lost their appetite, but the officiant might have. If *lan* functioned, in economic terms, as an allowance for officiants it would only be logical that it was lowered if the officiant had other state-sponsored religious duties from which he could draw an income.

3.7.4. *Allowance and ration* – Another noticeable feature of *lan* is that its officiants do not seem to appear as recipients of normal rations. The only exceptions are travel rations for four individuals who are homonymous, and possibly identical, with known *lan* officiants.<sup>673</sup> Rations for stationary individuals who occur

<sup>673</sup> The individuals are: Attebaka in NN 2087 (*lan*) and NN 2443 (travelling); Maudadda in PF 0772 (*lan*) and PF 1429, PF 1573, NN 0859 (travelling); Mitukka in PF 1951:1-2 (*lan*) and NN 0944, NN 1824 (travelling); Umayā in PF 0756, NN 1230, NN 1512 (*lan*) and PF 1407, PF 1426, NN 2171, NN 2321, Fort. 6769 (travelling; perhaps add PF 2059°). In none of these cases there is certainty that the sacrificing and travelling individuals are the same. The case of Umayā is especially complicated because there seem to be more than two individuals of that name. One of them is a travelling accountant (NN 2215), another a messenger (PF 1335, NN 2063, NN 2147). It cannot be excluded, or confirmed, that the officiant, the traveller, and the travelling accountant are one and the same person. Note that NN 2493:1-3° probably does *not* record profane rations for a fifth individual, Dayurisa the *haturmakša*. Elsewhere, individuals named Dayuris/ša occur in a variety of functions. In four texts a Dayurisa receives flour for *lan* (PF 0741, PF 0763, PF 0764, NN 0936), the first of which designates him as *haturmakša*. In the light of this background, and because NN 2493:1-3° is the first entry of a journal (a place reserved for provisions for cultic purposes), it seems likely that it concerns allocations for *lan* or some other sacrifice.

elsewhere as performers of *lan* are not attested, however. This is all the more remarkable given the fact that 24 out of 53 *lan* officiants are indeed attested beyond their role as cultic actors. They appear at various positions in the institutional network, e.g., making accounts or delivering goods.<sup>674</sup>

As was mentioned before (cf. §3.7.2.4 above), Koch thought that *lan* did not function as an allowance or ration and that officiants would have been paid separately. In this context, she points to the *makuš* Limepirda, in a letter order by Parnakka, who receives 90 qts. of grain as a ration for a period of two months.<sup>675</sup> The fact that Limepirda was a *makuš* does not make him an officiant of *lan*, though, or of any kind of offering. It is very clear from the Greek sources that Persian magoi engaged in quite a wide range of activities, pursuing such disciplines as botany, medicine, oneiromancy, gemology and astrology. The fact that the term *makuš* (in contrast to *šatin*) is often qualified in the Fortification texts confirms this impression. Nothing therefore forces us therefore to think that Limepirda was assigned to make offerings and even if he were a sacrificial specialist, his position must have been quite exceptional because the letter order specifies that he was directly assigned by Parnakka. His status may therefore have been comparable to that of the magoi in the King's entourage (cf. Briant 1996: 256-7).<sup>676</sup>

On the face of it, the apparent non-existence of normal rations for individuals known to be *lan* performers agrees with the supposition that *lan* functioned as an allowance for these functionaries. It should be pointed out, however, that many other functionaries in the Fortification economy do not appear in ration texts either and this reduces the strength of the argument on the *lan* performers. The *consistent* absence of *lan* officiants remains remarkable and suggestive, but it would be unwise to press the matter as long as the system of wages for officials is not better understood.

<sup>674</sup> This is in line with the general picture of officiants in the Fortification archive: many have profane duties alongside the performing of various sacrifices.

<sup>675</sup> Koch 1977: 147-8. Note that Hinz considered Limepirda to be an Elamite (because of the *l-* in his name; 1971c: 301-2): "Für sein Seelenheil hatte sich Farnaka eigens den elamischen Magier Limepirda verschrieben" (*sic!*). On Limepirda as a possibly Iranian name cf. Gershevitch 1969a: 202; Tavernier 2007a: 483 [5.3.2.104].

<sup>676</sup> Umišda the *makuš* apparently is the recipient of two sheep/goats in account NN 0042 (*umišda makuš ... marriš*), but the text does not specify whether this is a personal ration, a provision for sacrifice or something else. As in the case of Limepirda, there is no way of telling whether Umišda regularly engaged in performing sacrifices; he is not mentioned anywhere apart from NN 0042.

3.7.5. *Elamite officiants and Achaemenid sacrifice* – In pre-Achaemenid Elamite occupational designations with *lan* or *la-* (*lam-lir*, *lap*, *lar*, *\*puhu-lar*) are sometimes used as overarching terms for cultic personnel (cf. §3.6 above). A certain professionalism is implied in these terms: kings may style themselves *lar DN-na*, “officiant of DN,” but that does not make anyone who performs a sacrifice a *lar*. Rather, *lar*, *lam-lir*, etc. are used in an exclusive way for cultic specialists such as high priests and *šatin* (cultic experts), and for certain officials whose rank implied cultic duties such as the chancellor or the king.

That derivatives of the root *la-*, “(to) offer,” refer to cultic specialists and officials with cultic duties in pre-Achaemenid Elamite makes it easier to understand how *lan* could become the term not only for “offering,” but also, more specifically, for the allowance or share granted to the officiant. This use of *lan* seems, as far as can be judged from the evidence, limited to the Achaemenid period, but it is easy to imagine how it developed from the Elamite past.

3.7.6. *Title and designation* – It may be useful at this point to address the matter of the designation *lan-lirira* once more. In a late Neo-Elamite text (EKI 85:16, 17), a number of cultic specialists are collectively referred to as *lap* (cf. §3.6.5 above). Among those specialists are two individuals introduced as *šatin* (of DN), a designation that is attested in the Sukkalmah, Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods and that may be interpreted, with a neutral term, as “cultic expert.”<sup>677</sup> It follows that being a *šatin* implied, or could imply, belonging to the class of *lap*, “officiants.” It may well be for a similar reason that, in the Fortification texts, *šatin* are never designated as *lan-lirira* (“oblator”): their title already implied that they could per-

<sup>677</sup> In the Akkadian legal-administrative texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa, *šà-ti* and *šà-tin* appear a number of times and designate named individuals. Cf. Zadok 1983a: 109 fn. 440 on *šà-ti* (approved by EW s.v. *šà-ti*) in MDP 23 286:26-8 (Scheil 1932b: 154-5; note that word read as *šà-tin* by the EW s.v. [with references] is consistently rendered *šà-ti* by Scheil). The form with final *-n* is unexpected in Elamite morphology; it may be that the use of *šatin* as appellative results from a shift in the meaning of the word, which perhaps originally denoted a sacred space rather than a sacred person (so Diakonoff, cited by Khačikjan 1998: 12 fn. 34; see also Krebernik 2005: 171). Throughout this publication, I have avoided the generally used translation “priest,” because it implicitly suggests a certain role, status and organisation that cannot be ascertained in case of the *šatin*. At any rate, *šatin* is not a general term for *any* cultic official (including *makuš lan-lirira*, *pirramdadda* and *haturmakša*). This is apparent from the fact that *šatin* is not used for individuals also known as *makuš*, etc. In addition, a *haturmakša* and a *šatin* appear side-by-side in PF 1953:1-3 (see also Razmjou 2004a: 108).

form, or actually performed, *lan*. The same seems to apply to the Iranian designations (not titles) *haturmakša* and *pirramadda* (cf. §3.2.1 above).

The case of *makuš* is clearly different: as the title implied a wide range of possible activities (cf. §§3.5.4, 3.7.4 above), it needed to be specified. In principle, the context of the *lan* offering would be enough to clarify that the *makuš* in question was a cultic specialist regularly involved in performing sacrifices. In a number of cases the scribe felt it necessary, however, to stipulate that the *makuš* was a *lan-lirira* (cf. §3.2.1 above).

Conversely, in case an officiant had been already introduced as *lan-lirira*, stating that he was a *makuš*, *šatin*, *haturmakša* or *pirramadda* became an optional, but basically unnecessary addition. The most eloquent example in this regard concerns Aššikka, twice introduced as *lan-lirira* and once as *makuš lan-lirira*.<sup>678</sup>

It may be noted that *lan-lirira*, more than just a practical *nomen agentis*, must have been a status marker. When a scribe introduced a cultic functionary as *lan-lirira* (or implied that he was by reference to the *lan* sacrifice), he implicitly stated that a regular allowance had been granted to that functionary. Performing *lan* meant having a status not given to every officiant known in the Persepolis tablets. From this perspective, it is of considerable importance that not only a *makuš* (or *haturmakša*, *pirramadda*), but also a *šatin* could obtain the status of *lan-lirira*: the authorities clearly did not discriminate along (perceived) ethnic or cultural lines.<sup>679</sup>

3.7.7. *Parallels to lan* – The existence of a daily ritual that functioned as an allowance for cultic personnel or designated officiants is by no means unique to Achaemenid Fārs. A number of parallels with daily or monthly sacrifices may be listed here. None of these provides an exact copy of *lan* (let alone an institution that could be identified as *lan*), but they do show that, economically speaking, *lan* was a quite regular type of offering.

- A Daily sacrifices for the gods have a long history in Elam and are first attested in an Old Akkadian inscription of the illustrious last Awanite king Puzur-Inšušinak (ca. 2100 BC). In a stele from Susa commemorating the completion of the Sidari Canal, the king proclaims his institution of daily offerings for Inšušinak: one sheep at dawn and one sheep at dusk. These may have been consumed by cultic

<sup>678</sup> Cf. PF 0768, NN 1115 and NN 0598. Razmjou (2004a: 108) sees in this kind of variation an indication of a sort of *cursus honorum* for cultic personnel, but I am not convinced that this is the right approach to the use of designations in the Fortification archive (cf. §3.5.7 with fn. 557 above).

<sup>679</sup> Razmjou (2004a: 108) points to NN 2211:4-5 and NN 2337:1-2, which have a closely related set of data (provisions for *lan*, Išpandaramattiš and (the) Mišebaka/[x]), except for the officiant, who is a *makuš* in the first case, but a *šatin* in the second.

singers, performing at the temple gates twice daily, or by other temple personnel.<sup>680</sup>

- B Akkadian administrative records from Sukkalmah-period Susa offer some glimpses of the religious life of that time. One text seems to list the expenses of sheep for daily offerings for (before) the *kizzum* (the Susa temple complex), for various gods, those of “the front of the throne,” and for the *sumūtu* (probably “stele”).<sup>681</sup> The fragmentary text covers only four days, but it is joined by similar texts from the same corpus.<sup>682</sup> A daily sacrifice of sheep may therefore be assumed. Unfortunately, the texts do not yield a clue as to who the human beneficiaries of the livestock were.
- C The Akkadian inscription known as *Stone Stela 1* from Middle Elamite Haft Tepe (HT 463), is a long prescriptive list of provisions for offerings.<sup>683</sup> The text includes a series of provisions for regular (monthly) sacrifices of sheep, flour and beer referred to as *terru šetru*,<sup>684</sup> as well as provisions for several feasts and other occasional offerings (including those before the *saparru*-wagon of king Tepti-ahar). The amounts for the regular offerings are allocated per two months and divided over six persons, the *maššarū* É.DÙ.A, “Guardians of the (funerary) House,” who ‘give’ (offer) the sacrificial goods, presumably from a grant founded for this purpose (so Reiner 1973a: 93-4).<sup>685</sup> The institution of regular

<sup>680</sup> Text: Gelb & Kienast 1990: 325-8, n° 3 II.14-7. Cf. Hinz 1971d: 671; Vallat 1998b: 339; *idem* 2002/03: 540.

<sup>681</sup> Text: MDP 10 34 (Scheil 1908: 42-3). *kizzum*: cf. §3.6.1.3 fn. 576 above. *sumūtu*: Scheil *l.c.*; CAD S 378 q.v. (partial translation of the text); EW s.v. *zu-mi-tum*. See also Hinz 1964: 49-50; 1971d: 671 and §5.1 with fn. 833 below.

<sup>682</sup> MDP 10 45, 46, 47 (Scheil 1908: 46-7; cf. Vallat 2002/03: 531). Note also the allocation of 24 sheep to various officials and gods in MDP 28 515 (Scheil 1939: 126-7).

<sup>683</sup> Text: Reiner 1973a: 87-95, pls. 11-2 (cf. E.N. von Voigtländer *apud* Negahban 1991: 123); the stele was first mentioned by Negahban 1969: 175 (with pl. 2b; cf. *idem* 1991: 102-3, pl. 52).

<sup>684</sup> Reiner (1973a: 94) suggests that *terru šetru* is an Akkadicised Elamite term. She surmised, based on occurrences of *terru* in administrative texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa, that *terru* might mean “delivery” (*vel sim.*). Hinz (EW s.v. *te-ir-ru še-it-ru*) suggests “(Leih-)Kapital, Kapitalschuld, Hypothek.” The form *te-ir-ri-e* ([*terri.e*]) occurs in the Neo-Elamite *Šuturu Stele* (EKI 74 II.5-6); cf. EW s.v. *te-ir(?)ri(?)e*. Compare also *tir-ma-ni-e* in the same inscription (I.13; see EW s.v. *tir-ma-ni-e*).

<sup>685</sup> The *maššarū* É.DÙ.A are also mentioned in 1) a brick inscription by Tepti-ahar, the same king who seems to have commissioned *Stone Stela 1* (text: Reiner 1973a: 95-6 = IRS 20) and 2) in one of the Haft Tepe tablets (HT 8 in Herrero 1976: 106-7, 114). The É.DÙ.A furthermore occurs in 3) in *Stone Stela 3* (HT 465) from Haft Tepe (Reiner *apud*

sacrifices, the possible provision of capital by the crown (in the form of a land grant or serjeanty), and the appointment of six named individuals as executives, altogether translates into a regular income for the ‘guardians’ taken from the foodstuffs allocated for the sacrifices. As such, *Stone Stela 1* provides a parallel for the regular monthly and daily offerings and their human beneficiaries in Persepolis. What comes to mind is *lan*,<sup>686</sup> but perhaps even more the offerings characterised by the terms *šumar* and *bašur*. These offerings involve, like the Haft Tepe offerings, *groups* of executives and relatively high amounts of foodstuffs – the ‘guardians’ in *Stone Stela 1* were probably not the only persons living off the livestock, flour and beer.<sup>687</sup>

- D The Middle Elamite brick inscriptions found at Deylam and commissioned by Untaš-Napiriša, contain the following phrase: *šup apime ak likir apite pipšitte huttaḥ šutkume šatkime*. Following Vallat’s translation this means “I renewed their [sc. the gods’] sacrificial feast and their *likir* (offering, libation?), night and day” (Vallat 1983b: 11; cf. *idem* 2002/03: 541). Though this seems to point to daily sacrifices, caution is warranted as the expression “night and day” occurs with the same general sense as English “day and night” (see references in *idem* 1981b: 29-30; cf. ⚡§7.1.1).
- E The closest parallel to *lan*, at least in chronological terms, is provided by the regular, daily offerings, collectively referred to as *ginû* or *sattukku*, that were performed in Mesopotamian temples during the Neo- and Late Babylonian periods. The commodities involved (barley, emmer, sesame, sheep, goats, dates, wine and perhaps oxen and fowl) were redistributed to prebendaries and cultic personnel after the offerings were made (e.g., as the ‘remains’ of the sacred meals held four times a day). The dossiers relating to the Ebabbar at Sippar and the Eanna at Uruk provide good examples.<sup>688</sup> The famous *Sun-god tablet*, commissioned by Nabû-apla-iddina (887-855 BC) describes an endowment to the

Negahban 1991: 125-6, pl. 52 = n° 1 in Herrero & Glassner 1990: 3-6). On the funerary building referred to as É.DÛ.A (“house,” CAD B 284-5 s.v. *bītu* 5) see Reiner 1973a: 94; Herrero 1976: 114; Grillot 1983a: 16-9; *idem* 2001: 143; Potts 1999a: 195-205; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 453-8 (esp. 457-8); Vallat 2002/03: 541-2; Nasrabadi 2003/04a: 234-7 (arguing that the É.DÛ.A was a large temple); Carter [forthc.].

<sup>686</sup> Razmjou 2004a: 103 already pointed out this parallel.

<sup>687</sup> The six guardians each ‘give’ 10 sheep, 6 *gur* of beer and 6 *gur* of flour for two months; several smaller amounts are added to these.

<sup>688</sup> Cf. Kümmel 1979: 84-6; McEwan 1983; MacGinnis 1991/92; *idem* 1994; *idem* 1995: 135-54; Robbins 1996: esp. 62-8; Bongenaar 1997: 142-4 and index s.vv. *ginû*, *sattukku*; Beaulieu 2003: 25-7.

Ebabbar, including the re-instatement of the traditional allowance of 1 *sila* of various breads and 1 *sila* of beer daily for the *šangû* (temple administrator). The foodstuffs, in quantities also attested for *lan*, are described as *ginê*, “regular offerings.”<sup>689</sup> A Sippar tablet (BM 63681) lists quantities of an unknown commodity (not meat) from the daily sacred meals to a number of named individuals. Its editor describes the document as “a protocol regulating the standard redistribution of food from these meals” (MacGinnis 1994). Another prescriptive text (Ash. 1922.256), this time from Uruk, specifies meat allocations from *ginû* and other offerings, to the King, various kinds of priests and prebend holders.<sup>690</sup> In short, *ginû* seems to function as a more complex and commercialised, but otherwise similar version of Achaemenid *lan*.<sup>691</sup>

- F In post-Achaemenid times, an interesting parallel comes from the inscription of Šābuhr I (241-72 AD) on the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam (ŠKZ §§35-50). The second half of this trilingual text is concerned with the founding of a daily offering, from the king’s ‘private income,’ for the salvation of his soul and that of his ancestors, family members and a host of dignitaries (text: Back 1978: 336-71; Huyse 1999 I: 48-63). Every day a lamb, an amount of bread, and wine were offered for the benefit of these people. Consumption of the sacrificial foodstuffs by the officiants is not mentioned, but may be assumed. The logical candidates are the magoi mentioned earlier in the text or their leader Kerdīr (cf. the suggestion by Huyse 1999 II: 114). For a number of them, the daily provisions could certainly have constituted an allowance comparable to *lan*.<sup>692</sup>

<sup>689</sup> Sun-god tablet II.2-16, IV.47-53; cf. Woods 2004 for an edition and lavish commentary. The author also refers to a *kudurru* text from Marduk-zākir-šumi mentioning the same amounts of bread and beer (Thureau-Dangin 1919: 127-8 I.19-24, II.10-2).

<sup>690</sup> See the discussion and re-edition by McEwan 1983 (cf. Beaulieu 2003: 26-7). The text is a late copy of a 9<sup>th</sup> cent. document (probably from the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina), but is relevant, as the author explains, for the Persian period as well (cf. Beaulieu *l.c.*).

<sup>691</sup> According to Cameron (*apud* Schmidt 1957: 65), the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* contains the word *sattukku* (rev.4). His reading is supported by the unpublished transliteration of Hinz and the EW s.v. GAM.h.sa-at-tuk-ki-ip-na (“der regelmäßige Opfer Darbringende”). That the document would contain this term would not be surprising as it refers to several offerings. The unpublished transliterations and autograph copy by Reiner and Steve leave no doubt, however, that the reading proposed by Cameron and Hinz is impossible. The sign read as AD must evidently be AP (cf. AD in rev.1); the sign read as IB is probably RA (cf. IB in rev. 2) – yielding x *sa-ap tuk-ki-ra-na*.

<sup>692</sup> The parallel between *lan* and the Šābuhr sacrifice is discussed by Koch (1977: 147) who, however, sees a difference in the presence of animal sacrifices (but cf. §3.4.7 above and §6.5 below). The parallel is also pointed out by Razmjou (2004a: 114).

From the above survey, it may be clear that offerings that are similar to *lan* in economic and bureaucratic respects have always been at home in Iran. The economic rationale of regular, daily offerings is, moreover, especially well illustrated by the parallel of the Babylonian *ginû* offerings.

In addition to the evidence listed, which is probably very selective, other cases may be assumed. Daily sacrifices are likely to have been performed at Middle Elamite Čogā Zambīl, or in the temples for Inšušinak, Pinigir, DIL.BAT, Humban, and Išnikarab mentioned in Neo-Elamite inscriptions.<sup>693</sup> Daily offerings with an economic aspect may have been fairly common in Iran. Thus, Persian *lan* not only continues an older semantic field, with all its cultic implications (cf. §3.6.), but it also appears to be the Persian representative of a longstanding tradition of regular sacrifices that simultaneously serve as the officiants' maintenance.

3.7.8. *Summary* – What makes Achaemenid *lan* special is in the first place its frequency. Other offerings are also regular in the sense that their amount and frequency are fixed, but they are not performed on a monthly or even daily basis. The only parallel to *lan* within the Fortification archive is that of the funerary offerings characterised by *šumar* and *bašur*. Analysis of texts with these terms suggests that provisions for the funerary sacrifices simultaneously served to maintain the entourage of magoi and courtiers (or their servants) guarding tombs. This agrees with the observation that the word *gal*, “ration, offering,” occurs in a number of *šumar* texts. For *lan* a similar interpretation can be upheld. Here too, the word *gal* occurs frequently and this leads to the suspicion that provisions for *lan* served the same double purpose of offering and allowance for its performer.

The monthly amounts allocated for *lan* are in agreement with the hypothesis that *lan* served, in economic terms, as an allowance for the officiant. They cannot have been full rations in most cases, but they do indeed correspond to regular food rations attested in the archive (also not always full rations). The overall ratio of grain/fruit vs. wine/beer allocations for *lan* was roughly the same as in these regular rations. Moreover, the amounts allocated for *lan* tend to be

<sup>693</sup> Also, not all the available evidence is equally well understood or accessible, to put it mildly. There is, for example, a large Middle Elamite bronze monument known as the *Bronze aux Guerriers* (Sb 133) that bears a damaged inscription (EKI 69) tantalisingly listing numbers of sheep/goats and temples of various gods. On this cf. de Morgan, Jéquier & Lampre 1900: 163-4, pl. 13; Scheil 1911: 86; Amiet 1966: 404-5. Another bronze document, an unpublished rectangular plaque in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 28813), has 24 entries with numbers of sheep/goats, each followed by a proper name. The individuals mentioned may have been regular recipients of livestock, though other interpretations are obviously possible as well.



(considerably) lower when *lan* occurs in inventories of offerings. In those cases, the officiant was expected to draw his livelihood from other sacrificial provisions than those for *lan* alone. Finally, it may be observed, for what it is worth, that *lan* officiants do not appear as recipients of normal, ‘profane’ rations.

In pre-Achaemenid Elamite, derivatives of the root *la-* “(to) offer,” are often used to denote cultic specialists or appear in the same contexts with such specialists and seem to imply a certain professionalism. In addition, it appears that offerings comparable to *lan* in economic and bureaucratic terms, have had a long history in Iran and are frequently attested, as is *ginû* in contemporaneous Mesopotamia. Officiants who profited from such arrangements must have derived a certain status from the fact that they had been granted a cultic position that allowed them a steady income. The same is probably true for those officiants in the Persepolis economy who are either designated as *lan-lirira* or whose title and activity imply that they held this position.

### 3.8. Evaluation

As we have seen, *lan* has been used in previous approaches as a means to harmonise the religious landscape reflected by the Fortification archive with the perspective of the royal inscriptions, and as a confirmation of the thesis of a widespread and state-endorsed Mazdaism during the reign of Darius I. Analysis of the texts shows, however, that *lan* is not linked to one particular god, let alone Auramazdā (Uramasda), and does not have a particular cultural or ethnic affiliation. The wider significance of this find is that the undeniable difference between tablets and inscriptions becomes visible again. Without *lan*, the position of Auramazdā in the archive appears to be relatively modest, certainly when compared to that of Humban. This does *not* automatically imply that Achaemenid Mazdaism was primarily a construct of royal ideology, but it does raise a number of pertinent questions on the status and background of the beliefs expressed in the inscriptions. That, however, is another debate; what concerns us here is that the case of *lan* re-establishes the archive as an independent source on Persian religion. Moreover, *lan* really is an icon for the outlook defended in the present study: the offering does not point to radical changes brought about by the coming of the Iranians or the introduction of a new faith, but it is the product of an evolutionary development in which Elamite traditions were major constituents and, as a specific type of offering, it belongs to a longer Iranian and Mesopotamian tradition. With this background, *lan* is truly ‘Persian’ (cf. §1.6) and offers a major challenge to the notion of a dichotomy between ‘Elamite’ and ‘Iranian’ religious spheres. As such, the analyses and methods presented above have paved the way for the discussions on the nature of Persian religion and the composition of Persepolis pantheon in chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 4

### ‘BABYLONIAN’ GODS AND PERSIAN IDENTITY

#### 4.1. *Adad*

There are, among the edited PF texts, six memoranda and one journal entry documenting provisions for offerings for Adad.<sup>694</sup> This number of attestations is modest compared to some other gods, but the kind of foodstuffs issued suggest that Adad was nevertheless a god of some importance. Apart from small amounts of beer, wine and flour, Adad receives a total of six sheep or goats (cf. ¶2).

Together with ‘Earth’ (<sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MES</sup>) and, possibly, Halma, Adad belongs to a small group of gods that are almost invariably referred to as ‘Babylonian.’<sup>695</sup> This label is only correct, at least in the case of Adad, with regard to a remote historical past. When Parnakka set up office, Adad had actually been at home in Iran for already some 1,500 years.<sup>696</sup> It seems therefore advisable to trace his descent, in the first place, to the Elamite, not the Babylonian past.<sup>697</sup> This observation also makes

<sup>694</sup> Cf. ¶2 for text abstracts. Some of the texts are discussed in ¶154-5, 160-1 fn. 50. Note that PFa 02 and ‘Fort. 797,’ though cited separately in the EW s.v. d.IŠKUR refer to a single text. ‘Fort. 797’ is cited as such in Hallock’s glossary (1969: 665).

<sup>695</sup> Cf., i.a., Hallock 1969: 5 (“the Elamite Humban and Šimut occur alongside ... the Semitic Adad”); Hinz 1970: 427; *idem* 1971c: 302; Boyce 1982: 139; Ahn 1992: 106; Hutter 1996: 240; Stausberg 2002: 184; Razmjou 2004a: 116 n. 116. Koch also speaks of “der babylonische Wettergott Adad,” but does point out his long history in Iran in her dissertation (1977: 110-1). Elsewhere, this background is not mentioned, however, whereas the label ‘Babylonian’ is always given (*idem* 1987: 250-1, 268; 1988a: 403; 1995: 1968-9) and sometimes Adad is discussed in a separate section on “Babylonische Götter” (*idem* 1991: 99).

<sup>696</sup> As far as I know, this has only been pointed out explicitly by Igor Diakonoff (*apud* Dandamaev 1975a: 196 fn. 13; accepted by Stronach 1984: 486-7 with fn. 35): “il n’est pourtant pas impossible qu’Adad ait été inclus dans le panthéon élamite des le 2<sup>e</sup> millénaire *et qu’ensuite il ait été considéré comme l’un de leurs propres dieux*” (my italics, WH). Elsewhere, Dandamaev (s.d.) stresses the presence of Babylonian gods in the Persepolis pantheon.

<sup>697</sup> ‘Earth’ may not have a Babylonian background at all; cf. §4.2 below.

better sense of the noticeable concentration of Adad's worship in the Fahliyān region. On the other hand, the worship of Adad does not seem to have been an exclusively Elamite affair in the Achaemenid period. Adad occurs outside the Fahliyān region as well, and not all the gods/offerings with which he appears in inventories do have an Elamite background. In addition (and for what it is worth), all but one of the officiants administering the cult of Adad have Iranian names.

The various aspects of Adad's worship in Achaemenid Fārs just referred to will be treated in sections §§4.1.3-5, following a concise survey of relevant Mesopotamian characteristics of the god in §§4.1.1-2. After this, the evidence on 'Earth' (§4.2) and Halma (§4.3) will be discussed. The chapter will be concluded by an evaluation of the observation that the Persepolis pantheon did not include 'Babylonian' gods, but was solely composed of deities of either Elamite or Iranian descent (§4.4).

4.1.1. *Mesopotamian roots* – The long history of Adad and the gods with whom he was associated or identified (notably Sumerian Iškur), need not be the object of extensive discussion here.<sup>698</sup> It should have been so if one could be certain that any of the numerous guises and relatives of Adad, some already known in the Early Dynastic III period, really covers the nature of the god Adad as he appears in Iran, but it would seem to me that this neat situation is *a priori* unlikely. For the purpose of the present discussion, a listing of some general traits of the Syro-Mesopotamian storm-god will therefore suffice.

The name '(H)adad' is known from about the middle of the third millennium onwards and denotes a god whose principal attributes, thunder, rain and storm wind, could be both a blessing and disaster for the life of mortals. Perhaps because of the ominous nature of his meteorological associations, Adad was, like Šamaš, intimately associated with the art of divination. Another area of the god's attention, again like Šamaš, was that of legal matters: the god appears often in oath formulae and as witness in contracts and treaties. The traditional consort of Adad in Mesopotamian pantheons was the goddess Šala, from the Old Babylonian period onwards. The couple was often worshipped together in single rites and shrines.<sup>699</sup>

<sup>698</sup> Daniel Schwemer's monumental synthesis on *Wettergottgestalten* (2001) covers all aspects and periods of the cult of Adad and related storm-gods. A concise survey can be found in the DDD entry on Hadad (Greenfield 1999). A wider and more interpretative approach to the concept 'storm-god' is given in the recent monograph by Green (2003).

<sup>699</sup> On Šala see Schwemer 2001: 397-412.

Adad was particularly popular in the Neo-Assyrian period and held an important place in the imperial pantheon and royal ideology.<sup>700</sup> During the ensuing Neo- and Late Babylonian periods Adad was still venerated in Babylon, Uruk, Sippar, Borsippa and, probably, Nippur. There, he received offerings of beer, barley and animals (cattle, sheep, poultry) and was honoured with processions and in the *šalām bīti* (“Greeting of the Temple”) ceremony.<sup>701</sup> Adad does not seem to have been the prime city god of any Mesopotamian city in this period.

Throughout the centuries of his existence, Adad’s name is often written as the logogram <sup>d</sup>IM, which is also used to denote other storm-gods, such as the Hurrian Teššub in Hittite texts. Likewise, the god referred to as <sup>d</sup>IM or <sup>AN</sup>IM in Akkadian and Elamite texts from pre-Achaemenid Iran could theoretically be a local storm-god rather than Adad himself. In this particular case there are several reasons, however, to assume that the logogram really refers to ‘Adad.’ That his persona may have been reshaped, even to a considerable degree, in the Iranian context is quite a different matter.

4.1.2. *Adad in god-lists* – Before the Iranian evidence on Adad is discussed, it should be noted that a number of deities qualified as ‘Elamite’ are equated with Adad in Mesopotamian explanatory lists of gods. Their names – Kunzibami, Šihhaš and Šennukušu – are not known from any Akkadian or Elamite text from Iran.<sup>702</sup> ‘Šihhaš’ could be Elamite, but it may be an epithet of Adad, rather than the

<sup>700</sup> Cf. Schwemer 2001: 589-637 (with references).

<sup>701</sup> Bongenaar 1997: 122, 229-38, 240 and index 3 s.v. Adad (Sippar); Schwemer 2001: 637-49 (survey); Myers 2002: 216-7, 257-60, 291-2, 324-5, 357 (Sippar); Beaulieu 2003: 325-6 (Uruk).

<sup>702</sup> Šennukušu is not actually labelled ‘Elamite,’ but occurs in An : *Anum* VI.191 (CT XXV 24; Litke 1998: 214) in a section that follows the “Divine Seven of Elam.” Several other gods listed in the section in which Šennukušu occurs may be Elamite too (cf. W.G. Lambert 1976/80 on Ibnu, Jabnu and Ibnahaza; EW s.v. *d.ra-ap-pa.d.ku-uz-bi*). The name, or perhaps epithet, is Sumerian (Schwemer 2001: 17 translates “Er ermüdet nicht (im) Kampf”). On An : *Anum* VI and Šennukušu cf. Meißner 1910: 65-6; Frank 1914; EW s.v. *d.šun-nu-kúš-ù*; Vallat 2002/03: 538. Kunzibami and Šihhaš occur in CT XXV 16-8 (l.20 and l.40; Schwemer 2001: 79). On these gods cf. Frank 1914: 327; W.G. Lambert 1983; EW s.vv. *d.kun-zi-ba-mi* and [d].š[i]-h-ha-áš; Schwemer 2001: 85-6, 393; Vallat 2002/03: 538. The god Asdu, mentioned in the same list of gods (CT XXV 17 l.41), is not labelled as Elamite (*pace* Ebeling 1932). Hinz 1976/80a: 117-8 intimates that, in Mesopotamia, Inšušinak was identified as Adad, but does not cite any evidence in support of this claim. Inšušinak is indeed equated with a Mesopotamian god, but this is Ninurta, not Adad (Hinz *l.c.*; Vallat 2002/03: 538); in Elam he seems to have been associated, if not equated, with Ea and the Dilmunite Enzag (Vallat 1997c).

name of a local storm-god.<sup>703</sup> The same is true for ‘Šennukušu,’ which moreover is a Sumerian, not an Elamite name (cf. fn. 702 above). Not much can be said about Kunzibami, except that some divine names on *-bani* are known in Elamite.<sup>704</sup>

The question is whether any of the above names is hiding behind the numerous occurrences of <sup>AN</sup>IM and <sup>d</sup>IM in Elamite and Akkadian texts and anthroponyms from Iran. In other words, does the logogram refer to one or several local storm-gods rather than to (a form of) Adad? As will be argued in the next paragraph, most occurrences of IM are in contexts that do seem to point to Adad. Moreover, it would be surprising that if Kunzibami, Šihhaš or Šennukušu were an important god, his name is never found spelled syllabically in the documentation from Iran. It seems therefore more likely that the three names (if they are not epithets) refer to deities in some of the local pantheons that must have existed in Elam but that remain virtually unknown to us.

4.1.3. *An Elamite god* – As far as we know, the first time that Adad set foot on Iranian soil was sometime during the early second millennium.<sup>705</sup> The principal witness to this effect is Anubanini of Lullubum, immortalised by his well-known rock relief and inscription at Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb. In this Akkadian text, the Zagros chieftain invokes the wrath of several gods, including <sup>d</sup>IM, upon anyone who would damage the relief and the inscription (Anubanini 1 l.17). Given the names of the other gods, it would seem that <sup>d</sup>IM is to be read ‘Adad’ and does not refer to a local Adad-like god.<sup>706</sup>

<sup>703</sup> Perhaps Šihhaš is the Akkadian rendering of Elamite *šilha-* “mighty, strong” (an appropriate epithet for Adad).

<sup>704</sup> Cf. EW s.vv. *ba-ni*, *ku-ku.ba-ni*, *d.la-ām-ba-ni*, *te-im-ti.ba-ni*; Zadok 1984a: 34 [172]. Compare also Šāmum-bānī in MDP 54 26:2 (explained as an Akkadian name by De Graef 2005: 80), Ilšu-bāni in MDP 55 21:5 (De Graef 2006: 105-6) and Adad-bāni in 25:8 (*ibid.* 109-11).

<sup>705</sup> On Adad in Iranian texts in general cf. EW s.v. d.IŠKUR; Vallat 1999b: 114-5; Schwemer 2001: 393-7, 427-8, 649 and index 1 s.vv. MDAI and MDP.

<sup>706</sup> Text: Edzard 1973: 73-5; collations by Nasrabadi 2004 (with bibliography); see also Frayne 1990: 704-6 (E4.18.1). A second inscription in Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb, known as ‘Anubanini 2,’ is now ascribed to Iddi(n)-Sîn (I-S 5), king of Simurru, and is dated to roughly the same period as Anubanini 1 (late Ur III or early Old Babylonian period?). Apart from I-S 5, an unprovenanced inscription in the Israel museum (I-S 4) and three inscribed stone blocks (I-S 1-3), found in Bīt-wāta, across the border in Iraq (some 150 km northwest of Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb), were commissioned by Iddi(n)-Sîn or his son. A recent re-evaluation of this corpus shows that all texts include a sequence of gods similar to that in Anubanini 1 (Shaffer, Wasserman & Seidl 2003: esp. 20; see also Frayne 1990: 707-16 [E4.19.1-2.2002]). By analogy, <sup>d</sup>IM can also be restored in a

In a more specific Elamite, or rather Susian, context Adad makes his first appearance in the Akkadian legal-administrative texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa. His name occurs twice, once in an oath and once in a curse formula, *viz* contexts in which the Mesopotamian Adad is regularly found.<sup>707</sup> This suggests that the god’s name, written as <sup>d</sup>IM, should be read as ‘Adad.’ Support for this inference is found in the fact that several other originally Mesopotamian gods are mentioned in the same corpus; a strong Mesopotamian influence is at any rate well attested in the Susiana during this period. The joint appearance of the traditional couple <sup>d</sup>IM and Šala in an inscription on a cylinder seal (Sb 6184), also from Sukkalmah-period Susa, accords well with this background and once more suggests that we are dealing with the originally Babylonian Adad rather than a local storm-god.<sup>708</sup>

During the Middle Elamite period <sup>d</sup>IM is attested in various short Akkadian inscriptions from Haft Tepe, including impressions of the inscribed seal of “Athibu, Great Governor of Kabnak ... servant of <sup>d</sup>IM.”<sup>709</sup> Slightly later, the first Elamite occurrences of the god <sup>AN</sup>IM are found in brick inscriptions by Untaš-Napiriša. One of these mentions the construction of a temple for <sup>AN</sup>IM, presumably

broken passage in ‘Anubanini 2’ (I-S 5), the second inscription at Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb. A third Iranian rock inscription, at Šaikhān (near Sar-e Pol), was commissioned by [RN] and again mentions <sup>d</sup>IM in a curse formula. This text may be of later date (late Old-Babylonian period?); cf. Farber 1975a and Postgate & Roaf 1997 (with bibliography).

<sup>707</sup> Oath: MDP 22 11:10, rev.4 (Scheil 1930: 15-6; cf. Schwemer 2001: 393-4); curse: inscription of the seal impression on MDP 23 242 and 325 (Scheil 1932b: 103-4, 192-5; cf. Glassner 1991: 124; Schwemer 2001: 394). Cf. the school texts from the same period, also from Susa, that occasionally mention <sup>d</sup>IM: MDP 27 125, 133, 157 (Van der Meer 1935: 49-54). See also MDP 27 225, a list with theophoric names containing <sup>d</sup>UTU (Šamaš) and <sup>d</sup>IM (Van der Meer 1935: 85, 87). There are many personal names containing <sup>d</sup>IM known from the legal-administrative texts from Susa; gods of Mesopotamian descent are quite common in the onomasticon of this, and the preceding periods (cf. Hinz 1971d: 667; Vallat 1998b: 336). On theophoric names with Adad see esp. Schwemer 2001: 393-7 and index 1 s.vv. MDAI and MDP (add Adad-bāni in MDP 55 25:8 and Adad-ellum in MDP 55 72 I.1).

<sup>708</sup> For the seal, which reads “Iddin-Adad, son of Šilli-Adad, servant of Adad and Šala,” see Amiet 1972: 235, pl. 164 (n° 1798). A number of additional seals from the same period have inscriptions designating the owner as ARAD (šā) <sup>d</sup>IM, “servant of Adad” (cf. Amiet *o.c.* n° 1737, 1743, 176, 1778 and 1807; Schwemer 2001: 394).

<sup>709</sup> Seal impression on HT 38 (Herrero 1976: 102-3, 133) and, apparently, HT 28; cf. Negahban 1991:66, 105-7, pls. 37.280-1. Cf. Glassner 1991: 110, 113-4. Another functionary, Adad-eriš, also styles himself “servant of Adad” in a seal inscription (seal impression on HT 567 in Herrero & Glassner 1990: 6) and in an inscription on a stone component of a chariot or wagon (HT 151a in *ibid.* 7; cf. *eidem* 1993: 134; Negahban 1991: 106). See also Glassner 1991: 111-2, 114 fn. 46; Herrero & Glassner 1993: 134.

at Čogā Zانبīl (EKI 5c). Two others commemorate the building of a temple for the divine couple <sup>AN</sup>IM and Šala (<sup>AN</sup>ša-la) – this time certainly at Čogā Zانبīl – and the installation of cult statues.<sup>710</sup> As many as sixty copies of one of these inscriptions (EKI 7IIC) were uncovered in or in proximity of a temple with two altars positioned in what Ghirshman called the ‘antecella’ (Steve 1967: 33; Ghirshman 1968: 15-6, pls. 12-4, 75, plan 2). This sanctuary in the eastern sector of the Čogā Zانبīl may therefore have been dedicated to <sup>AN</sup>IM and Šala.<sup>711</sup>

Some scholars have voiced reservations on the interpretation of Middle Elamite <sup>AN</sup>IM.<sup>712</sup> Two facts support, however, the assumption that Adad is indeed referred to: first, a number of other gods of Mesopotamian or rather Suso-Mesopotamian descent are worshipped at Čogā Zانبīl (cf. Labat 1975b: 409; Vallat 1998b: 308; *idem* 2002/03: 532), and, secondly, <sup>AN</sup>IM and Šala are worshipped jointly at Čogā Zانبīl as they are in Mesopotamia (note that the name of Šala is written syllabically). That ‘Adad’ is the reading of <sup>d</sup>IM in the Akkadian and <sup>AN</sup>IM in the Elamite texts from this and the preceding Old Elamite period is also the opinion of Schwemer, who adds the argument that Susian and Elamite personal names with <sup>AN</sup>IM have the same structure as those of the Old-Babylonian onomasticon (Schwemer 2001: 393).

In the Neo-Elamite period, there is one document in particular that should be mentioned here. It is an unprovenanced cylinder seal in the Oriental Museum at Durham (formerly the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art) with an inscription that reads:<sup>713</sup>

<sup>710</sup> EKI 6g (= TZ 14 = IRS 24, brick 662) and EKI 7IIC (= TZ 13 = IRS 25, bricks 744-761).

<sup>711</sup> In addition to the texts discussed here, mention should be made of <sup>AN</sup>IM in broken context in EKI 28b (Šutruk-Nahhunte); it may be that here the DN is part of a proper name. The name of the goddess Immirya, mentioned in an Akkadian inscription by Untaš-Napiriša on a cult statue (Scheil 1908: 85-6, pl. 10), has no connection with Adad as was assumed previously (i.a. by Scheil *l.c.* and Vallat 1999b: 114). See discussion in Schwemer 2001: 35-6 with fn. 180.

<sup>712</sup> For Steve (1967: 34) “l’identité du dieu élamite de l’orage et de la pluie qui se cache sous l’idéogramme IM demeure encore inconnue.” Similarly: Ghirshman 1968: 16; Malbran-Labat 1995: 196-7, 220 n. 1-4. Contrast the opinion of Labat 1975b: 409, who maintained that logograms for Sîn and Adad in the inscriptions of Untaš-Napiriša should be read as ‘Sîn’ and ‘Adad’ as these gods “are so well attested in Elam in other periods that there is no *a priori* reason for excluding them from the Elamite pantheon of this time.” Vallat too (1998b: 308, 335-6; 339; 2002/03: 432, 542) identifies <sup>d</sup>IM/<sup>AN</sup>IM in Iranian texts as Adad.

<sup>713</sup> The seal (inv.2400) was published by W.G. Lambert (1979: 27 n° 3, pl. 83), who points out that most of the seal collection must have been acquired by the seventh Duke of Northumberland somewhere in the Near East during the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>1</sup> DiŠ<sup>2</sup> hu-ban-<sup>3</sup> un-taš<sup>4</sup> šá-tin<sup>4</sup> [<sup>AN</sup>]IM

<sup>1-2</sup> Huban-untaš<sup>3</sup> šatin<sup>4</sup> (of) the storm-god/Adad

In addition to this seal, there is an omen tablet from Susa, written in Neo-Elamite, that mentions Adad twice (<sup>AN</sup>IM, <sup>GAM.AN</sup>IM) in the context of lunar omina. The document is a partial rendering of Babylonian originals (with <sup>d</sup>IM in the same position), but as it is written in Elamite, it clearly implies that Elamite or Susian divination experts were familiar with the oracular qualities typical of the Mesopotamian Adad.<sup>714</sup> It is interesting to observe that the omen text continues an older local tradition of divinatory literature: a series of Akkadian divinatory and magical texts (frequently mentioning <sup>d</sup>IM) is known from Middle Elamite Susa.<sup>715</sup>

During the whole pre-Achaemenid period Adad is always referred to by the logogram IM and it is not until the Fortification texts that we find syllabic spelling of his name. In theory, one could suggest that the ‘Babylonian’ Adad was first introduced in the Achaemenid period, whereas <sup>d</sup>IM/<sup>AN</sup>IM in pre-Achaemenid texts from Iran refers to a local storm-god. This is not very likely, however, as the new syllabic spellings of the name ‘Adad’ alternate with the traditional <sup>AN</sup>IM. One would be forced to assume, then, that the interpretation of the logogram had changed between the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods. Apart from this, the arguments advanced above suggest that ‘Adad’ was the intended reading from the first occurrence of the logogram in Iranian context onwards. In short, the most likely scenario is that Adad became known in Iran at the dawn of the second millennium, was at home in the Suso-Mesopotamian culture of the Sukkalmah period and probably came to be worshipped in the Elamite pantheons of the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods. Though little is known about his local characteristics, Adad’s persona and cult undoubtedly changed during these fifteen centuries. One may therefore safely conclude that it was an *Elamite* god, not some recent newcomer, who eventually found his way to Persepolis.<sup>716</sup>

<sup>714</sup> The text (Sb 12801) was published by Scheil 1917; the name of Adad occurs in l.13 (<sup>GAM.AN</sup>IM) and ll.16, 17 (<sup>AN</sup>IM). These passages are paralleled by *iqqur ipuš* §71 ll.6, 11-2 (Labat 1965: 146-7; cf. Schwemer 2001: 692 s.v. <sup>d</sup>Adad mān nakri irahḫis).

<sup>715</sup> See Labat 1974; cf. Schwemer 2001: 427-8, index 1 s.v. MDAI 57. Labat assigns the texts to the Kassite period. Apart from a few Elamite traits (such as the use of the ŠÀ sign), the texts do not differ much from their Mesopotamian counterparts. These texts too, however, suggest a local familiarity with Adad’s role in omen literature. Compare also the Akkadian magical text from Susa (Sb 12630, published by Cavigneaux 2003: 61-2), which describes an aquatic animal, comparing its roar to that of Adad (<sup>d</sup>IM).

<sup>716</sup> Compare Álvarez-Mon’s recent reflections on Nabû and Marduk ([forthc. 2]) in Middle and Neo-Elamite context. On the attributes of Nabû and Marduk in the Fortification seal corpus see now Garrison [forthc. 2].



4.1.4. *Continuity and change* – As stated above (§4.1), there is a noticeable concentration of offerings for Adad in the Fahliyān region, the westernmost sector surveyed by the Fortification archive. Five (possibly six) out of seven texts mentioning Adad (cf. ¶2 for abstracts) can be linked to this region, though only one explicitly mentions a town (Gisat) that is situated in the region (PF 0352). Prosopographic analysis relates four other texts (PFa 02, PFa 03, PF 0353, PF 0351) to the places Tandari, Liduma, Pidduman, Hunar, Hidali and Zila-Humban. It cannot be established whether the sacrifices actually took place in any of these places, which are all in the Fahliyān region, but they at least must have been performed in their vicinity.<sup>717</sup> A transaction recorded in a sixth text (PF 0587) is harder to locate; perhaps the offering referred to here took place at a locality somewhat closer to Persepolis.<sup>718</sup> The seventh text (PF 2073:2) relates to Tikraš in the Persepolis region and will be discussed in §4.1.5.

<sup>717</sup> The Ansaš mentioned in **PFa 03** is elsewhere associated with the places Tandari, Liduma and Pidduman (PF 0310, PF 0568, PF 0569, NN 0918, NN 1316, NN 1351, NN 2398), all located in the Fahliyān region (cf. Koch 1990: 164-8, 202-6; Arfa'i 1999: 37; for Kandama in PF 0740 cf. Koch *o.c.* 164-5 fn. 691). PFa 03 also mentions Attukka, probably the same as the *bazikara* at Pidduman (PF 0567). The supply officer of **PFa 02**, Mišbak, issues barley to inhabitants of Hunar (ancient Huhnur), recently identified as Tepe Bormī in the Rām Hormoz plain (cf. §§1.5.1, 2.3.1 fn. 245 above) in Fort. 6411. The officiant of PFa 02, Kambarma (Gobryas), re-occurs in **PF 0353**; the latter text may therefore relate to Hunar or its vicinity. This is confirmed by Irkanda, the supply officer of PF 0353, who is attested in the same role in NN 1332, there connected to Hidali (on which cf. Vallat 1993a: 96 and App.7.2 below). As Koch has previously argued (1977: 104-5, 113 fn. 105; 1990: 162), the officiant called Rakuš in **PF 0351** is possibly the same person as Rakkuš who performs an offering of 50 qts. of barley “for the gods” in PF 0359. The supply officer in the latter text is Utira, who is attached to the place Zila-Humban in the Fahliyān region (PF 0022, PF 0023; cf. Hinz 1970: 426; Koch 1986: 145; *idem* 1990: 160-2). Utira and Hašina (the supply official mentioned in PF 0351) are both collocated with seal PFS 0331 (Utira: PF 0022), thus indirectly confirming the identity of Rakuš and Rakkuš. Cf. App.7.7 fn. 1194 and ¶fn. 44.

<sup>718</sup> The barley used to acquire sacrificial animals in **PF 0587** was allocated by a certain Šedda. There may be several individuals with this name, and this complicates situating PF 0587 on the relative map. It seems likely, though, that the Šedda allocating *tarmu* (emmer) to be exchanged against livestock (for a sacrifice ‘for the gods’) in PF 0376 is the same as the one just mentioned. The seals impressed on PF 0367 provide some clues: PFS 0633 also occurs on NN 1723, where a Šedda issues *tarmu* (emmer) for workers at Kuntukkanzan<sup>†</sup>; PFS 0632 recurs on PF 0514, a text dealing with the place Kurakka (also in NN 2121). This Kurakka is perhaps identical to the place ‘Kurarakka’ (if read, with phonetic complement, as <sup>AS</sup>*ku-ra<sub>0</sub>-ka<sub>4</sub>*, cf. Tavernier 2007a: 387 [4.3.130]; *idem* 2007c). Ku<sup>ra</sup>akka is located southwest of Persepolis by Koch (1986:

As the Fortification texts do not cover the Susiana plain and as a parallel archive from Susa is missing,<sup>719</sup> it cannot be established whether Adad still enjoyed worship in the lowlands as he had done before (though this does seem plausible). Conversely, the pre-Achaemenid material does not indicate, at least not in a clear way, that Adad was also worshipped in the highlands; the Fortification texts on Adad are the first witnesses to that effect. This raises the question of the spread of Adad’s cult from the plain (where it was introduced from Mesopotamia) to the eastern regions.

Logically, the diffusion of Adad’s cult coincided with the acceptance of Adad not just as a Susian, but also as a generally Elamite god. But to which period should this change be dated? The late Middle Elamite brick inscription by Hutelutuš-Inšušinak (*ca.* 1125) from Malyān (Anšan) mentions a temple for Inšušinak, Napiriša, Kiririša and Šimut, but fails to mention Adad.<sup>720</sup> The onomasticon of the administrative tablets found at the same site includes a number of theophoric names, but none with the element ‘Adad.’ It is probably wise, however, not to put too much weight on this silence (Adad names are also absent from the Persepolis onomasticon). The Malyān onomasticon does seem to include a theophoric name with ‘Šala,’ Adad’s long-time consort,<sup>721</sup> but this bit of evidence is too flimsy to base any firm conclusions on. It remains uncertain, then, whether or not Adad’s cult had reached to the highlands by the end of the Middle Elamite period. At any rate, the fact that Adad’s cult seems well-established in the time of the Fortification texts in the Fahliyān region and even further to the east, at Tikraš (cf. §4.1.5 below), allows the inference that Adad arrived in these regions at the latest in the later Neo-Elamite period.

136-7; 1990: 279). In turn, Kurakka/Ku<sup>ra</sup>akka may be identical with Kurkarakkan/-š (if to be read <sup>AS</sup>*kur*<sup>ka</sup><sub>4</sub>-*ra*<sub>0</sub>-*ka*<sub>4</sub>-; but see Tavernier 2006a: 377) in which a Šedda, possibly the same as in PF 0587, is found (PF 1968). The town is again located by Koch in the region southwest of Persepolis (1990: 129 with fn. 570; cf. 1977: 111). Cf. fn. 51; Aperghis 1999: 156. See App.6.3 fns. 910, 915 and 6.6 for a location in the ‘northern cluster.’

<sup>719</sup> One or two economic texts from Achaemenid Susa survive; cf. §2.1.3 with fn. 177 and §3.4.8 above.

<sup>720</sup> On the bricks with the Hutelutuš-Inšušinak inscription from Malyān cf. M. Lambert 1972; Reiner 1973b; Abdi 2001: 93. Survey of all the bricks of this sovereign (with bibliography): Vallat 1996d.

<sup>721</sup> Šala-mirriš in TTM 66:2 (Šala-miriš), on which see Vallat 2002/03: 534. The assumption that the first part of the name is the name of the goddess Šala is supported by the observation that other theophoric names on *-mir(r)i(š)* exist (cf. Stolper 1984a: 39). Incidentally, there is a Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid toponym, Šala, that may be identical with the theonym. Cf. Vallat 1993a: 253 for references.

Of the five Adad texts relating to the Fahliyān region, only one explicitly names the place of worship: Gisat (PF 0352).<sup>722</sup> This town, situated in the Fahliyān region and probably not far from Hidali (collocated with Gisat in PF 0035, PF 1851, NN 2578), was a regular scene of cultic activity. Apart from the animal sacrifices performed by Ururu the *šatin* in PF 0352, a beer offering is given “for the gods” by the same officiant (PF 0375; cf. §6.4 ad l.14 below). Judging from, i.a., the use of seal PFS 0020, the town also hosted *lan* sacrifices.<sup>723</sup> Gisat had a central grain storage in which the produce of a wider surrounding area was gathered.<sup>724</sup> It was probably from this storage that the barley for the acquisition of sacrificial livestock in PF 0352 was issued.<sup>725</sup> Furthermore, Gisat had a locale referred to by the general term *barribaraš* (\**paribāra-*, lit. “covered place”) and probably a brewery (PF 1996) that produced the beer given to workforces and used for the offering “for the gods” in PF 0375 and for some *lan* offerings.<sup>726</sup>

The place Gisat is also known from late Neo-Elamite documents. First, it is mentioned in broken context in the stele of king Atta-hamiti-Insušnak.<sup>727</sup> It also occurs, twice, in the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* (rev.1, 25), a hardly penetrable text that seems to relate to a small autonomous or semi-autonomous polity centred on

<sup>722</sup> The text of PF 0352 is discussed by Vallat (1994a: 273), who takes a radically different approach towards its syntax than Hallock or the present author advocate. His conclusion that the eight animals are a wage for cultic personnel not intended for the cult itself seems semantically and logically untenable (cf. ¶137 fn. 2).

<sup>723</sup> *lan* sacrifices that can be located in Gisat: PF 0745, PF 0746, PF 0747, PF 0748, NN 0748 and NN 0822. Koch (1977: 131) sees a distinction between Iranian and Elamite officiants at Gisat, the former only administering *lan*. This could only be a sign of distinct religious spheres, as Koch argues, if *lan* were an exclusively Iranian or Zoroastrian sacrifice (*quod non*; cf. §§3.4-7 above). On *lan* in Gisat cf. §3.4.9 above. Cf. ¶1 below for text abstracts.

<sup>724</sup> Grain at Gisat: PF 0035, PF 0534, PF 0550, PF 1849, PF 1850, PF 1851, NN 0997, NN 2578.

<sup>725</sup> On *araš*, “storage, depot” (written <sup>ha</sup>*har*) in PF 0352 cf. §6.4 fn. 918 below and ¶fn. 2.

<sup>726</sup> For *barribaraš* (NN 0182) cf. Hinz 1975a: 179; Tavernier 2007a: 440 [4.4.8.18]. Workforces receiving beer: PF 1220, NN 1267, Fort. 1706. Beer for *lan* at Gisat: PF 0748, NN 0748, NN 0822. Other texts with Gisat: NN 0656 and NN 1501 (workers receiving *tarmu*); NN 1416 (workers receiving flour); NN 1122 (barley for cattle); NN 1013° (wine account). See also Vallat 1993a: 68 for the attestations of the GN and Koch 1990: 213-6 on the Gisat texts.

<sup>727</sup> The text mentions <sup>AS</sup>*gi-sa-ti-īp*<sup>1</sup> [... ...], “Gisatians” (EKI 86:2). On the date of the inscription cf. Vallat 1996a: 391, 393 and Tavernier 2004: esp. 22-9 (the latter arguing in favour of the equation of Atta-hamiti-Insušnak and Aθamaita in the fifth column of the Bīsotūn inscription [DB V.5]; cf. *idem* 2006c and §5.2 below).

Gisat.<sup>728</sup> The protagonist is a certain Ururu, son of Šadanunu; it is uncertain whether he is actually the ruler of Gisat.<sup>729</sup> Individual passages are sometimes understandable, such as the storage of seed at an *araš*, “storage, depot” (rev.23), the same word as used in PF 0352. Various gods are mentioned, perhaps in cursing and blessing formulae: Napiriša, Nahhunte, Laliya, Šati, DIL.BAT, Nanna and Šašum (once introduced as “Šašum Elhale of Gisat, my god” [rev.24-5]).<sup>730</sup> There is also a section on cultic activity, including a *šup* feast for Šašum (rev.11-2; cf. §6.4 ad l.1-2 below and ★§7.1.3). Sheep or goats are mentioned in the immediate context of *puhu zīyanup*, “temple servants” or “temple personnel” (rev.15; cf. §3.6.5 above); if they are indeed sacrificial animals, they parallel the sheep or goats slaughtered for Adad and others at Gisat in PF 0352.

The homonymy of the Ururu in the Fortification texts (PF 0352, PF 0375) and the one in the PBP is likely to be significant (cf. Hinz 1970: 428), certainly because there is a connection to Gisat in both cases as well as a cultic context (admittedly ill-understood in the case of the bronze tablet). It may tentatively be surmised that Gisat had a hereditary succession of either temple priests or local rulers with cultic functions who retained the cultic privileges attached to their line in the Achaemenid period. Attractive as this scenario may seem, there is one major setback: the gods and offerings mentioned in relation to Gisat in the Fortification texts (Adad, *kušukum*, *tikrakkaš*, *hapidanuš*, “the gods,” *lan*) do not match those mentioned in the PBP. Should one, on these grounds, assume a major shift in the Gisat pantheon and in local cultic practice? I do not believe that such an inference is supported by the sources. The Fortification texts speak mainly of various *types* of offerings at Gisat (*kušukum*, *tikrakkaš*, *hapidanuš*, *lan*) and do not, apart from Adad, disclose the names of the beneficiaries (cf. the offering “for the gods”). The bronze tablet, on the other hand, refers to the worshipped deities by their names. The only thing that can be concluded, with some confidence, is that Adad is absent

<sup>728</sup> On the date of the PBP cf. Vallat 1996a: 391, 393; Tavernier 2004: 36, 39. On the document see also Cameron *apud* Schmidt 1957: 64-5, pls. 27-8; Stolper in Carter & Stolper 1984: 55; de Miroschedji 1990: 79; Vallat 1998a: 311; *idem* 2002b: 141; *idem* 2002/03: 535; Waters 2000: 87-9; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 483-4 (assuming *two* individuals named Ururu in the text of the bronze tablet). There are several unpublished transliterations of the text, notably those by Hinz and by Steve & Reiner.

<sup>729</sup> The bronze tablet has an incised seal ‘impression’ that includes an inscription mentioning the otherwise unknown Huban-šuturuk, son of Šati-hupiti. This Huban-šuturuk strangely is not referred to in the preserved text of the bronze tablet. He may either be the prince of Gisat, a paramount ruler granting privileges to Ururu (and other Gisatians) or the ruler’s ancestor.

<sup>730</sup> Cf. Vallat 2002/03: 535.

from the PBP.<sup>731</sup> Whether this implies that the introduction of Adad's worship at Gisat postdates the document or that its content is selective cannot be established.

Amidst all these uncertainties, one change is undeniable in the Fortification texts: Adad's name was no longer exclusively written logographically as it had been throughout the long period of pre-Achaemenid Adad worship in Iran. Of seven texts, only two still use IM, now with the addition of <sup>MEŠ</sup> to mark the use of the logogram (<sup>AN</sup>IM<sup>MEŠ</sup>). The scribes of the other five texts opted for one of four different syllabic spellings: <sup>AN</sup>ad-da-ad (2x), <sup>AN</sup>ha-da-ud, <sup>AN</sup>ha-da-ad, <sup>AN</sup>ad-da-ti.<sup>732</sup> This surprising variety may be explained by assuming that some Persepolis scribes (too often and imprudently referred to as 'Elamites'!) were no longer familiar with the logogram <sup>AN</sup>IM for 'Adad.' When they subsequently resorted to the syllabic spelling, there was no standard at hand, as 'Adad' had never been spelled syllabically before in Elamite. The phenomenon is at odds with the observation that the use of logograms in Elamite generally increases during the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods (Steve 1992: 11; Vallat 1996a: 386-7). Plausibly, we are dealing with different scribal traditions: one that roots firmly in the Neo-Elamite past and one that is somehow more detached from the older tradition.

Whatever the reason for the apparent gradual disappearance of the logogram may have been, it resulted in a variety of syllabic spellings, indicative of the "fehlende Normierung" (Schmitt 1986a) so typical for administrative Achaemenid Elamite. With the loss of the logogram the god Adad also lost one of the last ties that linked him to the storm-god of the Akkado-Sumerian tradition. Thus, as careless as they may seem, the syllabic spellings also mark an important step in the emancipation of Adad as a god of ancient Iran.

4.1.5. *A Persian god* – In the preceding sections, it has been argued that Adad was long since at home in Iran and could therefore be called both 'Iranian' and 'Elamite.' These labels, especially the latter, are far from static, however, and they should be used with caution. The question that will be discussed in the present section is whether or not Adad could still be labelled 'Elamite' in the case of the Achaemenid documentation. I think the answer to that question should be negative.

<sup>731</sup> The logogram IM occurs a number of times in the Neo-Elamite PBP, followed by <sup>MEŠ</sup> but not preceded by the determinative <sup>AN</sup> (IM<sup>MEŠ</sup>); it clearly denotes wind or wind directions, not 'Adad' (cf. EW s.v. IM.lg for references; see also Cameron *apud* Schmidt 1957: 65 and Hinz 1967b: 73). The logogram is often preceded by *da-la-e*, which Hinz translated as "Opfer" or "Gußopfer" (1969: 19 fn. 27; cf. EW s.v. *da-la-e* and the discussion on *dala* in Koch 1980), but which is taken to mean "limite" by Vallat (1981a).

<sup>732</sup> The two spellings with initial *ha-* are not archaic (cf. 'Hadad'), but just meant to render the initial /a-/ more precisely. On such spellings cf. Vallat 1996e.

It may be no great surprise that Heidemarie Koch positioned Adad, though referring to him as ‘Babylonian god,’ exclusively in the Elamite camp. She did so in conformity with the dichotomist model that pervades both her dissertation and later publications on Achaemenid religion. As Adad was neither a god of the popular Iranian religion, nor a Zoroastrian deity, Koch inferred that he could only have been venerated by the Elamites. The main ‘problem’ encountered in the case of Adad is his appearance in Tikraš, a town located southeast of Persepolis and thus far outside the region that Koch saw as predominantly Elamite (‘Elymais’).

The seven texts relating to the cult of Adad mention allocations of barley (5x), wine (1x) and beer (1x) for Adad. In four cases, the barley was used to acquire sheep or goats. This is not a sign that the administration abhorred animal sacrifices, a notion for which there is no proof (*pace* Koch 1977: 110-11, 123-4, 178); the rationale of the exchange procedure rather was a purely economic one: acquiring animals from what seem to be outside parties was a means to preserve the administration’s livestock capital. Not coincidentally, such livestock exchanges are concentrated in the western sector of the region under the archive’s purview, that is, the country of the Zagros agro-pastoralists who could trade their livestock surplus for grain and other products of the Fortification economy. The Gisat depot (*araš*) seems to have been one of the nuclei in this exchange network.<sup>733</sup>

As far as the names of the officiants involved in offerings for Adad can be trusted as an indicator to that effect, the cult of Adad hardly seems to be very Elamite in nature. Only Ururu may be Elamite, whereas Attukka, Kambarma (Gobryas) and Rak(k)uš seem to be Iranian.<sup>734</sup> A more reliable indicator is the com-

<sup>733</sup> On the exchange procedure cf. §3.4.7 above, §§6.5, 6.6.5-6 below and ¶ esp. 153-7 (where the exchange texts on Adad are included in the discussion). A text that had previously escaped my attention is NN 1122. This document records the allocation of barley as fodder for cattle in a small ‘internal’ herd. Different from the flocks of animals entrusted to external or ‘semi-external’ contract herds in the regular consignment or share-breeding system, such ‘internal’ herds were the administration’s own responsibility. They appear in our texts because the animals in the herds had to be fed. The interesting feature of NN 1122 is the stipulation that, at some point, two bovinds were added “from Gisat.” It may imply that these animals, and perhaps the whole herd, were acquired *via* exchanges supervised by the Gisat depot. Perhaps they were being fattened for future use at the royal table.

<sup>734</sup> On Ururu cf. Zadok 1983a: 106 [146] (hypocoristicon of Urun). On the Iranian names cf. Tavernier 2007a: 196-7 [4.2.716] (Attukka), 17 [1.2.18], 57 [2.2.23] (Kambarma = Gobryas), 278 [4.2.1330] (Rakuš). The name of Gobryas is regularly spelled as <sup>HAL</sup>*kam-bar-ma* in the Fortification tablets, but once as <sup>HAL</sup>*ka<sub>4</sub>-u-ba-ra* (PFA 02). The latter form has been identified as a different name by Gershevitch (1969a: 199), Mayrhofer (1973: 180 [8.805]) and Tavernier (2007a: 187 [4.2.628]). Yet, the contexts

bination of gods and types of offerings appearing in cultic inventories. As has been argued before (cf. §§3.4.2, 3.7.3.3), gods and offerings mentioned in such lists were not worshipped or performed in a single ceremony – the lists are just a bureaucratic phenomenon. They do indicate, however, that the cults and offerings listed were all the responsibility of the officiant receiving the commodities issued. Adad appears five times in inventories (cf. App.5) and his company includes Napiriša (2x) and Humban (1x), and offerings known as *kušukum* (3x), *tikrakkaš* (3x) and *hapidanuš* (2x). Of these Napiriša and Humban are of known Elamite descent, *kušukum* may be Elamite in origin and *tikrakkaš* and *hapidanuš* are Iranian terms. There is, then, evidently no solid ground for the assumption that officiants administering the cult of Adad were Elamites or functionaries solely assigned to worship Elamite gods.

There is a noticeable concentration of five out of seven Adad texts that relate to the Fahliyān region and this may indeed have a background in the historical popularity of Adad in pre-Achaemenid Elam and the spread of his cult from the Susiana to the highlands during the later Neo-Elamite period or before. Yet, the concentration is not exclusive. As has already been discussed, PF 0587 is difficult to assign to a particular town or region, but seems to relate to places closer to Persepolis than the Fahliyān region (cf. §4.1.4 with fn. 718). This brings us to PF 2073:2, a journal entry documenting an Adad sacrifice at the town of Tikraš.

Adad, Nabbazabba, “the gods,” the divine mountain Šaki, and *lan* are found in texts relating to cultic activity in the place Tikraš.<sup>735</sup> The town must be located in

of PF 0353 (Kambarma sacrificing to Adad and Napiriša) and PFa 02 (‘Kaubara’ administering Napiriša, Adad, *tikrakkaš* and *kušukum* offerings) suggests that one and the same individual is at stake; <sup>HAL</sup>*ka4-u-ba-ra* may therefore be a mistake for <sup>HAL</sup>*ka4-u-ba-ra(-ma)* (similarly Koch 1987: 267 fn. 172). The Kambarma/Gobryas of PFa 02 and PF 0353 may be the same as the Kambarma receiving rations for women in PF 1153 and PF 1219 (cf. Koch 1987: 266). Kambarma/Gobryas, who was Darius’ fellow conspirator (DB<sub>e</sub> III.90) and lance-bearer (DNC<sub>e</sub>), also occurs in the Fortification texts (PF 0688, NN 0210, NN 1133, NN 2533 [all with PFS 0857s] and perhaps NN 1581 and Fort. 1017), but he is probably different from our officiant. On Kambarma/Gobryas the nobleman cf. Hinz 1970: 424; Hallock 1977: 110; *idem* 1985: 590-1; Koch 1983: 45-6; Lewis 1985: 110-1 (the unpublished text mentioned on p.110 is Fort. 1017); Root 1991: 19-21 (on seal PFS 0857s); Briant 1996: 148; Gates 2002: 106, 108, 115-6, 126-7 (PFS 0857s); Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.4.

<sup>735</sup> There are, in total, 49 attestations of the town of Tikraš in the edited PF sample (cf. Vallat 1993a: 279; read “[PF-NN] 636:6” for “[PF-NN] 635:6”). Three entries in the journal PF 2073, centred on the area of Tikraš (l.25), record expenditures for offerings: for Nabbazabba (l.1), Adad (l.2), and *lan* (l.3, cf. §3.7.3.2 fn. 669 above). Three additional entries are found in the journal NN 2202, again dealing with Tikraš (the GN is

the central Persepolis region (characterised by the use of seal PFS 0001\*) and was probably situated somewhere southeast of the residence.<sup>736</sup> A smaller village, Kurpun, may have been situated in its vicinity and was the scene of *kušukum* and *lan* offerings.<sup>737</sup>

According to Koch, Tikraš and nearby Kurpun formed a “Hochburg der alten Götter” (1977: 139) and “eine stark elamisch geprägte Enklave” (1987: 250-1).<sup>738</sup> Elsewhere she refers to these localities as “some isolated places in the Persian heartland” (Koch 1995: 1968; cf. 1992: 284). The terminology used here stems from the perception of Elamite religious and cultural identity as an ironclad singularity that could either flourish or wither, but not transform or be part of a process of acculturation in any meaningful way. Gods or offerings with a background in the Elamite past are therefore labelled ‘Elamite’ and the presence of such gods and offerings is simplistically taken to indicate the presence of genuine ‘Elamites.’ Nowhere does one find an attempt to re-calibrate the label ‘Elamite’ for the Achaemenid period. But there is more: the image of an ‘enclave’ projects a sense of exclusion upon the Elamites who, one is led to think, stubbornly refused to

mentioned in l.24): an [offering] “for the gods” (l.1), *lan* (l.2, cf. App.1) and an offering for the divine mountain Šaki (l.3, cf. §6.4 ad ll.3-4 and ¶16). Koch (1977: 114) argues that PF 0361 (offering “for the gods” by Nabapiš) relates to Tikraš as well. If this is correct, the near-duplicate text NN 1672 should be added as well.

<sup>736</sup> On the location of Tikraš cf. Vallat 1993a: cxx-xxii, 279-80; Koch 1990: 78-81, 261, 274; Sumner 1986: 23-5; on the Persepolis region cf. §2.3.2 above. Vallat *l.c.* reads ‘*tik<sub>e</sub>-riš<sub>e</sub>*,’ which is partly supported by an alternative spelling (with *ti-ik-*), and partly based on the assumed identity with Sargonic *Tukriš* (cf. Cameron 1948: 199). The identity with *Tukriš* is rather uncertain, however. Moreover, a likely etymology for the GN (cf. 2006a: 391; Tavernier 2007a: 398 [4.3.220]) rather suggests <sup>AS</sup>*tuk-rāš* (pronounced /tikraš/). ‘Tikraš’ is therefore the preferable normalisation of the GN.

<sup>737</sup> Koch suggested that Kurpun was in the proximity of Tikraš (1987: 250), but does not cite evidence for it. Support is found in NN 1301 and NN 1986, which document rations for a workforce active at Kurpun but accounted for at the apparently nearby town of Tikraš (*kurtaš ... tikraš humanuš mušap*). Offerings at Kurpun: PF 1953: 1-3 (*lan*), 4-6 (*kušukum*).

<sup>738</sup> Earlier (1977: 133, 139), Koch thought of Tikraš as a small village, on the basis of the modest provisions for offerings in PF 2073 (“[ein kleiner Ort...], der nicht über ein bedeutenderes Heiligtum verfügte”). The provisions are indeed small, but this should not be explained from the size of the location: Tikraš was a larger town (as acknowledged by Koch 1990: 78-87) and, as appears from NN 2202, offerings with more regular amounts of barley were indeed performed there (App.1). The small amounts in PF 2073 may be due to a peculiarity of that text or the specific conditions it refers to. The provisions for Nabbazabba and Adad may pertain to an intercalary month rather than a whole year. In the case of *lan* a scribal error may be considered (cf. §3.7.3.2 fn. 669).



yield to the glorious enlightenment of the ‘state religion’ (cf. §§1.6, 3.3.3.1 above). From Koch’s description of Tikraš, one gains the impression that the town was an Elamite bantustan, an oddity set apart in the cultural and religious landscape of Achaemenid Fārs. This undesirable image not only misses the point when it comes to the dynamics and implications of acculturation or the subtleties of shifting identities, but it also fails to recognise how much Tikraš and its surroundings were interwoven with the Persepolis region, both in administrative and in cultural terms, as the following evidence shows:

- A Two officials involved in cultic acts at or in the proximity of Tikraš, Te(a)tukka and Urikama, were high-ranking officials. Te(a)tukka performs offerings “for the gods” in NN 2202:1. In PF 1256, possibly the same Te(a)tukka is designated as *lip̄te kutira*, “chamberlain” and *karamaraš*, “registrar.” The first designation is in fact a court-title, also held by, e.g., Aspathines (DND).<sup>739</sup>
- B Tetukka’s colleague Urikama, who performs offerings to Šaki in NN 2202:3 and three more texts, is elsewhere responsible for the provision of sheep/goats for

<sup>739</sup> Cf. 𐎶117-129, 162-5 on Achaemenid chamberlains and their occurrence in PFT (cf. Jursa [forthc. 1] on the function). For Te(a)tukka the chamberlain and registrar see 𐎶164 and Stolper 1977: 263-4 (*karamaraš*). In PF 1256 Tetukka the chamberlain and his servants receive rations at the estate of Bakabadda the *habezziš* (\**abēciya*-“Bewässerer” [Hinz 1975a: 18; cf. 𐎶fn. 23]) “in accordance with a royal document.” Nabbaba, who allocates the rations, seems to be stationed at Ibariš (e.g., PF 0502, PF 0626, both with PFS 0732, as on PF 1256), in the sub-Fahliyān cluster (cf. Apps. 6.3 and 7.4 below). In PF 0443 and PF 0567, a Tetukka appears as *ba-zī-ka<sub>4</sub>-ra* (“tax-maker”) dealing with the intake of barley, which seems to agree with the function of registrar. Other grain texts with possibly the same Tetukka: PF 0522, PF 0634 (both PFS 0122); PF 0481, NN 1995, NN 2008 (all pertaining to the town Tamkan); PF 0432 (read <sup>HAL</sup>*te<sup>1</sup>-tuk-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* [Haddock i.m.]). There is also a Tetukka issuing sealed orders in PF 1951:3-19 and overseeing barley allocations in NN 2477 (both texts have PFS 0152). The journal NN 2477 includes an entry on offerings made by Tetukka (NN 2477:1-2), which brings us back to the Tetukka who acts as officiant at or near Tikraš in NN 2202:1. Finally, there is a record (PF 0346) of an offering by Te(a)tukka for Humban at Tašpak (cf. App.7.3). Despite the distance between Tašpak-Ibariš (Fahliyān region) and Tikraš-Tamkan (Persepolis region), the cultic activities suggest that just one Tetukka may be at stake. A large area covered by a single official seems compatible with his activities as registrar, tax-collector and surveyor. That PF 1256 (T. as chamberlain-registrar) and PF 0346 (T. as officiant in Tašpak) have adjacent box numbers (2085-2086), perhaps a residue of an original archival connection (cf. §2.6.2), offers a subsidiary argument.

sacrifices performed by, among others, Parnakka in Batrakataš (Pasargadae) and other places. Like Tetukka, he has the authority to issue sealed letter orders.<sup>740</sup>

- C In PF 0581, the estate (*irmatam*) of Dahyuka (<sup>HAL</sup>*da-a-ia-u-ka<sub>4</sub>*) at Tikraš is mentioned. Dahyuka was a high-level cereal commissioner, administratively connected to the court by several ties.<sup>741</sup>
- D A very explicit link to the crown is a workforce of Irdabama, active in Tikraš in Dar.16-17 (PF 1109, NN 0187, NN 0194).<sup>742</sup> The same or a similar group is mentioned in a Treasury tablet (PT 006). There, a silver payment for *pašap* workers of the *abbamuš* (Irdabama) is said to have been ordered by the king (Darius, cf. Cameron *ad loc.*).<sup>743</sup>

<sup>740</sup> There appears to be only one individual named Urikama. Cf. §6.4 ad 1.3 below for occurrences and details on his activities. Note that the journal NN 2183, which mentions Urikama (ll.7-11), is sealed with PFS 0152, apparently an, infrequently used, office-seal. The same seal is impressed on PF 1951 and NN 2477, both texts in which Urikama’s colleague Tetukka occurs (cf. fn. 739 above). On seal PFS 0152 cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 416-8. Note also that the box numbers of three of the journals in which Urikama occurs are in same range (NN 2183: 1415; NN 2202: 1458; NN 2259: 1461).

<sup>741</sup> Allocations of flour and barley to the court: NN 0324 and NN 0857 (both with PFS 0007\*, a royal-name seal used exclusively in relation to royal consumption, cf. Garrison 1996a; Garrison & Root 2001: 68-70). Dahyuka as the destination of a travel party sent by the king: NN 1322. Receiving a ration of 180 qts. of flour/month: PF 1252 (cf. NN 1944?); the ration scale defines Dahyuka as an upper middle-rank official (cf. Koch 1983: 46). Letter order by Dahyuka: NN 0798. Overseeing the intake and storage of large quantities of barley: PF 0241, PF 0594. On the name see Tavernier 2007a: 163-4 [4.2.474] with references. Cf. Koch 1990: 13, 84-5 on Dahyuka, his and other estates possibly located in the same region.

<sup>742</sup> Cf. Brosius’ extensive and innovative discussion on the unique position of Irdabama (1996: 129-144), a royal woman whose existence completely escaped the Greek authors. See particularly pp. 142-3 on Irdabama’s workforce in Tikraš (in table 5, the GN in PF 1109, NN 0187 and NN 0194 should be Tikraš [not Tirazziš]; PFS 0252 is impressed on all three tablets). Cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1], esp. §3.

<sup>743</sup> On PT 006:4-5 (Cameron 1948: 93) cf. the collations by Hallock (1960: 97) and Cameron (1965: 187); the text should be read as: <sup>SAL</sup>*pa-šap*<sub>0</sub> <sup>! AŠ</sup>*tuk-rāš* <sup>SALr</sup>*ab<sup>1</sup>-ba-mu-iš-na*. The whole text of PT 006 can be translated as follows: “165 *karša* of silver, allocation of Unsak, *pašap* women, at Tikraš, of the *abbamuš*, under responsibility of Appišiyatiš, received (as) sustenance. The king ordered it for them; Dadumanya wrote (the order/the document).” For Unsak (a PN, not a title as Cameron thought), cf. Vallat 1992/2002. On the title *abbamuš* cf. Brosius 1996: 129-144.

- E Another pertinent connection to the crown is provided by PT 083, which records a deposit of 600 *karša* of gold (*ca.* 50 kg.) at the palace/court (*īyan*) at Tikraš.<sup>744</sup>
- F According to PFa 33:26-30, Tikraš hosted a plantation (but the term *partetaš* is not preserved or not mentioned) in which 645 fruit trees were planted.<sup>745</sup> Two other places with plantations that are mentioned in the same text, Appištapdan and Tikranuš, have a connection to the royal house (cf. §6.7.5 sub E-F below).
- G Tikraš was also an important centre for the intake of grain harvests and storage of seed.<sup>746</sup> Large workforces consisting of up to 240 people had their base in the town<sup>747</sup> as did groups of foreign workers, Lycians and ‘Skudrians’.<sup>748</sup> NN 1396 mentions *pīr-ra-sa-na-iš*, “polishers” (OPers. \**fraθāna*-).<sup>749</sup>
- H Kurpun shows a similar picture, but on a more modest scale. Parnakka visited the village (NN 2156). There are treasury-people (*kapnuškip*; PF 0879, PF 1158, NN

<sup>744</sup> Hallock 1969: 20, 27 and 706 expresses reservations as to whether *īyan* always means “court.” However, the texts, including PT 083, that he lists as attestations of a second meaning of *īyan* (p.706 s.v. II. *īyan*, “evid. a kind of ration”) all involve seals and/or officials who are clearly linked to the crown. Doubts as to whether *īyan* must always mean “court” (or “palace”) in the literal sense are indeed justified; instead one may infer that *īyan* refers to both structure and institution. On (*h*)*īyan* cf. Cameron 1958: 173 (“court”); EW s.vv. *h.i-ya-an* and *hi-ya-an* (“Palasthalle, Säulenhalle, Königshof”); Potts [forthc. 5]. Sargonic Tukriš, identified with Tikraš by Vallat, was renowned as a source of gold and lapis lazuli (cf. Komoróczy 1972: 114-5; Michalowski 1988: 162-3; Dietrich 2001: 308-12). Since the identification is problematic, this does not serve as an argument, however (cf. fn. 736 above).

<sup>745</sup> On the passage cf. Sumner 1986: 27. Fruit at Tikraš: PF 1981:12-8 and PFa 01:6-10.

<sup>746</sup> As Koch agrees (extensive treatment in 1990: 79-87). Examples: PF 0582, PF 0583, PF 1941: 3, 5-6, PF 1971: 5, PF 1981, NN 0360, NN 0636, NN 1360, NN 1597 and NN 2146.

<sup>747</sup> Examples: NN 0238, NN 1251 (a group of *ca.* 225-240 people under Karkiš’s responsibility); PF 1024, PF 1025, PF 1108, PF 1947: 66-8, NN 0192, NN 1396, NN 2335: 28-37 (*ca.* 50 people under Iršena’s responsibility).

<sup>748</sup> PF 1006, NN 1301, NN 1356, NN 1396 and NN 1986. Cf. Uchitel 1991: 132-3 (I am not sure about including PF 1841 in this group, as Uchitel proposes). Skudrians: the traditional interpretation, going back to Justi, that OPers. *skudra* (whence Elam. *iškudrap*) means “Macedonian” has been challenged by Szemerényi (1980: 23-6); Gropp (2001) points to the problems involved in the interpretations “Thracian-Macedonian” or “Thracian.” See Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §3 for a possible connection between ‘Skudrians’ and ‘Phrygians.’

<sup>749</sup> On the word see Benveniste 1958: 60 and Hallock 1969: 744.

0675); artisans (*marrīp*; PF 1953: 7-8) and Lycian workers (*kurtaš turmiriyap*; NN 1301, NN 1986) active at or in proximity of Kurpun.<sup>750</sup>

Tikraš (and its satellite Kurpun) emerges not only as an important town, but also, especially, as a place intimately linked with the rest of the administrative web and connected to the crown and the higher strata of Persian society. If we are really interested in explaining why Adad, with his long Elamite history, was worshipped in Tikraš, suggesting that the town was an “isolated place” will clearly not do. As there is nothing that sets Tikraš apart, how should one at the same time believe that its inhabitants and cults were felt to be different from those who lived in other parts of Achaemenid Fārs? A different outlook is called for in this interesting case. The fact that a flourishing town near Persepolis was at the same time the scene of the worship of gods like Adad, Humban and Napiriša should be explained from two perspectives rather than from one. The first approach is historical and describes how certain gods were part of the culture or cultures handed down by the Elamites of the highlands, i.e. the Anšānites who were first to meet and integrate with the incoming Indo-Iranian tribes. The second perspective requires an analysis within the contemporary, Achaemenid context and describes the cult of the old Elamite gods as part of the religious and cultural life of a fully integrated town with close ties to the crown. The latter approach should be given full weight, for in the end we are describing Pārsa, not second-millennium Anšan. From this viewpoint, the label ‘Elamite’ is not really adequate when referring to Adad or any of the deities with an Elamite background who were venerated in Achaemenid Tikraš. A viable alternative, even though not completely defined as yet (certainly not in terms of religious beliefs), is ‘Persian.’ By saying that he was a ‘Persian god,’ I want to stress that Adad had become, in this period, part of a culture that could not have existed without both its Elamite and (Indo-)Iranian antecedents. This is not the same as to say that Adad enjoyed equal veneration among all Persians, but it does express the notion that he was not an outsider. Adad was one of the gods of the amalgam that may be called ‘Persian heartland religion.’ Some *Persians* continued or chose to venerate this deity, as did, apparently, the Persepolis administration.<sup>751</sup>

<sup>750</sup> Cf. Koch 1990: 102-4.

<sup>751</sup> The possibility may be considered that Herodotus (I.131), when stating that the Persians made offerings “to the winds” (ἀνέμοισι) referred to offerings that honoured Adad (perhaps in the company of other gods). This interpretation would certainly fit a second passage, VII.191, in which the magoi are said to sacrifice animals and utter prayers to sooth the wind (τέλος δὲ ἔντομά τε ποιέοντες καὶ καταείδοντες βοῆσι οἱ Μάγοι τῷ ἀνέμῳ [βοῆσι is Madvig’s emendation of the manuscript reading γόησι]) and to make offerings for Thetis and the Nereids. De Jong (1997: 101) alternatively suggests that the offerings for winds may be related to Iranian wind gods (Vāyu and

4.2. *Earth*

The case of  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  (“Earth”) is different from the case of Adad/ $^{AN}IM^{MES}$  in the sense that there may not be a Mesopotamian background at all, not even in the form of a remote ancestor. The deity (or type of offering) is introduced as one of the “Babylonische Götter” by Koch (1977: 111-2), because  $^dKI$ , “Earth” occasionally occurs as deity in Mesopotamian texts. Nonetheless, Koch assumes that  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  is the Elamograph of an Iranian Earth-deity. She finds support for this in the gods and offerings with which ‘Earth’ appears in offering lists: *lan*, Turma, (the) Mišebaka, Mariraš (cf. §3). For Koch all these are, or refer to Iranian gods, hence the inference that ‘Earth’ may be Iranian as well. Nevertheless,  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  is classified as an Elamite god in later publications by Koch (1991: 100; 1995: 1961).

As for the Babylonian antecedents of  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$ ,  $KI$  sometimes occurs as a deity, but such cases are very rare.<sup>752</sup> In Akkadian texts,  $KI$  occurs as a cosmological and cosmogonic principle, but does not seem to have been considered as an actual deity, nor is the logogram normally used to refer to Earth goddesses like Antu or Uraš. Even though a host of Netherworldly or otherwise ‘chthonic’ deities were venerated in special sacrifices and festivals, offerings ‘to  $KI$ ’ are unknown. The use of Achaemenid Elamite  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  may therefore represent an indigenous tradition with either an Elamite or an Iranian background (or both). As will be argued below, the Elamite option seems more attractive, but it is impossible to pass a verdict on the basis of the available evidence.

Before entering the discussion on the origins of  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$ , it should be stressed that it is not clear whether ‘Earth’ itself is the beneficiary of the sacrifices referred to by the logogram. As has been maintained previously (cf. §3.4.2), the fact that *lan* occurs in offering lists does not mean that it denotes, or refers, to a single deity and the same may be true for  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$ . It is, in other words, perfectly conceivable that offerings made for Earth are actually made for one or several deities related to Earth and/or traditionally venerated by means of Earth-offerings.  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  would then function, in bureaucratic terms, as a catchword, just as ‘*lan*’

Vāta) known from the *Avesta* (on these gods see Stausberg 2002: 111, 131, 146). A third possibility (suggested to me by Amélie Kuhrt) could be that ‘the winds’ are local gods, like, possibly, ‘Thetis and the Nereids.’

<sup>752</sup> Cf. An : *Anum* V.227, where  $^dKI$  (Litke 1998: 189, “listed as an ideogram for  $^dUb.da$  [in the preceding line]”) is explained as  $^der-se-tu$  (“Earth”). In the same text (I.3) the bipolarity AN-KI is explained as “Anu and Antu,” *sc.* the Sky-God and his consort, the Earth-Goddess. Anu and Antu enjoyed worship especially in late Achaemenid and Seleucid Uruk (Beaulieu 1992: 53-60; cf. *idem* 2003: 310-1; Linssen 2004: 14-5, index s.vv. Antu, Anu), but the name ‘Antu’ is never written  $^dKI$  in texts from that period.

or ‘šip’ do. Note that  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  does not have the determinative marking divinity (contrary to  $^{AN}IM^{MES}$  for Adad), which may indicate that Earth itself was not the object of veneration, but this is not a conclusive argument (cf. §3.4.5.1 above). To make things worse, it should be conceded that “Earth,” though seemingly the most likely translation, is not the only possible rendering of  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$ . Based on the uses of KI in Sumerian and Akkadian, “place,” or, as Steve suggested, “place of cult” are feasible alternatives.<sup>753</sup> “Earth” remains the most attractive translation, though, and seems to be confirmed by the use of KI in Neo-Elamite (cf. below).

Earth occurs in two texts. The first is a journal entry (PF 1956:1-2) that records the allocation of 150 qts. of barley for *lan*, Turma, Mariraš,  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$  and (the) Mišebaka to Umbaba the *šatin*. This Umbaba re-appears elsewhere as officiant of *lan*, Mariraš, (the) Mišebaka, [x] and Humban.<sup>754</sup> Within this large clientele, just two gods have a clear background: Mariraš (Iranian) and Humban (Elamite).<sup>755</sup> It cannot be concluded that Umbaba only served Iranian gods.<sup>756</sup>

<sup>753</sup> Cf. Steve 1992: 160 (“terre, lieu, place de culte (?)”) and Hallock 1969: 713 sub KI (“meaning uncertain, perhaps ‘the place’”). Note also that KI, in Sumerian, is sometimes a euphemism for the Netherworld (“the place,” cf. Katz 2003: 8, 244, index s.v. ki). The use of KI as logogram in Achaemenid Elamite is limited to  $^{AS}KI^{MES}$ . The strange KI.DIŠ that occurs four times in NN 1697 logically cannot be anything else than a variant of KI+MIN. In the text, it functions as the ditto sign (repeating ‘girl’ and ‘boy’ in a ration list) and this is confirmed by parallel texts that deal with the same group of workers (PF 0980, NN 1498, NN 1805). KI.DIŠ therefore is not a separate logographic ligature (pace Steve 1992: 160) and does not refer to a special class of workers (pace EW s.v. KI.DIŠ, “offensichtlich eine Bezeichnung für Kleinkinder”).

<sup>754</sup> NN 2372:1-2 ([x], Humban, *lan*); Fort 8960:1-2 (*lan*, Mariraš, [the] Mišebaka). For the *lan* offerings by Umbaba cf. §3.7.3.1 fn. 661 above.

<sup>755</sup> Mariraš is assumed to be the Elamograph for OPers. \*(H)uvarīra- (“Sun-rise”). The name is Iranian, but a deity of this name is not attested in the *Avesta* or elsewhere in the Zoroastrian tradition. *Vidēvdād* 21.5, adduced by Gershevitch in support of his etymology (1969b: 173-4), is just an exhortation to the sun to rise. The etymology itself is also rather problematical (cf. Humbach 1979). See also Hinz 1975a: 130-1; Koch 1977: 94-5; Tavernier 2007a: 98 [4.1.3]. Note that the moment of sunrise, which according to a range of Greek sources was of great importance for Persian religion, also played a significant role in Elamite religion. This appears from the Middle Elamite *sit šamši* (Akk. *šīt šamši*, “sunrise”) bronze model (cf. §6.7.6.5 below). Cf. ¶11 below for the Mariraš texts. As for the other offerings administered by Umbaba: *lan* cannot be linked to any particular god nor does it have an ethnic affiliation (sc. Elamite or Iranian). The name Mišebaka is Iranian (\**Visaibagā* or \**Visēbagā*) and has a parallel in the precisely defined Vedic group of “All Gods.” This does not, however, constitute a decisive argument against the possibility that Achaemenid Mišebaka included gods with an Elamite past or simply referred, as the name implies, to *all* gods (i.e. all gods whose

The second text mentioning ‘Earth’ is NN 2040:2-3 where Amnara the *pirramadda* (“chief [officiant]”) receives 390 qts. of barley for *lan*, <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MES</sup> and (the) Mišebaka.<sup>757</sup> It seems that NN 2040 and PF 1956 relate to the same area, the ‘sub-Fahliyān cluster’ northwest of Persepolis and south of the Fahliyān region.<sup>758</sup> In theory, it is possible that ‘Earth’ was worshipped at one location only, though the different amounts of barley allocated may plead against this assumption (30 qts. in PF 1956; 120 qts. in NN 2040).

cult was supported by the Persepolis administration). The correct interpretation of the name Mišebaka was first given by Hinz (1970: 428) and is supported by Koch (1977: 87-90), Schmitt (1987: 144-6; 1991b: 112-3; 2003: 31), and Tavernier (2007a: 462 [4.4.22.11]); cf. §3.4.2 fn. 491 above. For the Mišebaka texts see ¶25 below. The etymology of Turme/a remains uncertain (cf. ¶15 below).

<sup>756</sup> Handley-Schachler (1998: 197-8) argues that Umbaba was a middleman rather than an officiant. His argument rests on the observation that Umbaba occurs as supplier in PF 0773 (this person may indeed be the same as the officiant). The simple answer to Handley-Schachler’s hypothesis is that Umbaba is not acting as supplier in PF 1956, NN 2372 and Fort. 8960, but as officiant, for these texts name other supply officials (on the texts cf. App.6.3 below). The rules of accountability would not, moreover, allow the suppression of the name of the real officiant as assumed by Handley-Schachler. See §3.5.3 with fn. 543. As for Umbaba, an individual of the same name appears issuing an order in NN 1644. If he is the same as the supplier and the officiant, Umbaba is yet another case of a middle-rank official involved in cultic activity, a quite regular phenomenon in the Fortification texts. The Umbabba (<sup>HAL</sup>*um-ba-ib-ba*) of NN 0466 and NN 1066 may be a different person. On the name cf. Zadok 1983a: 100 [30]. Coincidentally, ‘Umbaba’ is also the name of a *šatin* (cultic expert) in the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts (s 98: rev.4; cf. s 29:4 and s 46:1°).

<sup>757</sup> Amnara does not occur in any other available text. The seal used on NN 2040, designated ‘N 135’ by Hallock, occurs on a number of other texts (NN 0361, NN 2184, NN 2362, NN 2481 [confirmed by M.B. Garrison, pers.comm.]). Unfortunately, all these texts, except NN 0361, are journals, which makes the occurrence of the same seal less relevant for the case of Amnara. See also fn. 758 below on a location in the sub-Fahliyān cluster. On the (Iranian?) name Amnara, cf. Tavernier 2007a: 475 [5.3.2.10].

<sup>758</sup> NN 2040 centres on the town of Zanana, but also includes a link to Kuntarruš (l.1). The latter place occurs in association with Razinamattiš in PF 2084. Rašnumattiš (= Razinamattiš) is the town from where the barley in PF 1956 was allocated. For further discussion see App.6.3 below.

4.2.1. *Iranian antecedents* – Persian worship of Earth (Γῆ) is recorded by some Greek sources. Herodotus (I.131) famously observes that Persians made offerings “to the sun, moon, earth, fire, water and winds.”<sup>759</sup> Xenophon describes two occasions where Earth-worship was put into practice: libations to appease Earth are made by Cyrus after crossing the ‘Assyrian’ border and (animal) sacrifices are performed, upon the advice of the magoi, in the course of a religious procession.<sup>760</sup> Offerings that perhaps may be considered ‘chthonic’ are the live burials of humans mentioned by Herodotus and said to be intended “to propitiate the god said to dwell beneath the earth.”<sup>761</sup> No clear indication as to the nature of the god or gods venerated in these ceremonies is provided.

Some scholars have assumed that certain Old Iranian deities are being referred to by the Greek sources, such as an assumed Persian goddess \*Dā, “Earth” (cf. Av. Zam), the Avestan goddess Spənta Ārmaiti or, in the case of the live burials, the Netherworld king Yama or the evil Ahreman. Arguments in favour of the Achaemenid veneration of each of these deities have been given,<sup>762</sup> but Spənta Ārmaiti, in the Avesta specifically connected to the earth, seems the most promising candidate now that the Old Persian form of her name, \*Spantārmatiš, has been recognised in the theonym Išpandaramattiš in the Fortification tablets.<sup>763</sup>

<sup>759</sup> Cf. Strabo xv.3.13 and Diog.Laert. I.6. Compare also the Scythian Earth-goddess Ἀπία or Ἀπί (*lectio difficilior*) mentioned by Hdt. IV.59 (on which Zgusta 1953 and Nagel & Jacobs 1989: 366-7).

<sup>760</sup> Cyr. III.3.22 (... καὶ Γῆν ἱλάσκετο χοαῖς) and VIII.3.24 (ἔπειτα Γῆ σφάξαντες ὡς ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ Μάγοι ἐποίησαν).

<sup>761</sup> Cf. Hdt. VII.114 (... τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι ...). On the passage cf. Briant 1996: 109, 924 and Pirart 1996: esp. 24-5.

<sup>762</sup> Zam/\*Dā: Nagel & Jacobs 1989: 367, 371; De Jong 1997: 100. Zam does not receive much attention in the Avesta and, despite its name, even the *Zamyād Yašt* (the 19<sup>th</sup> *Yašt*) does not have Earth or the Earth-Goddess as subject. Cf. Hintze 1994: 45-9 (“Unmittelbare Beziehungen zur Erde als Gottheit bestehen nicht, wohl aber zum Land der Iranier”); on Zam cf. Stausberg 2002: 105, 111, 319. Yama (as the god mentioned in Hdt. VII.114): Boyce 1982: 167; cf. the Yama names listed by Tavernier 2007a: 363-4 [4.2.2009-12]. Interpretation of the god in Hdt. VII.114 as Ahreman: Rapp 1865: 77-9; Gnoli 1980: 151 fn. 164. Compare also the offering of a black hen for “the man beneath the earth” witnessed by Boyce (1977: 62-3) in Šarīfābād near Yazd in 1964. Relicts of Old Iranian cults of Earth and related gods: Litvinskij 2003: 37-40

<sup>763</sup> See Razmjou 1998 and 2001 for the identification of Išpandaramattiš; cf. ¶9 below for text abstracts. On the Avestan goddess Spənta Ārmaiti see Boyce 1975: 204, 206-7 and index s.v. Ārmaiti; Koch 1977: 112; De Jong 1997: 100, 225, 268; Stausberg 2002: 96-8, 119, 122, 319, 338; *idem* 2004: 463 and index s.v. Ārmaiti.



The fact that Išpandaramattiš was venerated in Achaemenid Fārs does not automatically imply that she was the only deity with a connection with Earth. One might infer that offerings ‘for Išpandaramattiš’ and offerings ‘for <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>’, essentially denote the same ritual and the same beneficiary, but this is in fact not supported by the available evidence. There is no convincing link (prosopography, places, seals, etc.) between the texts on Išpandaramattiš and <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>. Also, whereas offerings for <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> seem to take place in the sub-Fahliyān cluster, Išpandaramattiš’s cult is attested in places probably located north and southeast of Persepolis.<sup>764</sup> It is, therefore, at least possible, if not likely, that offerings referred to by the logogram <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> have an Elamite background rather than an Iranian.

4.2.2. *Elamite antecedents* – The logogram KI (written KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>) has four occurrences in Neo-Elamite, three of which are in the two larger inscriptions of Hanni of Ayapir (Īzeh). Hanni’s Kūl-e Farah inscription opens with an invocation of the gods Tepti (and) Tirutur and in this context (their/his?) “divine protection in the height (of) Heaven and divine protection in the depth (of) Earth” is mentioned (EKI 75:2).<sup>765</sup> Earth re-appears at the end of the same text, in a curse formula (EKI 75:23).<sup>766</sup> In the second inscription, added to the older reliefs at nearby Šekaft-e Salmān, Earth and Water (A<sup>MEŠ</sup>) appear juxtaposed, again in a curse formula (EKI 76:33-5). The text may tentatively be interpreted as “may the terror of Napiriša, Kiririša (and) Tepti, who have (always?) protected/let thrive Water and Earth, ...

<sup>764</sup> Išpandaramattiš occurs six times. Four occurrences (NN 2200:1-5, NN 2206:1-3, NN 2211:4-5, NN 2337:1-2) can be related to the region north of the royal road (cf. App.6.6 below). The other texts, NN 2370:1 and NN 2290:1-3 (cf. §6.4 ad l.13 below) refer to towns east/southeast of Persepolis. As far as I am aware, the only link between Išpandaramattiš and <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> is seal PFS 0108\*, impressed on PF 1956 (<sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>) and NN 2206 (Išpandaramattiš). This seal is an account seal, however, that occurs on other journals too and does not relate to any particular region. It does not, therefore, provide a convincing, direct link. On the seal cf. Garrison 2000: 146.

<sup>765</sup> AN<sup>MEŠ</sup> *uk-ku-mi-na ki-te-en* KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ba-at-mi-na ki-te-en*. Cf. Hüsing 1904b: 438-9; Hinz 1962b: 106; M. Lambert 1974: 6. On the gods Tepti and Tirutur in this passage cf. Vallat 1983b: 14-5. Koch 1995: 1961 speculates that KI is a taboo-name for the Earth-goddess ‘Murun’ who would have been the consort of Tepti (supposedly a taboo name for Yabru) and mother of Humban. On *kiten* cf. §5.3 below.

<sup>766</sup> KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> *ru-uk-ku-ra pi-tu<sub>4</sub>-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>* AN<sup>UTU</sup> *ir šá-ra-ra a-nu iz-zu-un*, translated by Hinz (1962b: 111) as “als auf der Erde Verlorener soll er unter der Sonne nicht mehr wandeln!” Cf. Hinz 1950a: 293; *idem* 1952: 242-5; EW s.vv. *pi-tu<sub>4</sub>-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>*, KI.lg. *iz-zu-un*, *ru-uk-ku-ra* and *šá-ra-ra*. For the construction with *ru-uk-ku-ra* ([i]r ukku.r)], cf. Friedrich 1949: 25-9; Steve 1967: 18.

be placed upon him!”<sup>767</sup> Though KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> itself is nowhere the object of worship in Hanni’s inscriptions, it is clearly linked to the world of the gods and a central part of Ayapiran cosmology. As Hanni’s inscriptions date to the very last part of the Neo-Elamite period they are chronologically close to the Persepolis tablets.<sup>768</sup> A fourth text mentioning KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>, the *Persepolis Bronze Plaque* (rev.5, in unclear context), also dates to the late Neo-Elamite period and is associated with Gisat in the Fahliyān region (cf. §4.1.4 with fn. 728 above).

Though not in direct cultic context, the Neo-Elamite attestations do seem to relate to Achaemenid Elamite <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>, if only for the use of a logogram previously unknown in Elamite. That Neo-Elamite scribes started using KI is in itself not surprising given the fact that the number of logograms and pseudo-logograms is relatively high in the Neo-Elamite syllabary (cf. Steve 1992: 19; Vallat 1996a: 386-7). KI therefore was probably just a new way of referring to a known concept. But how about the Persepolis scribes: was their use of the logogram merely a continuation of Neo-Elamite scribal practice, or did they also inherit the specific cosmologic and, perhaps, cultic associations of KI? Though there is no formal objection to the first option (whereby <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> could refer to any Earth-god or Earth-offering, including those with an Iranian background), the second seems more attractive if only because there is no compelling reason to suppose that KI denoted something different in the Achaemenid period. It may be remembered at this point that <sup>AN</sup>IM<sup>(MEŠ)</sup> is used for Adad in the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid periods alike. The same is true for <sup>AN</sup>PAP (or <sup>AN</sup>MAN), which is used to denote the god Šimut in Hanni’s inscriptions, the Acropole archive and the Fortification texts.<sup>769</sup> A third example is that of <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>(MEŠ)</sup> used for Napiriša from Old Elamite to the PF texts (cf. ¶5). This pattern of continuity in the use of logograms for gods is limited, but

<sup>767</sup> The text reads: HA <sup>AN</sup>GAL-na <sup>AN</sup>ki-ri-iš-šá-na <sup>AN</sup>te-ip-ti A<sup>MEŠ</sup> KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> ku-tu-iš-da-na ... da-ak-ni. HA is short for *ha-at* or *ha-at-ti*, which in turn is a loan from Akkadian *ḥattu*, “panic, fear, terror” (CAD H 150-1 q.v.). EW (s.v. HA) relates HA and *ha-at* to Akk. *ḥaṭṭu* “scepter, staff, stick” (CAD H 153-5 q.v.; cf. Frymer-Kensky 1977: 194 on the legal documents from Sukkalmah-period Susa). The parallel of TZ 31:7 (*ha-at*) ~ TZ 32:9 (*ha-at-tum*) pleads against this suggestion, however. On the passage cf. Hinz 1952: 243-5; Rutten 1953: 66; Hinz *idem* 1962b: 116; Grillett 1971: 231 (“que la colère du ... (sur lui) soit placée!”); Vallat 1983b: 15; EW s.vv. A.lg, *da-ak-ni*, KI.lg, *ku-tu-iš-da*).

<sup>768</sup> For the date see most recently Vallat 1996a: 387-9, 393 (between 585 and ca. 539 BC); Tavernier 2004: 16-21 (last quarter of the seventh century); *idem* 2006c (ca. 630-610 BC). Note that Ayapir fell in the region under the purview of the Persepolis administration; it is mentioned in an unpublished text (NN 0749) as the location of a *barribaraš* (\**paribāra-*, “covered place” – cf. §4.1.4 fn. 726 above).

<sup>769</sup> On Šimut cf. Hallock 1958, 260 fn. 260 (reading <sup>AN</sup>PAP), Hinz 1962b: 107 fn. 2, EW s.v. Šimut (reading <sup>AN</sup>MAN), Steve 1992: 161 (*idem*), and ¶6 below.

not insignificant. It may be noted that there is no counter-example of an originally Old Iranian god or specific type of offering referred to by a logogram in Achaemenid Elamite. <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> may therefore preferably be understood as an Elamite inheritance, but caution is obviously warranted.

As for the god, gods or offering possibly referred to by <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>, Elamite religion offers a rich palette of deities with infernal or ‘chthonic’ associations, or other connections to Earth. There is, to begin with, a Neo-Elamite text fragment mentioning the [*bah*]ir nappi kikip ak murip, “... protector (of) the gods of Heaven and of Earth” (EKI 73C 2; cf. Henkelman 2002: 7 and Vallat 2002/03: 546). The “gods of earth” may have included typical Netherworld deities such as Lagamar and Išnikarab (at home in Elam since the early second millennium), or gods with a certain taste for death such as Kiririša or Inšušinak. Inšušinak acted as judge of the deceased and had a temple at Susa with the name *haštu*, literally “tomb.” As for Kiririša, her epithet *zana Liyan lahakra* is commonly interpreted as “Lady of the Death at Liyan.”<sup>770</sup> Yet another god associated with the subterranean world is Napiriša, whose emblem is the human-headed snake and who is characterised by the sweet waters that spring forth from the earth.<sup>771</sup>

None of the above gods can readily be identified as the beneficiary hiding behind the offerings for ‘Earth’ in the Fortification archive. There is an interesting link, however, between <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> and <sup>AN</sup>GAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>/Napiriša. Both receive offerings in the district of Razinamattiš/Rašnumattiš, in the sub-Fahliyān cluster. Moreover, the two relevant journal entries both mention the god Mariraš alongside <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> and Napiriša respectively.<sup>772</sup> The geographical proximity and the combination with

<sup>770</sup> Išnikarab, Lagamar, Inšušinak: Bottéro 1982: 392-42; Steve & Gasche 1996 (cf. §1.6 above). *haštu*, Inšušinak: Grilhot 1983a: 5 fn. 9; *idem* 2001; Vallat 1997b; *idem* 1997c (Inšušinak-Ea-Enzag); *idem* 2004b: 180. Kiririša: Grilhot 1986a; *idem* 2001: esp. 148; Grilhot & Vallat 1984. Survey: Vallat 1998b: 339-40; *idem* 2002/03: 537-8, 544-6. Cf. §6.7.6.1 on the possible chthonic or funerary associations of Elamite groves. An intriguing local custom of digging holes to ‘bury’ palm trees was observed by Pézard on the Būšehr peninsula (ancient Liyan). The author discusses an ancient structure seemingly designed for such a palm burial, but ventures no date for it (1914: 34). Grilhot tentatively relates the palm burials to the cult of Kiririša (2001: 147-8). In the context of ‘chthonic’ rituals, one might also think of the Achaemenid-period snake burials on Bahrain, recently discussed by Potts (2007), who, however, relates them to Indian rather than Elamite traditions.

<sup>771</sup> In Mesopotamia, Napiriša was considered to be “the Ea of Elam” (*Commentary* B 1.3 to *Šurpu* II.163 in Reiner 1958: 50). Ea or Enki (“Lord Earth”) resided in the Apsû and from there controlled the waters that fertilise the lands. On Ea/Napiriša cf. Potts 2004.

<sup>772</sup> Napiriša occurs with Mariraš and *lan* (NN 2268:1-2), ‘Earth’ with *lan*, Turma, Mariraš and (the) Mišebaka (PF 1956:1-2). On Razinamattiš/Rašnumattiš cf. §4.2 fn. 758 above

Mariraš suggest that the offerings took place in a limited area, possibly at the same location. Though this does not mean that ‘Earth’ and ‘Napiriša’ can simply be equated – there is no other evidence directly connecting the two – it could be that ‘Earth’ and Napiriša were somehow related.

Proceeding from this observation, it is not unthinkable that the god who profited from the <sup>AŠ</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> offerings was in fact Kiririša, often presented as Napiriša’s consort (cf., e.g., EKI 45 VI.18-VII.2). Kiririša had been introduced to the highlands by the late Middle Elamite period and was still venerated at both Susa and Ayapir (Īzeh) by the end of the Neo-Elamite period. At Ayapir, she is invoked, with Napiriša and Tepti, as a deity who protects/lets thrive water and earth (KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>) – which nicely underlines the possibility that the <sup>AŠ</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> offerings are related to Kiririša.<sup>773</sup> Furthermore, the divine couple depicted on the Middle Elamite reliefs of Kūrāngūn and Naqš-e Rostam may possibly be identified as Napiriša and Kiririša.<sup>774</sup> At both sites, additions to the reliefs were made during the Neo-Elamite period, which is again suggestive of a continued worship of these gods in the Fahliyān region and further east in the highlands. In the end, however, the idea that Kiririša may be referred to when the Persepolis scribes wrote ‘Earth’ remains a possibility for which no definite proof is available. An alternative possibility could be that ‘Earth’ refers to Halma (cf. §4.3 below).

and App.6.3 below. In addition, <sup>AŠ</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> is collocated with Zanana and, indirectly, with Kuntarruš, also in the sub-Fahliyān cluster (cf. §4.2 fn. 758).

<sup>773</sup> On Hutelutuš-Inšušinak’s temple for Napiriša, Kiririša, Inšušinak and Šimut at Anšan (Malyān) see M. Lambert 1972 and Reiner 1973b. Kiririša at Susa: stele of Attahamiti-Inšušinak (EKI 86:5). Kiririša at Ayapir: EKI 76:33-5 (cf. above, with fn. 767).

<sup>774</sup> This interpretation is one of several that have been proposed over the years. See Vanden Berghe 1986: 159 and Seidl 1986: 20-1, with bibliography, as well as the recent survey by Potts 2004, who, combining the evidence from *Šurpu* (Napiriša = Ea; see fn. 771 above), MDP 28 7 (Inšušinak – Ea – Enzag; see Vallat 1997c) and the Untaš-Napiriša stele, reaches the conclusion that the god is Inšušinak/Ea/Napiriša and the goddess Kiririša.

4.3. *Halma*

The deity or divine entity <sup>ANr</sup>*hal*<sup>1</sup>-*ma* occurs only once, as recipient of 120<sup>2</sup> qts. of wine at Hanamasan, in a fragmentary journal entry (NN 0544:1; cf. ¶6 below).<sup>775</sup> Though the name is not attested elsewhere in sources from Iran, there is reason to believe that it is Elamite. There is, however, also a possibility that Halma migrated, at some point, to Elam from northern Syria, hence his or her inclusion in this subsection on so-called ‘Babylonian’ gods.

There are several possibilities of explaining the name of Halma from the Elamite lexicon. Most important among these is the parallel with the name of the fourth Elamite month (*hal-la-me*, *hal-li-me*, <sup>AN</sup>*hal-li-me*, *hal-li-um-me*).<sup>776</sup> The name of this month, in turn, may be a derivative from *hal(li)*, “soil, land” with the inanimate suffix *-me* (so Tavernier 2007e: 65).<sup>777</sup> It is possible that our ‘Halma’ is a variant spelling of the month name. Sacrifices ‘for’ (during?) the Old Persian months Sakurraziš/Ōāigraci- and Karbaši(ya)š are well-established in the Fortification texts<sup>778</sup> and months named after religious festivals appear in the Old Persian calendar (Schmitt 1991b: 112-3; 2003: 29-33). More important, sacrifices ‘for’ certain months are also recorded on the Middle Elamite Haft Tepe *Stone Stela I*.<sup>779</sup> The offering for Halma could fit into this Elamite and Persian tradition.

Halma may also be a cognate inanimate derivation of *hal*, independent of the month name, though it remains inexplicable why the form should end in *-ma*, rather than *-me*. There are several Middle and Neo-Elamite occurrences of *halma* as a form meaning “in/on the land,”<sup>780</sup> but as theonym Halma can hardly mean the

<sup>775</sup> Hanamasan was a town in the vicinity of Persepolis (NN 0229); not much is known about the place except that it had a ‘treasury’ (NN 0229, NN 0653) and that a *lan* offering was performed there (NN 2486:26). Cf. App.6.5 below.

<sup>776</sup> In S 121 rev.7 *hal-la-me* is probably a qualification of *na-pir-ri-um*, a word of unknown meaning denoting some kind of object.

<sup>777</sup> Cf. König 1965: 65-6 fn. 13 (“Boden, Erde, Land”); EW s.vv. *ha-al*, *ha-al.lg*, *hal*, *h.hal.lg*, *hal-la* (“Boden, Land, Äcker, Gebiet, Gegend, Stadt”); Vallat 2000a: 1069-71 (“pays, peuple”); §3.6.5 above. The noun *halat*, “clay, crude brick” may also be a derivate of *hal* (cf. Stolper 2004a: 73).

<sup>778</sup> NN 0613, NN 0679, NN 1679, NN 2259:11-2, 13-4, NN 2348: 12-4, 15-6, 17-9; cf. §6.4 ad ll.12, 14 and ¶24 below.

<sup>779</sup> Cf. Reiner 1973a: esp. p.93; Von Voigtlander *apud* Negahban 1991: 123; cf. Basello 2002: 18-9.

<sup>780</sup> The first MElam. occurrence is in the great Šilhak-Inšušinak stele (EKI 54 I.63; cf. König 1965: 122 [“im Lande”], Grillett 1973: 161 [“dans le pays”] and EW s.v. *hal-ma*). The form also occurs in another text of the same king, EKI 48B: 69° (cf. König 1965: 115 [“(auf)<sup>2</sup> Erden]; EW s.v. *ha-al-ma* [“im einem Land”]). Several Neo-Elamite

same. NN 0544:1 has *da-u-šá-am* <sup>ANr</sup>*hal-ma-na*, “(as) offering for Halma,” which renders it unlikely that *-ma* represents the locative suffix. Koch’s interpretation of the name as “im göttlichen Lande” (1987: 247 fn. 44) is therefore excluded (expected: *\*daušiyam halma*).<sup>781</sup>

Regardless of whether ‘Halma’ is a month name or a cognate formation, however, a connection with *hal(li)*, “soil, land” is defensible and this is apparently the reason why the editors of the EW (s.v. d.*hal-ma*) suggested that Halma might be a deity connected with fertility.<sup>782</sup>

Though the evidence is admittedly from a remote era, the existence of a personal name Hal-dannat, “Hal is mighty,” in Sukkalmah-period Susa, suggests that Hal could be a theonym (so Zadok 1984a: 58, followed by EW s.v. *ha-al.da-an-na-at*). He or she may have been the precursor of Achaemenid Elamite Halma.<sup>783</sup>

If Halma is indeed a deity or abstract divine entity connected to “soil, land,” it would be feasible that an offering “for Halma” (<sup>ANr</sup>*hal-ma-na*) is in fact the same as an offering “for Earth” (<sup>AS</sup><sub>KI</sub><sup>MES</sup>*-na*; cf. §4.2 above).

Alternatively, the Persepolitan Halma could be identified with the homonymic Syrian/South-Anatolian deity Ḫalma attested in the pantheons of Emar and Kizzuwatna around the middle of the second millennium. In Hittite context, Ḫalma occurs as a member of the entourage of the Syrian Išhara, worshipped

attestations occur in the omen text from Susa (Sb 12801 obv.3, 6, 13°, 15, 15°; cf. Scheil 1917: 31 “dans le pays”); cf. fn. 782 below on *halmantaš* in the same text. Another possible occurrence in PBP rev.6 (so EW s.v. *hal-ma*). Compare also *hal-te-ma*, “harvest” (~ Akk. *ebūru*) in Sb 12801 obv.12 (cf. Scheil 1917: 45, “moisson, récolte,” lit. “produit du pays(?)”).

<sup>781</sup> Incidentally, Koch’s proposal that the ‘divine land’ could be a “Hain des Gottes Ahuramazdāh” rests on the circular argument that Halma must be related to Auramazdā because the officiant is an *haturmakša*, and therefore exclusively involved in *lan* offerings (q.e.d.), which are made for Auramazdā only (q.e.d.; cf. §3.4.6 above). Handley-Schachler 1998: 203 speaks of Halma as a “ritual,” which is an interesting, yet unsubstantiated possibility.

<sup>782</sup> The EW tentatively connects Halma to *hal-ma<sup>2</sup>-an-taš* in the NElam. omen text from Susa (Sb 12801 obv.5; see Scheil 1917: 30-1, 41), but the context is rather unclear. Halma may also be compared with *hal-mi* (also written *hal-ma* and *hal-ma-an*; PF 1261, PF 1380, PF 1531, NN 1465), but “seal, sealed document” is hardly an appropriate name for a divine being (<sup>ANr</sup>*hal-mi* in PF 1276 must be an error for <sup>AS</sup>*hal-mi*).

<sup>783</sup> The Neo-Elamite name Hala-kuk may also contain the word for land (*pace* EW s.v. *hw.ha-la.ku-uk*), in which case it would mean “Protection by Hal.” Cf. the theophoric PNS Kuku-Mašti, Kuk-Huban, Kuk-Inšušinak, Kuk-Ištaran, Kuk-Kirwaš, Kuk-Luhurater, Kuk-Napiriša, Kuk-Pinegir, Kik-Šimut, Šimut-kuk, Tep-kuk, etc. (cf. Zadok 1984a: 21-3 [110]).

during a spring and autumn festival for that goddess (Haas 1994: 400-2, 568 with fn. 191; cf. Van Gessel 1998: 77). At Emar, Ḫalma occurs in several sacrificial lists (Arnaud 1986: 350-66 n° 373:93', 372-4 n° 378:12). It cannot be excluded that Ḫalma's cult spread to Elam sometime during the second half of the second millennium. That the god came to Iran at a later date seems unlikely, if only because his cult is not attested in Mesopotamia and could therefore not have been brought to Iran by Babylonian businessmen in the Neo-Elamite or Achaemenid periods. Of course, one might also think of a reverse migration, from Elam to southern Anatolia and Emar. This too remains a hypothetical possibility, however. The absence of evidence that could clarify Ḫalma/Halma's wanderings leaves us with a *non liquet* regarding the question of an Elamite/Syro-Anatolian connection. This, and the positive arguments supporting 'Halma' as an Elamite name lead to the preliminary assumption that Halma was a deity of Elamite descent who was included in the Persepolis pantheon.

#### 4.4. *The Persepolis pantheon*

In the preceding paragraphs it has been argued that labelling Adad a 'Babylonian' god is misguided, as this deity was long since integrated and adapted to Elamite religious life. Adad, as found in the Fortification archives, was an *Elamite* inheritance incorporated in Persian context. As for the offerings for <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MES</sup>, there is no reason to think of a Babylonian background apart from the logogram itself. Offerings for 'Earth' either have an Iranian or, more likely, an Elamite background. The case of Halma is unclear, but an Elamite background is at least a good possibility and there is no reason to assume that he was a *recent* migrant from Mesopotamia. There are no other gods in the Fortification archive for whom a direct Mesopotamian background might be suspected. Similarly, though *bašur*, a term for a particular funerary offering, is probably a loan from Akkadian *paššūru* ("table, offering table"), the context is that of Persian funerary sacrifices, not a ritual directly borrowed from Mesopotamian tradition (cf. §3.7.2.3 above).

The state of affairs is, then, that there are basically only two types of gods and offerings attested in the Persepolis Fortification tablets: those with an Elamite and those with an (Indo-)Iranian background. Obviously, the distinction cannot always be made that sharply, but the important point is that the Persepolis pantheon does not seem to include extraneous elements that cannot be linked to the historical religious traditions of the inhabitants of Fārs or at least southwestern Iran. If 'Persian' is defined as the result of the extensive integration and acculturation of the Elamite and Iranian populations of southwest Iran, and more specifically those of the highlands and its western fringe, then the nature of the Persepolis pantheon is truly and wholly Persian.

That the religious life of Achaemenid Fārs as mirrored by the Persepolis texts is built up only from Elamite and (Indo-)Iranian elements may seem like stating the obvious, but in reality we are dealing with a phenomenon that is both remarkable and consequential in its implications. It is remarkable because other cultural groups, notably the Babylonians, are not represented in the pantheon. And it is consequential because it reveals much about how ‘Elamite’ and ‘Elamites’ were perceived. These two aspects will be treated in the next sections.

4.4.1. *Elamite gods and Achaemenid sponsorship* – Perhaps the most fundamental question that rises from the investigation of cultic activities in the Fortification texts is why the cult of gods with an Elamite background was sponsored at all. Answers to this question tend to include the word ‘tolerance.’ The most clear-cut examples of this perspective come, once more, from the publications of Heidemarie Koch, as the following citation shows (2004: 351):<sup>784</sup>

Sogar elamische Götter wie Humban und Napirischa oder der babylonische Wettergott Adad erhalten von der achämenidischen Verwaltung Opferzuteilungen. Sie sind aber ganz selten und vorwiegend im Gebiet der Elymais, Richtung Susa, anzutreffen. (...) Aus all diesen gewinnt man den Eindruck, dass die Verwaltung unter Dareios I. recht tolerant war und sogar fremdländische Götter mit Zuteilungen bedachte.

The vision expressed here is extreme in that it magnifies the contrast between the Zoroastrian state religion and the ‘tolerated’ foreign cults of the Elamites (the latter depicted as insignificant in terms of occurrences and geographical spread). Other scholars have taken similar viewpoints on the Fortification material,<sup>785</sup> with the notable exception of Dandamaev who argued that the Persians paid respect to the gods of the region they happened to be in simply because those were considered to be its divine rulers (1975a: 197-8):

C’est pour cela que les Perses qui vivaient côte à côte avec les Élamites dans le vieux pays de ces derniers ne vénéraient pas seulement leurs propres dieux traditionnels, mais aussi les dieux de la région où ils s’étaient établis.

As I see it, the rationale of state-sponsorship can indeed not be explained in terms of charity or ‘tolerance’ *vis-à-vis* the subject Elamites (not even if ‘tolerance’ is de-

<sup>784</sup> Many similar statements can be found in Koch’s works; cf., e.g., 1977: 182; 1987: 277; 1988a: 399, 405; 1995: 1969; 2002: 23.

<sup>785</sup> Cf., for example Boyce 1982: 127 (“...the Achaemenians’ tolerance for the beliefs of the ‘anarya,’ and their readiness to support these, as long as those who held them were submissive and peaceable”), 141; Frye 1984b: 176-7; Ahn 1992: 106-7.



financed as a pragmatic political instrument; cf. B. Jacobs 2006: 217). Dandamaev's alternative, a variation of the *cuius regio eius religio* principle, has an undeniable relevance for Achaemenid religious politics. The Achaemenids are well known for their readiness to worship foreign deities in lands over which these gods held sway as part of a 'religious policy' defined by a "politically calculated pragmatism" (Kuhrt 2007a: 128). Perhaps the most blatant example of this is the substitution of Auramazdā's name by that of Bēl in the copy of the Bīsotūn text found at Babylon (fr. 5 l.5').<sup>786</sup>

Yet, in the case of the Fortification archive, Dandamaev's proposal seems mechanical and still implies a certain distance between the Achaemenid rulers and the gods of the Elamites. The decisive step is not taken, *sc.* to question the basic assumption that the Elamite gods were ever considered to be 'Elamite' by the Persians of Achaemenid Fārs.<sup>787</sup> I have not come across any decisive proof that they were, nor do I see any justification for an *a priori* assumption on this important point. Quite the contrary: the evidence suggests to me that the authorities at Persepolis granted offerings to gods of Iranian and Elamite descent precisely because they saw them as *Persian* gods. In other words, gods of Elamite descent were not seen as principally different or belonging to a 'non-Persian' population. The gods of the Persepolis pantheon were those gods who were at home in Pārsa and were traditionally worshipped by its inhabitants, a mixed population with Elamite and (Indo-)Iranian roots. I should stress that I do not envisage the religious landscape to have been entirely homogenous: it may well have been a patchwork of local traditions and groups attached to the cults of particular gods. But even if the religious life of Achaemenid Fārs were extremely heterogeneous, that would *not* automatically imply that the administration made a fundamental distinction between groups of gods or that it considered some gods as 'alien' or, even worse, as 'pagan.'

The model presented above is intended as an alternative to the dichotomist approach advocated (often implicitly) by Hinz, Koch and others. As it is with models, it offers only an imperfect image of the past; its validity should be mea-

<sup>786</sup> See Seidl 1999a: 109-10 and *idem* 1999b: 299. The Babylonian text may also have referred to Nabû, but this is uncertain (*pace* Invernizzi 2008: 244).

<sup>787</sup> Dandamaev (*o.c.* 195-6) discusses the possibility of religious acculturation (based on officiants' names), but still seems to make a distinction between two religious spheres. The approach of Stronach is similar (1984: 486-7, "an intriguingly fluid and relaxed religious climate") as is that of Potts (1999a: 345-8, "tolerance is one thing, financing offerings using state revenue another"). Compare also Hallock (1969: 5, "any appearance of religious syncretism may be illusory; but the texts do testify that the economic administration treated the gods equally") and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995a: 1045.

sured by the range of questions it answers. It is my conviction that many of the topics discussed in this publication can be understood in a much more satisfactory manner on the basis of the proposed model. Two issues that demonstrate this point are the absence of non-Persian gods from the Persepolis pantheon (§4.4.2) and the rarity of the designation ‘Elamite’ in the Fortification texts (§4.4.3).

4.4.2. *The exclusivity of the Persepolis pantheon* – In 737 BC, during his second eastern campaign, Tiglath-pileser III reached the town of Til-Aššurî in the north-west of modern Iran. Like neighbouring Silhāzi, “which they call the fortress of the Babylonian(s),” Til-Aššurî seems to have been a Babylonian colony, possibly founded in the late Kassite period (probably under a different name). During his stay there, Tiglath-pileser offered sacrifices in the local Marduk sanctuary.<sup>788</sup>

That Babylonians set up shrines for their gods in the colonies they founded in Iran is in itself not surprising, but it is hardly reflected in our sources. Despite that silence, expatriate cults are a factor that should be reckoned with, especially in the case of Babylonians in Achaemenid Fārs. By analogy to the Til-Aššurî case, one would certainly expect towns with permanent or semi-permanent Babylonian residents, such as Ḫumadēšu/Matezziš, to have hosted shrines for Babylonian gods. If that was indeed the case, the question arises why those gods were not sponsored by the Achaemenid state just as the ‘Elamite’ gods were.

Babylonian presence in southwestern Iran is already detectable in the Neo-Elamite period. Four texts are drafted at various places in Elam, at Ḫādalū (Hidali), Sumundanaš (Sumuntunaš), Bīt Ḫulammu (Ḫilmu, Pit Hulmi) and [x]. They are dated to the Elamite kings Ḫallušu (3x) and Tammaritu (1x), i.e. between 699 and 647.<sup>789</sup> The texts are regular Babylonian legal documents and the contractants and

<sup>788</sup> Tiglath-pileser, *Annals* 15 ll.11-2. Cf. Tadmor 1994 72-3; Radner 2003a: 49, 59; *idem* 2003b: 121. Cf. Zadok 2002a: 131 on the name. The Ištar sanctuary at the ‘water hole’ of Bīt Ištar, also visited by Tiglath-pileser III, may have Babylonian antecedents as well (cf. Radner 2003b: 128), but the town of Bīt Ištar does not seem to have been a Babylonian colony (cf. §6.7.5 sub B below for references).

<sup>789</sup> The texts are: BM 79013 (deposition; Tammaritu, King of Elam 6/XII/0; Ḫādalū) published by Leichty (1983), A 33248 (adoption; Ḫallušu, King of Elam 15/XII/15; Sumundanaš) published by Weisberg (2003: 13-4, pl. 1; cf. *idem* 1984), PTS 2713 (silver loan; Ḫallušu, king of Elam 2/XI/1; Bīt Ḫulammu) published by Stolper (1986), and VAT 3146 (silver loan; Ḫallušu, [king of Elam] ‘20+1/VIII/[x]; [GN]) published by Ungnad (VAS 4:1 in Ungnad 1907: 1; translation in San Nicolò & Ungnad 1935: 199 n° 165). Cf. Brinkman & Kennedy 1983: 60-1; de Miroschedji 1986: 218-9; *idem* 1990: 71; Potts 1999a: 269-70; Waters 2000: 27-8; Henkelman 2003d: 255-6. Note also NBC 6792 (unprovenanced), an intriguing document on a grain loan that mentions two Elamite personal names, an Elamite month name and the god Šimut (Tammuz 2000).

witnesses all bear Babylonian names. The setting is not Mesopotamia, however, but expatriate communities of Babylonian businessmen or refugees. Of special interest in this respect is the text from Hidali, mentioning an “assembly of the Babylonians.” The institution suggests a significant Babylonian presence in Hidali and a certain level of social cohesion and organisation.<sup>790</sup> It would certainly seem possible that the Babylonian community of Hidali also had its own sanctuary.

In the Achaemenid period, Babylonian presence in southwestern Iran continued. The prime example is that of a group of eleven early-Achaemenid legal documents drafted at, or dealing with matters in ‘Ḥumadēšu,’ i.e. Matezziš in what later became the Persepolis agglomeration.<sup>791</sup> Furthermore, an undated letter sent from Uruk to a certain Nādinu records that 37 persons are being sent to Ḥumadēšu.<sup>792</sup> Again, a certain degree of local organisation among the expatriate businessmen (the majority linked to the Egibi firm) can be deduced from the tablets: we have evidence of a “chief of the merchants” (*rab tamkārē*; BM 30704 and BM 30682), three scribes, a “scribe of the house of the treasurer/weaver” (*ṭupšarru ša bīt kāšīrāni*; BM 30704), and a *ša rēš šarri* (cf. Joannès 2005: 192). Other places in Iran visited by Babylonian businessmen are Susa, Ecbatana, Urazumetanu, Taḥ(u)makka and Asurukkanu.<sup>793</sup> The most interesting site in the

<sup>790</sup> Compare also CT 54 507, mentioning the king of Elam’s decision to appoint a leader for the expatriate Urukeans in his territory (cf. Stolper 1984b: 310 fn. 38).

<sup>791</sup> Ḥumadēšu is a contracted form of Uvādaicaya, which appears in the Bīsotūn inscription as the place where Vahyazdāta (Bardiya II) and his followers were impaled (DB<sub>p</sub> III.51; cf. DB<sub>a</sub> 78). The Elamite version (DB<sub>e</sub> III.19) spells the name of the town as ‘Mateziš,’ and as such it is amply attested in the Fortification texts. Cf. Vallat 1993a: 178-9 and Tavernier 2007a: 31 [1.3.41], 71 [2.3.22], 76-7 [2.3.48-9] for the name and occurrences. Location: Stolper 1984b: 306-7; Sumner 1986: 20-3.

<sup>792</sup> The Ḥumadēšu texts are listed by Zadok 1976: 68, to which add Ash. 1924.1642 (duplicate of Camb. 388 in Strassmeier 1890: 225) published by McEwan (1984: 65-6) and BM 74457 (sale of a sand-coloured donkey at Ḥumadēšu; Cambyses II 26/X/7; Sippar) published by Weszeli (1996: 472-3, 476, n° 2). On the Ḥumadēšu corpus cf. Zadok *o.c.* 67-78; Stolper 1984b: 306-8; *idem* 1990: 168-70 fnn. 12, 21; Kuhrt 1990: 184; Graziani 1991: xvii fn. 20, xxi, xxviii, 8-11 (ignoring Stolper 1984b on the location of Ḥumadēšu); Briant 1996: 83, 99-100; Joannès 2005: 190-3. Most texts date to Cambyses II. Only one dates to ‘Bardiya’ (BM 41455); Zawadski has recently proposed to interpret this as ‘Bardiya I’ (1995). The letter sent from Uruk is AO 7042 (TCL 9 85) in Ebeling 1930/34: 248-51 (n° 310).

<sup>793</sup> Cf. Zadok 1976: 72-3; Dandamaev 1972a; *idem* 1986; Stolper 1984b: 308-9 fnn. 34, 36; *idem* 1990; *idem* 1992c; Kuhrt 1990: 183; Joannès 1990; Zawadski 1994 (suggesting that Taḥ(u)makka, Urazumetanu and Asurukkanu were on the route to Ecbatana); Tolini [forthc.]; §2.3.1. fn. 257 above.

this series is Susa, which, like Ḫumadēšu, clearly had a community of resident Babylonians with their own assembly. A chamberlain (*ustarbaru*) named Šamu seems to have been a leading figure among these people and headed his own House. Also, the Babylonians at Susa interacted with local functionaries, such as a certain Bandakku, *kumaru* (a cultic designation) of Nanaya.<sup>794</sup> As in the case of Hidali, Susa may have had an expatriate Babylonian community already in the Neo-Elamite period.<sup>795</sup>

Apart from Ḫumadēšu, Babylonian presence in Achaemenid Fārs is attested by two groups of sources. First, there are two Babylonian legal documents found among the Treasury and the Fortification tablets and both dated to the reign of Darius I. One, from the Fortification (Fort. 11786; Dar. [x]/VIII/[y]), was drafted at Parsu (Persepolis) and concerns a slave sale. The other, from the Treasury (PT 085; Dar. 25/IX/20), may also have been drafted at, or in proximity of Persepolis and concerns various silver payments.<sup>796</sup> Interestingly, this document again mentions a “chief of the merchants,” like two of the texts drafted at nearby Ḫumadēšu. The recurrence of the term, which is not attested in any other document of the same

<sup>794</sup> Susa texts found at Susa are: Sb 9385 and Sb 9078 published by Joannès (1990), AO 26775 and Sb 11244 published by Durand (1981: 78, 93-4), MDP 36 ‘tablette no 4’ published by Rutten (*apud* Ghirshman 1954: 83-5). There are also 31 or 32 texts from various archives that were drafted at Susa but found elsewhere. Waerzeggers has recently argued that this corpus forms a unified whole and must be related to tax operations, the very reason why leading Babylonian businessmen travelled to the king when he resided at Susa (Waerzeggers [forthc.]; on the texts cf. Stolper 1992c; Abraham 2004 n° 78, 121, 122, 141). One of the texts contains the reference to the assembly [of Babylonians at Susa]: PBS 2/1 100+ (edited by Stolper *o.c.* 75-7). For *kumaru* compare CAD K 534-5 s.v. *kumru*. On Šamu, variously known as *ustarbaru* and *ša rēš šarri* see now Jursa [forthc. 1].

<sup>795</sup> Babylonians are mentioned in several Acropole texts, mostly in unclear context: s 62:5-6 (<sup>BE</sup>*ki-ri-nah-zī* <sup>AS</sup>*ba-pi-li-ra*), s 151: rev.3-4 (<sup>AS</sup>*ba-pi-lī-ib-be*), s 171:6-7 (<sup>BE</sup>*be-iš-šu-uk-ki*[(*-x*)] <sup>AS</sup>*ba-pi-li-ra*), s 207:4 (<sup>AS</sup>*ba-pi-li*), s 256:2 (<sup>AS</sup>*ba-pi-li-ib-be*). Kirinahi the Babylonian (s 62) seems to have an Elamo-Kassite hybrid name (cf. Zadok 1984a: 29, 54-5; EW s.v. *hw.ki-ri-nah-zī*). There are also a number of Babylonian or West Semitic PNs in the Acropole archive (Tavernier 2002b: 148 fn. 11). For ethnic labels in the archive cf. Vallat 1992/2002; Tavernier 2002c; Henkelman 2003a: 213 fn. 114; *idem* in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.].

<sup>796</sup> The Treasury text was published by Cameron 1948: 4-5, 200-3 (on the text see Briant 1996: 455; Vargyas [forthc.]); the Fortification text by Stolper 1984b (along with discussion of the Treasury text and other evidence on Babylonian expatriate communities). See also Zadok 1976: 70 with fn. 100 on PT 085 and the office of *rab tamkārē*, and Zournatzi 2000: 257, 259 on PT 085 and the refinement of silver.

period, suggests a continuity in the organisation of the expatriate Babylonian community at Īmadēšu/Persepolis from the reign of Cambyses through the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Darius. In addition, there is ample evidence in the Elamite Fortification texts for Babylonian presence in Achaemenid Fārs. Babylonians appear as mundane workers, cutting wood or handling grain, but also in more specialised roles such as scribe (writing Aramaic) and *hasur(a)*. The specialists are sometimes designated as *šalup* (free men, gentlemen).<sup>797</sup> There are a number of individuals with Babylonian or West Semitic names.<sup>798</sup>

In short, there is ample evidence that the Babylonian communities in Iran “not only maintained social cohesion, but also had some recognized social standing” (Stolper 1984b: 310). The Babylonians may not have been the only ones to have been treated in this way: the case of the community of Egypto-Carians resident in early Achaemenid Babylonia, which had its own internal organisation and was administered (at least in fiscal terms) as a community in its own right by the regional authorities, reflects a similar attitude.<sup>799</sup> Less clear, yet potentially significant clues as to the organisation of expatriate communities are “the scribe of

<sup>797</sup> Babylonian scribes: PF 1561, PF 1807, PF 1808, PF 1810, PF 1828, PF 1947:23-4, 25-6, 29-30, NN 0061, NN 1040, NN 1255, NN 1369, NN 1511, NN 1752, NN 1775, NN 2394 and NN 2529. Zimakka the Babylonian *hasura*: PF 0783. I hesitate to follow Hinz’s interpretation of *hasura* as ‘Salber’ (1973a: 96-8; cf. EW s.v. *ha-su-ra*). Hinz identifies Zimakka, who is *ukbanzakarraš* at the king’s court (PF 1853) with Zimakka the Babylonian *hasura*. As *ukbanzakarraš*, a loan from Old Persian *\*upānjakara-*, means “maker of ointments (cf. Tavernier 2007a: 432 [4.4.7.112]), *hasura* would mean the same. Note, however, that the Zimakka of PF 0783 receives a higher monthly ration (45 qts. of flour) than the one in PF 1853 (30 qts. of flour), even though PF 1853 is dated four years later. Babylonian grain handlers: PF 1811, PF 1821, PF 1822, PF 1830, NN 1036, NN 1839 and NN 2486:34-5. Babylonian workers (*kurtas*) or travelling workers: NN 0364, NN 0786, NN 1682, NN 2132, NN 2327. Babylonian (elite) servants: NN 0065:3-5°. Babylonian *dakušši huttip*: NN 2534. Babylonian *ašgitišbe*, lumberjacks cutting wood on Mt. Mantiyamantaš: NN 1999. Babylonian <sup>GI</sup>GIR *huttip* (perhaps “potters,” cf. Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.3): PF 0868 and NN 1385. Unclear or uncertain: PF 1865 and NN 0572. Cf. also the overview in Vallat 1993a: 28-30 and the remarks in Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §§2.1, 2.3. On the Babylonian scribes cf. Hallock 1973b; Giovinozzo 1989c: 201-3 (cf. the comments in \*fn. 60) and Lewis 1994: 24-6; Briant 1996: 435, 438, 447; Tavernier 2008 §3.2.

<sup>798</sup> For a recent overview see Tavernier 2002b: 145-7 (cf. Delaunay 1976; Lipiński 1977). Note that about a third of the individuals assigned to produce and communicate orders on behalf of the central authorities in Persepolis have Babylonian or West Semitic names (so Stolper 1984b: 305-6; cf. Vallat 1994a: 267-9; Tavernier 2008 §3.2).

<sup>799</sup> See Waerzeggers 2006 on the Egypto-Carians; Waerzeggers (*ibid.* 8) also discusses a similar case of a group of resident Judaeans.

the Egyptians” known from a Persepolis-like economic text, possibly from Susa,<sup>800</sup> and the title *rb ʾsry*, “chief of the captives/conscripts” in one of the Aramaic Fortification tablets (PFAT 053; see Azzoni 2008 §4).

Yet another indication that the Achaemenid government recognised such expatriate communities may be found in the ethnic labels found so often in the Fortification texts (26 different ethnonyms are attested to date). In Stolper’s words (*l.c.*), such labels

...were not merely a device with which vainglorious rulers expressed the vastness of their domains, and not only reflections of a tactical convenience with which administrators organized working parties with shared languages, but were also the result of some reality of legal behaviour that was necessary for the management of a polyglot, continental empire and observed in the Persian homeland itself.

Tiglath-pileser’s sacrifices in Til-Aššurî are the only solid evidence for cults imported by expatriate Babylonians. Nothing, however, pleads against the assumption that the Babylonians of Hidali, Susa, and Ħumadēšu/Persepolis not only kept their own social and legal structure, but had also brought along some of their homeland cults. As Hidali and Ħumadēšu/Matezziš/Persepolis fall within the scope of the Fortification archive, it is possible to look for indications of such Babylonian cults.

From the available texts Babylonian cults and cultic personnel are entirely absent: there is not a single clue in the *ca.* 100 texts dealing with Matezziš, in the *ca.* 50 texts dealing with Hidali, or in any other Fortification text. Religious activity is attested for both Hidali and Matezziš and especially well documented in the latter case. Both places hosted *lan* sacrifices, but none of the officiants has a Babylonian or West Semitic name and there is no reason to suspect any Babylonian connection.

What is true for Babylonian gods and cultic personnel applies equally to the other nationalities mentioned so often in the tablets. Even though there were communities of hundreds, and sometimes thousands of Lycians, Lydians, Cappadocians, Ionians, Syrians, Egyptians, Skudrians, etc.,<sup>801</sup> the dazzling cosmopolitan hotchpotch of Achaemenid Fārs is not reflected in the state-sponsored cults. At the same time, workers (*kurtas*), possibly including non-Persian groups, did indeed

<sup>800</sup> The designation occurs in YBC 16813, an unprovenanced Elamite administrative tablet. The suspicion that it comes from Susa or western Iran is based on the use of an Akkadian month name in l.7. In the text, Harkipi, the scribe of the Egyptians (<sup>HAL</sup>*ti-pi-ra* <sup>HAL</sup>*mu-iz-ri-be-na*) receives flour rations for a group of ‘Assyrians’ (Syrians) and Egyptians. On the text see §2.1.3 fn. 178 above; on the Egyptian scribe see also Tavernier 2008 §3.2.

<sup>801</sup> Cf. Uchitel 1991; Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.1.

participate in various religious feasts, such as *šip* and the larger sacrifices for Auramazdā and Mišdušiš (on which cf. §5.4.4 below and \*§§6.3.2-3).<sup>802</sup> Still, the gods receiving offerings from public means were those of the Elamo-Iranian homeland pantheon, and those alone.

The reason why the Achaemenid authorities did not to sponsor the gods of the resident Babylonians, nor those of the Lycians, Lydians, etc. is surely not that they rejected those gods. Quite the contrary: their pragmatic, active support of the cults of the many gods venerated throughout the empire (Marduk, Neith, Yahweh, etc.) is well known and, as has long been recognised, incidental punitive measures taken against local sanctuaries always were politically, not religiously motivated.<sup>803</sup> The cultic policy in Fārs need therefore not be explained by chauvinism, but is probably based on the simple logic of indigenous *vs.* expatriate gods. It is hardly likely that the Persepolis authorities would have opposed the worship of Marduk, Nabû or Šamaš by the Babylonian communities in Matezziš or Hidali. In fact, one of the Greek quarrymen at Persepolis has left us his votive graffito, probably reading ΘΕΟΙΣ, “for the gods.”<sup>804</sup> Though the evidence is slight, one may reasonably infer that the Greeks at Persepolis venerated and probably sacrificed to their homeland gods. The authorities apparently accepted this, even from a group of base labourers. Yet, the Greek gods were, in the Iranian context, expatriate gods and their worship was deemed a private matter. This seems also true for the Babylonians, whose presence in Fārs was long-standing and probably of some importance. Their communities were allowed to have their own administrative and legal bodies (such as the assembly of the Babylonians), and were recognised by the state, but this apparently did not change the authorities’ attitude towards the cults that were practised within those communities.

The recognition and organisation of the cults of the ‘Elamite’ gods contrast sharply with the situation outlined above. Not only were gods of Elamite descent sponsored by the state: as Richard Hallock already noted, they and gods of Iranian descent were treated equally (1969: 5). For the Persepolis authorities the ‘Elamite’

<sup>802</sup> NN 0486 reports that 90 Lycian workers at Memaš received barley rations during four months. The statement is followed by the broken word <sup>AN</sup>r<sup>2</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ia-<sup>r</sup>x-nu<sup>1</sup>-x[(-x)]. The position of the word suggests a locality and, as it starts with the determinative <sup>AN</sup>, one might restore <sup>AN</sup>r<sup>2</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-ia-[an-]<sup>r</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-[ma], “in the temple” (a month name can be excluded). On *ziyan*, “temple” cf. q21 and App.3 below.

<sup>803</sup> On these matters cf. (i.a.) Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 1-47; *idem* 1993b; Kuhrt 1983; *idem* & Sherwin-White 1987; Briant 1986; *idem* 1996: 53-8, 66-72, 139-40, 559-71, 987-92 and index s.v. *politique religieuse*; Kellens 1987; Wiesehöfer 1994: 71-84.

<sup>804</sup> The limestone quarry is situated north of the Persepolis platform. Cf. Pugliese-Carratelli 1966: 32-3, figs. 2-3; Roaf 1980: 70.

gods were clearly part of the local religious plethora, they belonged to their own native cultural environment. This is why the label ‘Persian’ seems more fitting for gods of both Elamite and Iranian descent in the context of the Fortification archive. For it is because of their Persianness that these gods received state support.

One thing surely is not at issue here and that is ‘tolerance.’ Whether such ‘tolerance’ were politically motivated or based on outright philanthropy, it would create the insoluble paradox that ‘Elamite’ gods were singled out for sponsorship whereas the gods of those many other religious ‘minorities’ were not.

It may be useful at this point to recall the unfortunate image of an Elamite ‘enclave,’ the model used by Koch to explain the cult of gods of Elamite descent in Tikraš, in the heart of the Persepolis region. Why would the Persepolis authorities venture into this ‘isolated place’ (*sic!*), assess the local cults and set up a sponsorship regime while failing to do the same for other communities whose loyalty was surely needed just as much? The dichotomist model is clearly an inadequate means to explain the sponsorship and equal treatment of gods of Elamite descent on the one hand, and the apparent exclusion of the gods of other communities on the other. The assumption of a *Persian* pantheon offers, by contrast, a viable explanation for the cultic policy applied by the regional authorities of Achaemenid Fārs.

4.4.3. *Cherchez les Élamites* – Remarkably, the Fortification texts hardly mention ‘Elam’ or ‘Elamites’ at all (cf. Henkelman 2003a: 188). Some 10% of the Persepolis onomasticon is Elamite (Mayrhofer 1973: 310), the Fortification and Treasury tablets are written in Elamite, the texts are replete with technical, administrative or otherwise specific Elamite terms, and gods of Elamite descent were worshipped in Achaemenid Fārs, but despite all this there does not seem to be a label for the original population of the highlands.

The ethnonym *hatamtip* “Elamites,” does occur in the Fortification texts, but its use is strictly confined to references to the satrapy of Elam (i.e. modern Khūzestān) and may therefore be translated as “Elam.” There are no cases of resident individuals or groups in Achaemenid Fārs being referred to as ‘Elamite.’ Occurrences of *hatamtip* are listed below:



<i>tablet</i>	<i>seals &amp; date</i>	<i>abstract</i>
PF 1497	<i>no seal</i> ø/22	receipt of flour by 50 travelling <i>zappan</i> (bronze) workers sent from Persepolis (to) the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup</i> ).
NN 0550	<i>no seal</i> ø/22	receipt of flour by 50 travelling <i>zappan</i> (bronze) workers sent from Persepolis (to) the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>r<sub>1</sub>ha<sup>1</sup>-tam<sub>5</sub>-r<sub>1</sub>tup<sup>1</sup></i> ).
PF 1565	•PFS 0017; PFS 1447 ø/ø	receipt of wine by 100 travelling Lycian workers going to the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-ik</i> ).
NN 0123	<i>no seal</i> ø/22	receipt of wine by 500 travelling Lycian workers sent from Persepolis (to) the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup</i> ).
PF 1575	•PFS 0018; PFS 1459 IV/21	receipt of various kinds of grain by 26 travelling Skudrian workers going (to) the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-pi</i> ).
PF 1577	•PFS 0017; PFS 1460 ø/ø	receipt of dates by 108 travelling Cappadocian workers going to the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-ik</i> ).
NN 2040 II.4-6	PFS x (N 0135) ø/(22)	receipt of barley by travelling <i>hallinup</i> people/troops, going from Sagartia to the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-r<sub>1</sub>tup<sup>1</sup>-ik-ki</i> ).
NN 0667	•PFS 0024; PFS y ø/19	receipt of flour by Bagizza and two associates; he (B.) was summoned and sent to Irpak in Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ir-pa-r<sub>1</sub>ak<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub></i> <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup ha-tu-r<sub>1</sub>ma<sup>1</sup></i> ).
Fort. 1637	(no photo-graph) x/23	receipt of flour by Šedda and two servants travelling from Persepolis to the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup</i> ).
PF 1780	•PFS 0017; PFS 1560 ø/ø	receipt of wine for horses travelling from Anšan ‘from’ ( <i>recte</i> to) the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-mar</i> ). <sup>805</sup>
NN 1443	•PFS x; PFS y IX/ø	receipt of barley for horses travelling to the Elamites/Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup</i> ).
NN 0208	•PFS x; PFS 0188a/b* ø/ø	2,060 qts. of wine from the people of Kabbašna Yap ( <sup>HAL</sup> <i>ia-r<sub>1</sub>ap<sup>2</sup><sub>1</sub></i> ) acquired; in Elam ( <sup>AS</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup ha-tu-ma</i> ) he transported it as tax ( <i>uk-pi-ia-taš-ma</i> ).
PF 1858	PFS 0057* ø/ø	letter from Mirinzana to Marduka: ‘... one of our associates is coming; in Elam ( <sup>HAL</sup> <i>ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tam<sub>6</sub> ha-tu-ma</i> ), where I am not going, he will be making accounts ...’

table 4.1: *Elam and Elamites*

<sup>805</sup> On wine (and beer) for horses and other livestock cf. Hallock 1969: 2, 7; Briant 1997b; Gabrielli 2006: 39-41. On the interpretation of this text cf. fn. 807 below.

Though *hatamtip* in the texts in table 4.1 above literally means “Elamites,” it apparently denotes a region as it is always preceded by the determinative <sup>AS</sup> except for PF 1858 (<sup>HAL</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tam<sub>6</sub>*).<sup>806</sup> All texts deal with some form of travelling and in every case “the Elamites” is the destination rather than the point of departure.<sup>807</sup> In the royal inscriptions, the same plural ethnonym *hatamtip*, “Elamites,”<sup>808</sup> is sometimes used in alternation with *haltamti* (“Elam”), to denote the satrapy of Elam and as such it is an equivalent for Old Persian Ūja- and Akkadian <sup>kur</sup>NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>809</sup> As Ūja- in the inscriptions unequivocally denotes the *satrapy* of Elam (Khūzestān), *hatamtip* logically refers to this region too, here and in the Fortification texts.<sup>810</sup> Note that, parallel to this use of *hatamtip*, *parsip* (“Persians”) is sometimes found in the Fortification texts as a reference to Pārsa/Fārs.<sup>811</sup>

<sup>806</sup> Note that DUB in *ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup* was pronounced /tip/; see Schmitt 1970: 74-7; Steve 1992: 148; cf. Tavernier 2007d: 57.

<sup>807</sup> <sup>AS</sup>*an-za-an-mar* <sup>AS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-mar* in PF 1780 is probably an error for <sup>AS</sup>*an-za-an-mar* <sup>AS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-ik* (vel sim.; “to the Elamites”). The sequence of two proper names with repeated *-mar* has no parallel in any of the ca. 840 documents on travel rations. Destination or place of departure may be described by more than one noun or proper name, but there is always only one directional suffix. Thus, in NN 1113, horses are transported <sup>AS</sup>*šū<sup>1</sup>-šá-an* <sup>HAL</sup>*ESSANA<sup>1</sup>-ik-ki-mar* <sup>AS</sup>*ma-te-iz-zí-iš<sup>1</sup>* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka-ik-ki*, “from the King (at) Susa to Parnakka (at) Matezziš.” In PF 1780, the unique repetition of *-mar* arouses suspicion. Also, the supply officer in this text, Ušaya (using PFS 0017), seems to be responsible for wine allocations at Parmadan, northwest of Anšan, along the road to Susa (Hallock 1978: 110; Koch 1986: 140-1; Arfa’i 1999: 39, 45). The horses of PF 1780 were therefore moving in the direction of Susa, which strengthens the case for the emendation “to the Elamites.” Hallock (in a letter cited by Hansman 1972: 119 fn. 114) apparently also assumed a scribal error in PF 1780, but it is not clear to me what kind of error he meant. On Anšan in PFT cf. fn. 817 below.

<sup>808</sup> <sup>AS</sup>*hal-tam<sub>6</sub>-tup*, <sup>DIS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup*, <sup>DIS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tub-be*, <sup>DIS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti-ip*, <sup>DIS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-ti-ib-be*. On *Haltamti* <sup>kur</sup>NIM.MA<sup>ki</sup> becoming the name for the Susiana plain cf. Vallat 1980a: 7-8; *idem* 1993a: cxliii-lv (and *ibid.* 63-4 on <sup>kur</sup>*e-lam-mat*).

<sup>809</sup> Cf. DB<sub>e</sub> I.10 (~DB<sub>p</sub> I.14); DB<sub>e</sub> I.58, 58, 59-60 (~DB<sub>p</sub> I.74-5, 75, 77); DB<sub>e</sub> I.64 (~DB<sub>p</sub> I.82); DB<sub>e</sub> II.2 (~DB<sub>p</sub> II.7); DB<sub>e</sub> II.5-6, 6 (~DB<sub>p</sub> II.10, 10-11); DB<sub>e</sub> III.50, 51°, 53, 53 (~DB<sub>p</sub> IV.11, 12, 17, 17); DB<sub>c</sub> 3-4 (~DB<sub>c</sub> 9-10); DB<sub>f</sub> 3-4 (~DB<sub>f</sub> 5); XPh<sub>e</sub> 15-6 (~XPh<sub>p</sub> 20). See also Vallat 1993a: 90-2 and, on XPh<sub>e</sub>, Cameron 1973: 50. It is commonly assumed that Ūja- (presumably representing <sup>h</sup>Ūja-) continues Elamite Šušān (“Susa”) and therefore literally means “Susiana, Khūzestān.” Cf. Szemerényi 1966: 190-4; Lecoq 1997: 142-3; Zadok 2002c. On the name cf. Schmitt 1999: 5.

<sup>810</sup> Cf. Hallock 1969: 694 s.v. *Hatamtam*, *Hatamtip*; EW s.v. v. *ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup*, h. *ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-pi*; Vallat 1993a: 90-3; Potts 1999a: 321, 324; Briant [forthc. 1].

<sup>811</sup> Cf. PF 1442 (herdsmen travelling <sup>AS</sup>*pár-sip-ik-ki-mar*, “from the Persians,” to Susa), PF 1480 (servants of Mišidadda travelling <sup>AS</sup>*pár-sip-mar*, “from the Persians/Persia,” to

Most texts in table 4.1 can be understood as pertaining to travels to Elam/Khūzestān without difficulty. It may be assumed that this mostly means “to Susa” as it did in contemporary Babylonian documents (cf. Waerzeggers [forthc.]; Briant [forthc. 1]). In one case, a certain confirmation can be found: two groups of *zappan* workers travelling from Persepolis “to the Elamites” in PF 1497 and NN 0550 are paralleled by a third group of such workers travelling, in the same year, from Persepolis to Susa (NN 1856).<sup>812</sup>

There are two apparent exceptions to the use of *hatamtīp* as travel destination. The first is a letter (PF 1858) by Mirinzana, a high-ranking official concerning a planned accounting trip to Elam for which travel provisions are required. I see no reason to interpret Elam (*hatamtam*) in this text as anything else than Khūzestān.<sup>813</sup> That the trip was arranged from Persepolis (rather than Susa) and that a letter was necessary to make arrangements for it may be due to unusual circumstances.<sup>814</sup> The other unusual text (NN 0208) seems to deal with a transfer of

Mataš [Media]); NN 2195: 2-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-9, 10-1, 12-3, 14-5 (seven entries on travel parties, six going from Media <sup>HAL</sup>*pār-sīp*, “(to) the Persians” and one *vice versa*). On the transliteration of the name (<sup>AS</sup>*pār-sīp* rather than <sup>AS</sup>*pār-šīp*) cf. Vallat 1987a. Note that the label ‘Persian’ is generally rare in PF texts. Apart from those mentioned above, there are five more occurrences. Four texts deal with Persians servants/assistants (*puhu*) copying tablets (PF 0871, PF 1137, NN 1485, NN 1588) on whom cf. below. A final text, NN 0516, speaks of *ripi kutip* (“lance bearers”) who are also <sup>HAL</sup>*ba-ir-taš-be*. The editors of the EW (s.v. *hh.ba-ir-taš-be*) considered the odd spelling a “Schreiberlaune” and took the name to mean “Persians” (cf. Vallat 1993a: 210). Note, however, that another lance bearer (*ripi kutira*), in NN 1657, is described as a <sup>HAL</sup>*ba-ir-da*, sent by Xerxes to <sup>AS</sup>*ba-ir-da*. Though the EW (s.v. *hh.ba-ir-da* [“Fehlschreibung”]) and Vallat (*ibid.* 207) again think of Persian/Persia, two unique spellings in very similar contexts are hardly a coincidence. Should *bartašbe* and *barda* perhaps be interpreted as “Parthians” and “Parthian/Parthia” (from *\*parθa-*, rather than *parθa-va*)? Note that Mirizza, the supplier mentioned in NN 1657, allocates flour to parties travelling to the eastern and northeastern satrapies (PF 1397, NN 0690, NN 0692). On *ripi kutip* and NN 0516 cf. Henkelman 2002: 22-5 (where *bartašbe* is hesitantly interpreted as “Persians”). Medes are also rare in the archive: Henkelman [forthc 2] §2.2.

<sup>812</sup> On *zappan* in this and the following text (NN 0550) cf. Henkelman 2005a.

<sup>813</sup> Similarly Hallock 1969: 694 s.v. *Hatamtam* and EW s.v. *hh.ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tam<sub>6</sub>*.

<sup>814</sup> As Mirinzana explains, he did not intend to go to Elam himself, which may imply that Elam was beyond the scope of his activities. On the other hand, Mirinzana might be identical to Mirinzamna (compare NN 2261:36 and NN 0005 [Mirinzana/Mirinzamna sending sheep/goats]). Mirinzamna is a frequent traveller found on the road in five texts: PFa 31:2-4 (Sagartia → Persepolis), PF 1332 and NN 0445 (Susa → Kermān), NN 0828 (Kermān → King) and NN 1621 (Kermān → Susa). If he were the same as the Mirinzana of PF 1858, it would explain the reference to Elam, “where I am not going”

wine collected as *ukpiyataš*, a tax related to the provisioning of the royal table, from the Fahliyān region and transported to Elam. The text is extraordinary, but not unique in terms of transport of *ukpiyataš*.<sup>815</sup> In any case, there is no reason to believe that anything else than the *satrapy* of Elam is meant by *hatamtip*.<sup>816</sup>

In conclusion, there are no texts that explicitly and unequivocally mention or refer to Elamites in Achaemenid Fārs. Whenever ‘Elamites’ occurs, it seems to be a collective term referring to the satrapy of Elam (Khūzestān), not to the inhabitants of the highlands. There are no workers (*kurtas*) labelled ‘Elamites,’ as there are Lycian or Cappadocian workforces. Nor are there any ‘Elamites’ coming from,

(*mur u inni um parimanka*): Mirinza(m)na regularly travelled to Susa, i.e. through Elam, but in this particular case he could not do so. On the text cf. Grillot 1973: 130; Gershevitch 1979: 140-2; Koch 1990: 222-3; *idem* 2004: 241; Brosius 2003: 276. Despite what is printed in Hallock 1969: 511 (“Mirinzana(?)”), the reading of the PN Mirinzana is assured by Fort. 1680 (pencil note by Hallock, i.m.). On higher officials and members of the elite crossing the border between the regions under purview of the Susa and the Persepolis administrations cf. Garrison 1996a: 31-5.

<sup>815</sup> From Babylonian contexts pertaining to the same tax (*upiyāta*, from OPers. \**upayāta*), the transport, even over a longer distance, becomes explicable: transport was part of the tax obligation. On the Babylonian tax see now Waerzeggers [forthc.], Briant [forthc. 1] and Jursa [forthc. 2]. For occurrences in the Aramaic documents from Achaemenid Bactria see Naveh and Shaked [forthc.]: 55. On the term *ukpiyataš* in Persepolis see already Stolper 1977: 254-9. An important text mentioning the word is Fort. 3544, recently discussed and connected with the Babylonian dossier by Henkelman [forthc. 1] §5. Note that Elamite *huthut* (“materials, products, requirements”) may be a partial (functional) equivalent of *ukpiyataš* (cf. EW s.v. *uk-be-ya-taš*). An amount of wine equal to that in NN 0208 occurs as *huthut* in PF 0052.

<sup>816</sup> The wine in NN 0208 was acquired by a certain Yap<sup>?</sup> (< Yabru?; cf. Jones in Garrison & Root 2001: 306-7; compare also Yapma<sup>?</sup> in MDP 55 31:3') from the inhabitants of Kabbašna (<sup>AS</sup>*ka<sub>4</sub>-ab-ba<sup>?</sup>-iš-na-mar-be*). Kabbašna is probably to be distinguished from Kabaš (cf. Vallat 1993a: 121) and can be located in the Fahliyān region based on its connections with Liduma (NN 0819) and Parmadan (NN 0436). The seal on the reverse of NN 0208 is PFS 0188a\* or its duplicate/replacement PFS 0188b\* (M.B. Garrison, pers.comm.). This seal is connected with Kurdušum (PF 0086) and Liduma (NN 0819), both in the Fahliyān region. Commodities are frequently said to be transported from Kabbašna: PF 1894, NN 0436, NN 2052 (ŠE.GIG<sup>MES</sup>); NN 0994 (barley); NN 0819 (figs); NN 0533 (wine). In this case, Yap<sup>?</sup> acquired the wine and took it with him (*kuz*). Logically, the name of the destination should have been followed by the directional suffix *-ikki*, but instead one finds *hatamtip hatuma*, lit. “within/among the Elamites.” This *hatuma* seems inexplicable in the context in which it occurs, regardless of the region indicated by *hatamtip*; perhaps it is an elliptical expression for “he took (and delivered it) in Elam.”

residing at, or going to the towns in the Fahliyān region or ‘enclaves’ like Tikraš, i.e. areas sometimes considered by some to be ‘Elamite territory’ or ‘Elamite strongholds.’<sup>817</sup>

Bearing in mind Stolper’s suggestion (1984b: 310; cf. §4.4.2 above) that the ethnic labels in the Fortification texts may reflect “some reality of legal behaviour,” it is interesting to see that there is no evidence that Elamites were recognised as a minority with, for example, its own legal body (as the Babylonians had). The reason may not be that Elamites enjoyed less appreciation, but rather that they were not seen as a distinct part of the population of the Achaemenid heartland.

Finally, it may be noted that the foremost group of functionaries that one might expect to be labelled as ‘Elamites,’ the Persepolis scribes, are never referred to as such. This is in agreement with the inference that certainly not all scribes were native speakers of Elamite (cf. §2.2.1 above) and with the fact that the percentage of Elamite names among the scribes – about 10% – is the same as the

<sup>817</sup> Elamites in Fārs could theoretically also have been referred to as ‘Anšanites’ but this is also not the case, even though Anšan and, seemingly, ‘Anšanite’ occur in the Fortification archive. The town of Anšan (<sup>AS</sup>*an-za-an*) occurs in PF 0001 (barley transported to A.) and PF 1112 (workers receiving wine at A.). Four other texts deal with horses transported to or from Anšan: PF 1780 (A. → Elam; cf. above), NN 0218 (→ <sup>AS</sup>*an<sup>in</sup>-za-an*), NN 0420 (→ *idem*), and NN 1803 (Susa → A.). Though ‘Anšan’ could refer to the region in these cases, it would seem more likely that a town is meant here too. On Achaemenid occupation of Anšan (to which some surface sherds and at least three column bases attest) see Sumner 1986: 11; Abdi 2001: 91-3 with n. 7; Boucharlat 2005: 230-1. Anšan in PFT: Potts [forthc. 1]. On the GN cf. EW s.v. *an-in-za-an*; Vallat 1993a: 10, 14-5. *anzanra* is interpreted as ‘Anšanite’ by Hallock 1969: 668; EW s.v. *an-za-an-ra* and Vallat 1993a: 15. Though formally possible, the interpretation does not agree with all the contexts of the word. In two texts (NN 1064, NN 1175) a certain Ašbezza is introduced as <sup>HAL</sup>*an-za-an-ra* <sup>AS</sup><sup>A</sup><sup>MES</sup>*-na*. This can hardly mean “Anšanite of the water.” Rather, *anzanra* would seem to be a professional designation, qualified by <sup>AS</sup><sup>A</sup><sup>MES</sup>*-na*. In such cases *anzanra* may be a variation of *ansara*, a designation of senior officials (cf. EW s.v. *hh.an-sa-ra*, “Vorsteher, Inspektor o.ä.”). Another point that arouses suspicion is the fact that all individuals characterised as *anzanra* carried sealed documents from either the King or Bakabana, a top-level official based at Susa, perhaps the satrap of Elam (Hallock 1985: 591; Lewis 1984: 598; Koch 1993a: 8-12). The individuals are: Ašbezza (NN 1175 [add NN 0793 and NN 1064]), Bakadada (PF 0777, NN 0774), Kambezza (NN 0663) and Manni (NN 1997). Note also that *anzanra* is only once preceded by <sup>AS</sup>, the other six occurrences have either <sup>HAL</sup> or no determinative at all. The single occurrence of <sup>AS</sup> is not enough to establish *anzanra* as a ethnonym; cf. <sup>AS</sup>*an-sa-ra* in NN 0546:33 for regular <sup>HAL</sup>*an-sa-ra*.

percentage of such names in the entire Persepolis onomasticon.<sup>818</sup> The “Persian servants who are copying cuneiform documents” (*puhu parsibbe tuppime-sapimanba*) are a group of scribes copying Elamite tablets.<sup>819</sup> That their ethnicity is

<sup>818</sup> Out of 52 completely preserved names, 43 are Iranian (references to Tavernier 2007a): Ansukka (106 [4.2.55]), Bakabaduš (131 [4.2.234]), Bakadušda (134 [4.2.251]), Bakagiya (143 [4.2.305]), Bakankama (136 [4.2.266]), Bakapikna (47 [2.2.10]), Bakapukša (47-8 [2.2.11]), Bakukbama (Bakubama; 140-1 [4.2.290]), Banuka (177 [4.2.563]), Basaza (272 [4.2.1284]), Dahyuka (163-4 [4.2.474]), Harriyamarda (117 [4.2.135]), Hintamukka (Hindukka, 202 [4.2.758, 760]), Irtammišša (298 [4.2.1486]), Irtena (296 [4.2.1472]), Irzabbarra (307 [4.2.1550]), Kamezza (223-4 [4.2.917]), Kampiya (231 [4.2.975]), Karkiš (228 [4.2.954]), Kurdumiš (191 [4.2.667]), Mankam (337 [4.2.1793]), Mardunuya (61 [2.2.42]), Marriya (241 [4.2.1056]), Marriyakarša (340 [4.2.1815]), Masdayašna (244-5 [4.2.1081]), Muška (254-5 [4.2.1142]), Napukka (256 [4.2.1155]), Nariyamana (258 [4.2.1172]), Pišiya (275 [4.2.1306]), Puktena (152 [4.2.377]), Puktezza (152 [4.2.376]), Šakada (360 [4.2.1981]), Šakšabanuš (358 [4.2.1965]), Šamanda (311 [4.2.1579]), Šatruka (359 [4.2.1974]), Šutezza (162 [4.2.463]), Takmaziya (324 [4.2.1688]), Tiriya (326 [4.2.1705]), Ukkampi (206 [4.2.797]), Ukpunda (332 [4.2.1750]), Umayya (207 [4.2.802]), Unuyaka (209 [4.2.815]) and Zakamukka (153 [4.2.383]). Four names are Elamite: Hitehapi (Zadok 1984a: 9 [30]), Pururu (*idem* 1983: 104 [95]), Šati-Dudu (*idem* 1984a: 38-9 [215], 45 [252b]) and Zinuyapir (*ibid.* 48 [292]). Five names are possibly Elamite: Annukruš (EW s.v. *hh.an-nu-ik-ru-iš*; Tavernier 2008 table 1), Kizzipuparra (Tavernier *l.c.*), Nankanuya (*ibid.*), Napsuktaš (*ibid.*) and Šešbeš (in stead of Hallock’s ‘Hišbeš’ in PF 0665; cf. Tavernier *o.c.* 519 [5.4.2.55] and *idem* 2008 table 1). Seven names are (partly) illegible: Da[...]izza (considered Iranian in Tavernier 2008 table 1), Hiš[...]mana (considered Elamite by Tavernier, *ibid.*), [...]išša[...], [...]ka, Šakaz[...], [...], and Zar[...]ena (considered Iranian by Tavernier, *ibid.*). See also Hinz 1971c: 308-9 (cf. my comments in §2.2.1), Lewis 1994: 26-7 (underestimating the number of Iranian names), Basello [forthc. 1] (including PT texts) and especially Tavernier 2008. Rubio (2006: 39-40), discussing the thesis of native Elamites acting as scribes, speculates that the preponderance of Iranian names might be explained by assuming that “the local scribes, bearing Elamite names, were less likely to be explicitly mentioned” (*sic!*).

<sup>819</sup> Four texts (PF 0871, PF 1137, NN 1485, NN 1588) mention the *puhu parsibbe*; they deal with the same group (or parts of it) of 29 individuals at Pittannan during Dar. 23. It seems to me that the *puhu* constitute a professional group, rather than a class of apprentice-scribes (as Giovinazzo 1995: 144-7 assumed). The first reason is that their occupation is written as one word, as appears from the determinative (<sup>DIS</sup>*tup-pi-me-sa-pi-man-ba*; the explanation given by Lecoq 1974: 70 is erroneous). Secondly, the scribes are rather well paid, which leads me to consider them as an ‘elite servant taskforce’ (¶136 fn. 60). Note that although *tuppime* can mean “inscription,” but hardly does so in this case (*pace* Boyce 1982: 138 and Koch 1990: 102). In the Fortification texts *tuppi* always means “clay tablet” (cf., e.g., PF 1942:39, PF 1943:41,

spelled out by means of the rare label ‘Persian’ may logically be explained as a means to distinguish them from the often-mentioned *Babylonian* scribes.<sup>820</sup> That these (elite) servants were labelled as ‘Persians,’ not ‘Elamites,’ is not surprising: only if one continues to envisage the Elamites of the highlands as a socially and culturally distinct group, Persians writing Elamite would constitute a paradox. If one accepts, on the other hand, the basic notion that ‘Persian’ culture was heir to both Iranian and Elamite traditions, there is nothing unusual in Persians writing Elamite, nor in the absence of the label ‘Elamite’ for the inhabitants of Achaemenid Fārs, nor in the state-sponsored cults of gods of Elamite descent.

#### 4.5. Summary

Though Adad’s ultimate origin was indeed ‘Babylonian’ (§4.1.1), he became an Elamite god from the early second millennium or earlier. From the first attestation of his name (written logographically) in the Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb inscription of Anubanini, Adad’s career in Iran can be traced, among others *via* the legal-administrative documents of Sukkalmah-period Susa, the building inscriptions of his temple at Čogā Zambīl and the Neo-Elamite seal of a *šatin* of Adad, down to the

PF 1944:58, PF 1946:76), unless it is qualified as *tuppi* KUŠ<sup>MES</sup> (“Aramaic scroll,” cf. Vallat 1997d: 173 fn. 12). *tuppime* is a derivative of *tuppi*, but it does not have a more abstract meaning like “script” or “writing system.” Instead, it simply means “text (on a clay tablet),” as it did in late Neo-Elamite administrative texts (cf. Lecoq 1974: 67-73; Tavernier 2007e: 66). These observations, in combination with the fact that Elamite is the only language regularly used for cuneiform writing in the Fortification archive, imply that the Persian *puhu* were writing Elamite. They were not writing Aramaic (as they are distinct from the “Babylonian scribes”), nor Akkadian or even Old Persian as Hinz supposes (in Hinz & Weber 1972: 292-3; Hinz 1973a: 22-3). Note that Hinz’s solution was inspired by his surprise at the scribal activity of *Persians*: “ihre Tätigkeit war gerade für Angehörige des Herrschervolkes ungewöhnlich” (in Hinz & Weber 1972: 292 [italics mine; WH]). Contrast this to David Lewis’ remark (1994: 26-7) that “...the Persian boys at Pittannan may give us substantial reason to think that the conquering race did apply itself to acquiring scribal skills.” On the Persian *puhu* cf. Briant 1996: 345, 450, 949. On the Persepolis scribes in general cf. Delaunay 1976 (“presque tous iraniens bien qu’écrivant en élamite!”), Tavernier 2008 and cf. §2.2.1.

<sup>820</sup> One other type of scribe is mentioned in YBC 16813 (published by Jones & Stolper 1986: 247-54): “Harkipi, the scribe of the Egyptians” (*tipira muzribena*). The text is in some respect similar to the Fortification texts, but may stem from another region where Elamite was in use for administrative purposes (cf. §2.1.3 with fn. 178 above). On the community of Egyptians at Susa cf. Joannès 1984: esp. 81.

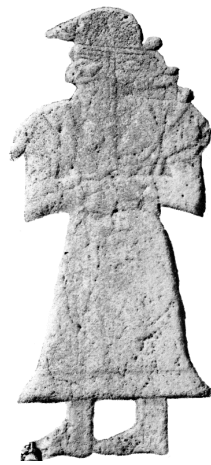
reign of Darius I (§4.1.3). Parallel to the diachronic development of Adad’s emancipation as an Elamite god, there is also a geographical development: the spread of Adad’s cult towards the highlands and, more specifically, the Fahliyān region where he was firmly based in the Achaemenid period (§4.1.4). Furthermore, Adad’s adaptation to his new environment did not stop after he had become integrated in Elamite culture: he subsequently came to be a Persian god. This appears from other offerings performed alongside offerings for Adad by the same officiants, and from the god’s worship at Tikraš, an important town near Persepolis (§4.1.5).

The second god or type of offering that is sometimes described as ‘Babylonian’ is <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup>, “Earth” (§4.2). There are arguments for an Iranian background (§4.2.1), but in the end it seems preferable to consider the cult of ‘Earth’ as an Elamite inheritance (§4.2.2). The offerings for Earth may have been intended for the goddess Kiririša, but this possibility remains hypothetical.

Thirdly, Halma is most likely of Elamite descent as well, though a connection with the Syro-Anatolian Ḫalma cannot be excluded (§4.3). In any case, there is no indication that Halma was a recent migrant from Mesopotamia, introduced by Babylonians working in Achaemenid Fārs.

With the elimination of Adad, <sup>AS</sup>KI<sup>MEŠ</sup> and Halma as possible ‘Babylonian’ gods, the Persepolis pantheon appears to consist only of deities with either an Iranian or an Elamite background. The significance of this exclusivity is amplified by two arguments from silence which, I think, are permitted in their contexts. First, there is evidence for a longstanding presence of Babylonian communities in Fārs whose legal status was recognised by the Persian authorities. Such communities may have worshipped their own gods, but the Achaemenid state declined to sponsor these, probably because the cult of such ‘expatriate’ gods was deemed a private matter. The same may be true for the gods of the Greek, Lycian, Cappadocian, etc. communities in the Persian heartland. That gods of Elamite descent were worshipped may therefore indicate that these gods were not seen as foreign, but as local and ‘Persian.’ Secondly, the label ‘Elamite’ hardly occurs in the Fortification archive and it is apparently never used to describe part of the population of the highlands. There is no sign of a distinction being made between ‘Elamites’ and ‘Iranians,’ nor are ‘Elamites’ recognised by the authorities as a minority with its own rights, like that of the Babylonians. What is true on the human level, may also apply to the divine: just as the native population consisted, in the eyes of the administration, of Persians and Persians only, the Persepolis pantheon was built up from Elamite and Iranian deities that were treated indiscriminately. If ‘Persian’ means the result of Elamite-Iranian integration, the gods of the Achaemenid heartland had become truly Persian.





## CHAPTER 5

### HUMBAN AND THE KING

#### 5.0. *Introduction*

With 26 occurrences in the available Fortification sample, Humban is by far the most popular god. No small amounts were expended for his cult: the total of sacrificial commodities amounts to a value of 6,125<sup>+</sup> qts. of grain. This is the highest amount issued for any individually named god in the archive. Compare the cumulative value of Auramazdā sacrifices, from ten occurrences, which amounts to a mere 1,851 qts. of grain (cf. App.4 below).<sup>821</sup>

Humban's popularity was not a new phenomenon, it was in fact a continuation of an increased interest for this god in the Neo-Elamite period. That Humban's star did not fade with the dawning of the Achaemenid era is obviously highly significant for Elamite-Iranian acculturation.

The following sections aim to offer a survey of the god's characteristics and early history (§5.1) and his increased importance in Neo-Elamite times (§§5.2-

<sup>821</sup> Various commentators have noted and stressed the importance of PF 0339 (and NN 0379) in which 7 qts. of wine are allocated for Auramazdā and 20 qts. for Humban (e.g., Hallock 1969: 19; Dandamaev 1975a: 196; Boyce 1982: 139). Yet, while PF 0339 and NN 0379 could theoretically be explained as exceptional cases based on special circumstances, the cumulative amounts of commodities in ten texts on Auramazdā and twenty-seven on Humban are a much more reliable indicator. I note in passing the opinion of Schwarz, who holds (presumably on the basis of PF 0339) that "the greater expense of the cult of Humban need merely be due to differences between Elamite and Persian ritual, and perhaps specifically the role of the temple in Elamite worship" (1985: 688). This approach fails to recognise the basic notion that the authorities in Persepolis, and not the officiants, decided what requirements would be issued for the various cults. There is no reason to believe that 'Elamite' officiants could have 'demanded' anything in this respect. More important is that the institutional role of temples, if that is what Schwarz hints at, is not attested in the Fortification tablets; temples hardly (if ever) occur as economic actors and are in general rarely mentioned in the archive (cf. App.3 below).

3), followed by a discussion and evaluation of certain aspects of his cult in the Achaemenid period (§§5.4.1-4).<sup>822</sup>

### 5.1. *Humban's older history*

It has, for a long time, been supposed that Humban was, during the second millennium, referred to by a taboo name, viz <sup>AN</sup>GAL (or DINGIR.GAL), lit. "Great God" (also written syllabically: Napi-riša, "Great God"). Jensen first proposed the hypothesis (1892a: 60-1), but its clearest elaboration was given by Hinz in 1965 (repeated in *idem* 1972/75c). Based on the <sup>AN</sup>GAL/Humban equation, older publications list a great variety of inscriptions supposedly referring to Humban.<sup>823</sup>

Serious doubts on the identification of <sup>AN</sup>GAL and Humban were subsequently expressed by Steve (1967: 28-9), followed by de Miroschedji (1980). The latter convincingly showed that <sup>AN</sup>GAL is indeed to be read 'Napiriša,' but that Napiriša had always been a god in his own right, distinct from Humban.<sup>824</sup> Koch has tried to save Hinz' theory by proposing that Napiriša started as a taboo-name but soon developed into a discrete deity (1977: 101, 106).<sup>825</sup> This suggestion has

<sup>822</sup> Georg Hüsing's strange yet intriguing study 'Der elamische Gott Memnon' (1916a) may be briefly mentioned here. Its seeks to connect a number of proper names, such as Anubanini, Bīt Hamban, biblical Haman, Egyptian Ammon, Greek Memnon (taken to be inspired by king Huban-numena) and Japanese (!) Hačiman to "südelamisch" Humban (see also *idem* 1908c: 17-8). All this is set in a breathtaking display of myths, supposedly interconnected and ultimately revealing the true and ancient nature of the god. Though of little historical interest, the study remains a captivating Elamological curiosity that does full justice to Cameron's epithet "the brilliant, erratic" for Hüsing (1948: 17 fn. 114). Note also the Humban-Oman connection suggested by Hüsing 1916b: 10 fn. 5 and approved by Van Gelderen (1924: 16-7) in his equally intriguing study on Elamite 'paganism' ("more impudent than that of the Babylonians" [*ibid.* 11]).

<sup>823</sup> Cf., e.g., Cameron 1936 index s.v. Huban; Hinz 1971d: 664-6; *idem* 1976/80a; Labat 1975b: 390-1, 403-10.

<sup>824</sup> Earlier still, Scheil (1901: 3-4) doubted the equation. Bork believed that <sup>AN</sup>GAL, which he already read as *nappi rišarra*, did at least not always refer to Humban (1933b: 168-9 fn. 5). See also the objection raised by König 1965: 118-9 fn. 6. In addition to Napiriša, Hinz (1976/80b) surmised that Kiririša also was a taboo-name (for Pinigir). This theory has been convincingly discredited by Grillot & Vallat 1984: 27-9.

<sup>825</sup> Koch proposes, without discussing *any* of Steve's and de Miroschedji's decisive arguments, that Napiriša emerged as a separate god in the Middle Elamite period and was henceforth mentioned alongside Humban, as in EKI 54 l.1-4 (on which cf. below). The same position is taken by the EW s.v. DINGIR.GAL ("ursprünglich Tabu-Name für

not been followed by others, however, and the view that Humban and Napiriša had always been separate gods is now generally accepted (cf., e.g., Vallat 2002/03: 533). As a consequence, the evidence on Humban is more limited than previously assumed, but it still provides some glimpses of the god's stature and persona in the successive Elamite pantheons.

The earliest text mentioning Humban's name is a six-columned Old Elamite tablet commonly known as the *Treaty of Narām-Sîn*. The treaty, still partly incomprehensible, was concluded between Narām-Sîn of Akkad (2260-2223 BC) and an anonymous Elamite ruler of uncertain background. The text opens with an invocation of a great number of Elamite and Akkadian gods. The second named deity, after the goddess Pinigir, is Humban (<sup>AN</sup>*hu-ba-an*; EKI 2 I.4).

Cameron (1936: 34) conjectured that Narām-Sîn's Elamite ally "most probably" was Hita, eleventh king of the Dynasty of Awan. This proposal has met with much agreement, but remains hypothetical.<sup>826</sup> The Elamite treaty party is usually considered to have been a non-Susian king, because Susa and its surroundings seem, at this time, to have been controlled by the agents of the king of Akkad (cf. esp. M. Lambert 1979), whereas the anonymous Elamite king seems to have been the ruler of an autonomous principality. This leads to the possibility that an Elamite entity beyond the Susiana, plausibly (but not necessarily) the paramount principality of Awan, was party to the treaty. It may be questioned though, whether such information is adequate to rubber-stamp Humban as an 'Awanite god' or a god of particular importance within the Awanite pantheon.<sup>827</sup> That Humban appears as the second god and some other gods (Napiriša, Kiririša) are not mentioned at all, does not necessarily point to a regional or specifically Awanite background: it may simply be due to his general importance or popularity among the Elamite-speaking populations of this period. Moreover, one may contrast the apparent high ranking of Humban with that of Inšušinak, who is listed only sixth, but who is called upon at least four more times (nine if restored passages are included). If Susa's city-god, who was surely not at home in Awan, was so important to the anonymous Elamite king, it is hard to see why Humban, who is,

Elams obersten Gott Humban, dann zu selbständiger Gottheit geworden") and repeated in Koch 1987: 258, 1988a: 403, 1991: 96, 2002: 22 (etc.). Some reservations are expressed, however, in Koch 1998/01: 163.

<sup>826</sup> On the text and its historical context cf. Hinz 1967b; Kammenhuber 1974: esp. 172-5, 210-3; M. Lambert 1979; Vallat 1980a: 5-6; Stolper in Carter & Stolper 1984: 14; Potts 1999a: 111; Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 425-6; Koch 2005a: 283-7.

<sup>827</sup> As Vallat proposes (1998b: 308; 2002/03: 530, 532), "au panthéon d'Awan on peut attribuer Pinikir, Humban ..."). Similarly: de Miroschedji 1980: 132-3.

apparently, mentioned only once, would have to be considered a typically ‘Awanite’ god.<sup>828</sup>

From the same period as the *Treaty of Narām-Sîn* is a group of Old Akkadian administrative texts from Susa. One of these refers, apparently, to a festival or sacrificial day for Humban (MDP 14 3 rev.9; cf. Legrain in Scheil & Legrain 1913: 63-4). The text documents grain allocations for various beneficiaries (the crown prince, the queen) and various purposes, including “the day of ŠE.IR-Humban.” This expression was taken by Legrain to mean “lever brillant de Humban.”<sup>829</sup> As MDP 14 3 was found at Susa it logically pertains to Humban’s cult in the city or its immediate environment, though the text is not explicit on the location.

For the ensuing Sukkalmah period, the evidence pertaining to Humban is confined to personal names like Humbaba, Kuk-Huban and Kuri-Humban, which are attested in the Akkadian legal and economic texts from Susa.<sup>830</sup>

In the second half of the second millennium, Humban appears in several Middle Elamite royal inscriptions. One of these texts (EKI 12d = TZ 40), known from four inscribed bricks found at Čoḡā Zانبیل, relates the construction of an Humban-temple of baked bricks (*siyan humbanme upat hussipme*) dedicated by Untaš-Napiriša to Humban of the *siyan-kuk* (i.e. the Čoḡā Zانبیل complex).<sup>831</sup> Another text, the great stele of Šilhak-Inšušinak I, opens with an invocation of

<sup>828</sup> In fact, the profile of Inšušinak in the Treaty makes me wonder whether the text is not quite Susa-oriented after all. However that may be, there are no “Gods of Susa” in the text; Hinz (1967b: 68, 91) initially recognised “Susa-Götter” in II.12°, but this would require an unparalleled spelling of the city name. The suggestion has since been withdrawn by Hinz himself (EW s.v. [d].s[u-h-si]-ib-ba). Apart from Inšušinak, other gods, such as Nahhunte (Nahiti), are also invoked several times in the Treaty.

<sup>829</sup> ŠE.IR (and ŠE.IR.ZI) may be read as Akk. *šarūru*, “radiance” (cf. CAD Š/2 140 with references). The EW s.v. *še-ir.hu-um-ba-a[n]* proposes “Humban-Fest.”

<sup>830</sup> Some of the names are: Humbaba in MDP 10 100 (Scheil 1908: 67); Kuri-Humban in MDP 22 71 (Scheil 1930: 84-5); Humbaba-ARAD.DINGIR in MDP 22 163 (*ibid.* 172-4); Humban[...] in MDP 23 285 (Scheil 1932b: 152-4); Humba-šemi in MDP 23 327 (*ibid.* 197-8; cf. Zadok 1984a: 56); Kuk-Huban MDP 28 396 (Scheil 1939: 39); Šimut-Humban in MDP 28 471 (*ibid.* 111-2). Compare also Huba-simti, Sukkal of Elam according to BIN 9 438:21-4 (Crawford 1954 pl. 75; cf. Zadok 1984a: 51; EW s.v. *hu-ba.si-im-ti*). For Elamite theophoric names with Humban in Akkadian and Elamite texts of all periods see Zadok 1976: 63; 1983a: 100-1 [30]; 1984a: 11-13 [48, 48a], 60 [48]; 1990; 1991: 232-4; 1994: 34 and *passim*; 2002a: 128-30.

<sup>831</sup> The name Humban is spelled <sup>AN</sup>*hu-ban* and <sup>AN</sup>*hu-um-ban* in the four known copies of the text. A series of virtually identical inscriptions has Inšušinak, Kiririša, Nusku, Nabû, etc., instead of the name of Humban (EKI 12-12g). One of these, EKI 12, is included in Malbran-Labat 1995 as IRS 28.

eleven gods, beginning with [Napiriša], Inšušinak, Kiririša and Humban (EKI 54 I.1-4). All the gods are invoked by their names and epithets; Inšušinak and Humban are both called *rišar nappipir*, “the greatest of the gods” (or: “great among the gods”).<sup>832</sup> A third text, an unpublished inscription on a ‘crapaudine’ (door socket), by Šilhak-Inšušinak, reportedly also mentions Humban (<sup>AN</sup>*hu-ban*; cf. de Miroschedji 1980: 131). Finally, a stele, again commissioned by Šilhak-Inšušinak, mentions “a residence” for Humban *elu*” (EKI 47:64), which was rebuilt by Šilhak-Inšušinak.<sup>833</sup>

[...] <sup>II.64</sup> *mu-ur-ti* <sup>AN</sup>*hu-ban e-lu-me ha-la-at-[ni ku-ši-ik]* <sup>65</sup> *a-ak mi-sir-ma-na ù e-ri-  
en-tum<sub>4</sub>-ia pe-ip<sup>1</sup>-ši-* <sup>66</sup> *ih ku-ši-ih su-uh-mu-tú ma-al-ši-in-ni hu-ut-* <sup>67</sup> *tah a-ak a-  
ha ta-ah ka<sub>4</sub>-as-su ma-lu-na a-ha ta-* <sup>68</sup> *at-tah*

<sup>II.64</sup> [at GN<sup>2</sup>], the high residence of Humban, as it was made of crude brick <sup>65-6</sup> and was becoming dilapidated, I renewed (and) (re)built (it) in baked brick; <sup>66-7</sup> I made an alabaster stele and set it up here/there; <sup>67-8</sup> wooden horn(s) I set up here/there.

<sup>832</sup> In the case of Humban, the epithet is restored (*e* <sup>AN</sup>*hu-ban*<sup>1</sup> [*ri-ša-ar na-ap-pi-]pi-ir*). The restoration of *nappipir* is justified by the context (the form occurs four more times in the invocation). Humban is called *rišar nappirra*, “great god” in EKI 75:4 (on which cf. below). On EKI 54 see also §3.6.1.1 above.

<sup>833</sup> For the first part of the interpretation given here cf. §6.7.6.2 below. The translation “residence” for *murti* is based on the assumption that the word is a cognate of in NElam. *murtinra*, “[DN] who resides [in GN]” (EKI 76:16) and AElam. *murdak*, *murtuk*, *murtukka*, etc., “residing” (e.g., DB<sub>e</sub> II.5 and PF 2070; cf. EW s.vv. and Tavernier 2007d: 267). The word *suhmutu*, “stele, stone inscription” describes a number of monuments, including the inscription added to the Victory Stele of Narām-Sîn after it had been taken from Sippar by Šutruk-Nahhunte (EKI 22:5; cf. M. Lambert 1955a: 43; Grillot 1971: 226; Kammenhuber 1974: 199-200; EW s.v. *su-h-mu-tú*; Rossi 2000: 2080). It appears as a loan word (*sumītu*) in the Akkadian texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa (CAD S 378 s.v. *sumītu*; cf. CAD A/2 348-9 s.vv. *asumittu*, *asūmu* and §3.7.7 sub B below). On the passage cf. Grillot 1973: 136. The translation “alabaster” for *malšinni* is based on EKI 71A-B, two inscriptions on alabaster horns, described in those texts as *kassu malšiya* (cf. EW s.v. *ma-al-ši-in-ni*). On *kassu*, “horn” (also “rhyton”) and horns on Elamite temples cf. Stolper 1984a: 68-9; Potts 1980; EW s.v. *qa-as-su*; Vallat 1990d; Giovinozzo 2000; Basello [forthc. 2]. On possible Afroasiatic cognates see Blažek 2002a: 129 and Starostin 2002: 161. *malu*, “wood,” has been explained as such by Hinz 1950c (also discussing the present passage); cf. EW s.v. *ma-lu*. For EKI 47 see also Grillot 1983a and *idem* 1987: 57-9, where passages from the beginning of the inscription are analysed. Part of the EKI 47 (but not the passage under discussion) also occurs as a brick inscription (MDP 53 19 = IRS 48).

Most probably *elu* in *huban elume* is a loan from Akkadian *elû*, “high, exalted” which also occurs in Middle Elamite *alumelu-* “high city, acropolis” (= Akk. *ālum elû*).<sup>834</sup> It is usually considered to be an epithet of Humban (“Humban the exalted”), but it may also, and perhaps more likely, be a qualification of his sanctuary (“high residence of Humban”). The location of the temple, with its alabaster stele and wooden horns (a common element in Elamite religious architecture) remains, as yet, unknown.

## 5.2. Pre-Achaemenid popularity

In the Neo-Elamite period, there is a sudden and conspicuous increase in theophoric personal names with ‘Humban.’<sup>835</sup> Though onomastic studies are no

<sup>834</sup> Cf. Scheil 1901: 86 fn. 5; Steve 1967: 29; EW s.v. *d.hu-ban.e-lu*. On *alumelu-* see EW s.vv. *a-li-e-li-ri*, *a-li-im-e-li-ri*, *a-li-me-li-ri*, *a-li-me-lu*, *a-li-me-lu-ur-ra*, *a-lu-me-lu*, *a-lu-me-lu-ri*; cf. Stolper 2004a: 72; 90.

<sup>835</sup> Zadok 1976: 63; *idem* 1984a: 11-13 [48, 48a], 60 [48]; *idem* 1991: 232-4; *idem* 2002a: 128-30; Amiet 1973; W.G. Lambert 1979: 27 [n° 83]; Vallat 1992; Stolper 1998b; Waters 2000 index s.vv. *huban-*, *umba-*, *umman-*; Henkelman 2003a: 221-3 (Kal. 5, Kal. 7, Kal. 15). Three persons with Humban names merit special attention. First, an **Ḫumbareš**, city-lord of Naḫšimarti, swore a loyalty oath (*adû*) to Esarhaddon (Parpola & Watanabe 1988: 28-9 n° 6:3). Not only is his name Elamite (Zadok 1984a: 12 [48]; *idem* 2002a: 129; EW s.v. *v.hu-um-ba-ri-eš*), the name of the city Naḫšimarti probably is too (*pace* Zadok 2002a: 129; cf. the PN Akšimarti in Kal. 10 [Henkelman 2003: 223] and Zadok *o.c.* 5 [5b], 27-8 [139 sub *Mart*]). Radner (2003a: 59-60) recently drew attention to our city-lord Ḫumbareš, who may be the same as the Ḫumbareš mentioned in a letter (CT 53 638; cf. Parpola & Watanabe 1988: xxxi; Baker & Schmitt 2000). In this letter, and another (CT 53 376), Ḫumbareš occurs alongside references to Elam; he is also once collocated with an official with the Elamite name Ḫumbappi (*ibid.*). In addition, there is a reference to *kitru*, “(military) help, aid,” which convincingly identifies the Ḫumbareš of the letters with that of the *adê*-treaty (cf. Luukko & Van Buylaere 2002: xxii, xlviii n. 43, 128 n° 146-7). Following Liverani’s thesis on the *adê* texts (1995), one may infer from the evidence cited that people from Elam, or at least a region with Elamite cultural influence, served, like the Medes, as palace guards at Esarhaddon’s court. A second conspicuous case is that of **Huban-nikaš** ([<sup>m</sup>*u*]m-ma-an-ga-áš), brother of Na’id-Marduk and Nabû-zer-kitti-lišir, and thus son of Merodach-baladan, in a Neo-Assyrian inscription (K 8523). Matthew Waters, in his recent discussion of the text (2002b), plausibly suggests a marriage between Merodach-baladan and an Elamite woman. She might have been a sister or daughter of Merodach-baladan’s ally, Huban-nikaš I (743-717 BC). Thirdly, a certain **Huban-ahpi** occurs in the seal inscription “Šeraš daughter of Huban-ahpi” on PFS 0077\*, an ‘Anzanite’

more than a very crude guide to religious beliefs and preferences, it cannot be denied that a certain change occurred in Elamite personal names sometime during the first millennium. The royal names, perhaps a more reliable indicator because of their programmatic nature, show the same trend. Up to the Neo-Elamite period, only two monarchs with ‘Humban’ in their name are known: Huba-simti (Old Akkadian period, cf. §5.1 fn. 830 above) and Huban-numena (ca. 1350-1340 BC).<sup>836</sup> In the Neo-Elamite period there are at least thirteen kings and claimants to the throne with Humban names (not counting the many other members of the dynasties with such names), the latest being Ummanuš (Old Persian Imaniš), the assumed royal name of the ‘rebel’ Martiya who claimed to be king of Elam and was subsequently defeated by Darius (DB<sub>e</sub> II.4-8).<sup>837</sup> The case of Ummanuš is especially noteworthy because his original name, Martiya, and his patronym, Cī<sup>n</sup>caxriš, are probably Iranian and because he is said to have come from Kuganakā (cf. Kuknakka) in Fārs. Under such circumstances, the royal name Ummanuš must

heirloom seal used in the Fortification texts by the royal steward Rašda, who was especially involved in managing the workforce of the royal woman Irdabama (see Garrison [forthc. 1], Henkelman [forthc. 1] §3 and fig. 2.10 in §2.2.4 above). The seal image is an audience scene with an enthroned female. The three elements – mention of a female name with patronym, audience scene, and secondary use as heirloom seal by a royal steward – are suggestive of an elite context and make it likely that Huban-ahpi and Šeraš were members of an important family, possibly a local dynasty. Another mention of (the same?) Huban-ahpi is in an inscription (“Šuktiti son of Huban-ahpi”) on a seal from Neo-Elamite Susa (Aruz 1992: 213). The name also occurs in the Acropole archive (see EW s.v. *hu-ban.a-h-pi*); there, an Huban-ahpi is once labeled as a Šulluggian (<sup>BE</sup>*hu-ban a-ah-pi* <sup>AS</sup>*šu-ul-lu-ug-gi-ra* in S 123 rev.3-4). Is it a coincidence that the royal woman Irdabama, who herself also used an ‘Anzanite’ heirloom seal (PFS 0051, an observation stressed by Root [forthc.]), owned an estate at Šullaggi? On this estate see Henkelman *l.c.*; cf. §6.6.6 fn. 981 below.

<sup>836</sup> There is also one prince with an Humban name: Šilhak-Inšušinak I had a son called Kutir-Humban (*ku-tir-<sup>AN</sup>hu-ban*). The name appears in EK1 40:13-4 (= IRS 50:13), EK1 41:21-2 (= IRS 47:21-2), EK1 45 III.5-6, EK1 47:33 (compare MDP 53 19:25-6), EK1 59:5-6 (= IRS 39:5), MDP 53 15:6 in Steve 1987: 32 (= IRS 45:6; cf. Stolper 1978b: 89-90) and on a series of Hutelutuš-Inšušinak bricks (M. Lambert 1972: 64, II.20-1; M 002:10' in Reiner 1973b: 60; MDP 53 21:20 in Steve 1987: 46-7; cf. TTM 102:4<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>837</sup> The names are: Huban-tahra, Huban-immena (2x), Huban-nikaš (2x), Huban-haltaš (3x), Te'umman, Huban-habua, Ummanunu, Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, Huban-šuturuk and Ummanuš (cf. Vallat 1995; *idem* 1996a; Waters 2000; Tavernier 2004). They represent about half of the Neo-Elamite royal names (Vallat 2002/03: 535).



have been a highly conscious choice, expected to engender enthusiasm among the Elamites of Khūzestān.<sup>838</sup>

There are also a few geographical names containing the element ‘Humban,’ some more obvious than others. We may single out Til Humba (“Hill of Humban”), apparently situated at Elam’s western border and mentioned in the Assyrian sources.<sup>839</sup>

There are four Neo-Elamite texts mentioning the god Humban: an administrative tablet from the Acropole archive and three inscriptions commissioned by Hanni of Ayapir, Tepti-Huban-Insušnak, and, possibly, by Atta-hamiti-Insušnak.<sup>840</sup>

<sup>838</sup> Cf. Henkelman 2003a: 183-4 with fn. 7 (correct “Imanuš” to “Imaniš”) and Tavernier 2004: 27-8 with fn. 17. Poebel already saw that, by using the name Ummanuš, the rebel “evidently claimed to be the descendant of Elamite kings” (1938a: 148 fn. 8). Ci<sup>n</sup>caxriš and Martiya: Tavernier 2007a: 15 [1.2.12], 20 [1.2.24] (with references).

<sup>839</sup> Cf. Parpola 1970: 354; Zadok 1976b: 388 fn. 9; *idem* 2002a: 130; EW s.v. URU.til. d.humba. Given possible Humban names like Imbadara, Imbadena, and Ibinapir (Zadok 1984a: 12), the name of the Elamite town Bīt Imbī may also contain the divine name (cf. Jensen 1892b: 213). Bīt Imbī was a royal town at Elam’s northwestern border (in the proximity of Dēr); it was captured by Sargon and Esarhaddon, re-built, fortified, and then captured again (twice) by Assurbanipal (cf. König 1938, Parpola 1970: 83-4 and Zadok 1985: 92). In the annals of that king it is stated that the place was under the command of the son-in-law of the king of Elam, Imbappi (prisms A IV.23-v.10 ~ F III.46-61; cf. Aynard 1957: 44-7, Borger 1996: 46-7, 237-8 and §1.4.4 sub K above), whose name is based on ‘Humban’ according to Zadok (1984a: 12; EW s.v. v.am-ba-ap-[pi], v.im-ba-ap-pi; cf. Jensen 1892a: 59; Waters 1998). On Bīt Imbī (also depicted on the Nineveh reliefs) cf. de Miroschedji 1986; *idem* 1990: 51, 67; Córdoba 1997: 14; Waters 2000: 53, 70; Henkelman 2003d: 255 with fn. 7. From the Middle Elamite period a place called Bīt Hubban ([<sup>AS</sup>pi-]it<sup>n</sup> hu-ub-ba-ni, “House of Humban”) is known from a list of towns conquered by Šilhak-Inšušinak (EKI 54 III.42). Cf. Cameron 1936: 116-7; Zadok 1983a: 109 (explaining *hubbani* as the Akkadian genitive of Humban); EW s.v. [h.bi]-it-hu-ub-ba-ni; Vallat 1993a: 44.

<sup>840</sup> In addition, a god ‘Ammankasibar’ is mentioned in the annals of Assurbanipal as one of the deities whose cult image was taken to Assyria (prisms A VI.34 ~ F V.24; cf. Aynard 1957: 54-5; Borger 1996: 53, 241). The name perhaps contains the element ‘Humban’ (so Jensen 1892a: 57; Hommel 1926: 35; Zadok 1984a: 13 [48], 40 [223a]; EW s.v. d.am-man-ka-si-bar; Vallat 2002/03: 530 hints at the possibility). The second element, *kasibar*, remains mysterious. It hardly means “Caspian” as Hüsing (1904a; 1908c: 24; 1910: 22 fn 1; 1916a: 46-7, 55-6; 1916b: 95) and König (1932) assumed, nor is a connection with the ‘Caspar’ in the nativity of Christ (Hüsing 1904a) very likely. One might consider \*Umban-kazzipra, “Humban of the smiths” (alternatively: smiters) or \*Umban-kassupra, “Humban of horned ones” (*vel sim.*; cf. *kassup* in PF 2040), but I see no evidence that could confirm either speculation. As for ‘Amman,’

Because the four texts date to the very last part of the Neo-Elamite period (the first half of the sixth century BC) they are highly relevant for the worship of Humban in Achaemenid times. Three of the texts are introduced below; a fourth, by Hanni of Ayapir, will be discussed in §5.3.

The administrative text from the Acropole archive (S 49) lists a series of different items (including garments and incense); maybe an exchange is implied.<sup>841</sup> The last item, possibly received in exchange for the ones listed before, is a bar of iron described as follows:

<sup>9</sup> 1 *li-gi* AN.BAR<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>10</sup> 7 *ma-na* ½ <sup>GIŠ</sup> *sir-ri-me* <sup>11</sup> *zik-kur-ti-um* <sup>AN</sup> *u<sub>4</sub>-mu-* <sup>12</sup> *na a-ah*  
*kaz-za-ak*

<sup>9</sup> 1 bar of iron, <sup>10</sup> 7.5 mina in weight<sup>?</sup>; <sup>11-2</sup> the ziggurat of Umu, (the bar) was forged for it<sup>842</sup>

The text as given here follows the suggestion of Vallat (1988) to read <sup>AN</sup>*u<sub>4</sub>-mu* instead of Scheil's <sup>AN</sup>*pír-mu* (1907: 48; cf. Jusifov 1963b: 222 [191]) or Hinz and Koch's <sup>AN</sup>*tam<sub>5</sub>-mu* (EW s.v.). The proposal rests on the assumption that the signs UD and PÍR have been confused – a regular phenomenon in Elamite (cf. Steve 1992: 156). Vallat cites evidence for the use of 'Umu' as epithet of Adad, Nergal and Enlil and points out that Enlil is equated with Humban in two Neo-Assyrian texts (cf. §5.3 below). The text would thus refer to a hitherto unattested ziggurat for Humban in Neo-Elamite Susa.<sup>843</sup> Caution is warranted, however, as this is the only

one may compare biblical Haman (*Esther*). Zadok (1984b: 19-21), while rejecting Jensen's theory (1892a: 58, 64) that 'Haman' is not a personal but a theonym, argues that the name indeed contains the element Humban. According to Zadok, Haman's name, patronymic and surname together suggest that he "could have been of mixed Elamite-Iranian extraction." On Haman see also Shaked 2003.

<sup>841</sup> The Acropole archive is dated to the period *ca.* 585-539 by Vallat (1996a: 393) and to *ca.* 590/580-565/555 by Tavernier (2004: 32, 39); cf. §1.2 with fn. 10 above.

<sup>842</sup> For the meaning of *ligi* ("bar, peg, bolt") compare its occurrence in TZ 57 (written on a glazed pommel/peg) and DPi<sub>e</sub> and XPi<sub>e</sub> (on pegs made of Egyptian blue). In the last two texts, *ligi* corresponds to OPers. *mayuxa* and Akk. *sikkatu* (on the word cf. Stolper 1984a: 63, 69; EW s.v. *li-gi*). It is not excluded that the *ligi* itself is the final product, made as decoration for the ziggurat (if so, the translation ought to be "decorative peg"). The term *sirime* (also *sirme*) was plausibly explained as "weight" by Scheil (1907: 48-9, followed by Jusifov 1963b: 250 and EW s.v. *sir-ri-me*). The pronoun *ah* is taken here as an oblique resumptive pronoun ("for it" [resuming *zikkurtim*]), not as locative adverb ("here, there"). Alternatively, *ah* may retake *ligi* ("it was forged"). For an interpretation of the text see Jusifov 1963b: 238 [191].

<sup>843</sup> EW s.v. *d.tam<sub>5</sub>-mu* assumes that the *zikkurtim* is the product of the forging of the iron and therefore must be a scale model: "ein Barren Eisen wurde zu einem [Modell]-

attestation of Umu in Elamite and we cannot be sure how the name or epithet was used. Moreover, ‘Umu’ is also attested as a deity in his own right (cf. AHw 1420; Wilcke 1997: 26, 28).

A sanctuary of Humban is (also) mentioned in a second text, an inscription of Tepti-Huban-Insušnak on a limestone block. The text, discussed in greater detail below (§6.7.6.3), enumerates cultic personnel and other officiants receiving one head of cattle and six sheep or goats each. Among these we find an <sup>AS</sup>*en-te.GAL* É.DA<sup>rMES1</sup> [<sup>AN</sup>] *hu-ban-na* [...], a “high-priestess of the ‘aside’ temple of Humban” (EKI 85:14; cf. §6.7.6.3 fn. 1036).<sup>844</sup> As far as the text can be understood, the priestess and other individuals listed are collectively referred to as *lap*, “officiants,” and they partake, probably *ex officio*, in the grand sacrificial feast organised by Tepti-Huban-Insušnak that is mentioned in the last lines of the text. No specific information is given about the role or duties of the high-priestess, nor about the location of the Humban temple. Other gods whose officiants are mentioned in the text are Napir, Šudanu, and Pinigir.

The third text mentioning Humban is an inscription fragment (EKI 89) generally attributed to Atta-hamiti-Insušnak on the basis of the palaeography, which closely resembles that of the celebrated Atta-hamiti-Insušnak stele (EKI 86-88).<sup>845</sup> The fragment may belong to a second stele, perhaps together with the anepigraphic fragment illustrated by Pézard (1924, pl. 2.1). As far as can be discerned from the broken text, sacrifices before a statue are mentioned,<sup>846</sup> followed by what may be a curse formula. In this context [<sup>AN</sup>] *hu1-ban* <sup>AN</sup> *ba-ha-ib-be*, “Humban (and) the Protective Gods” occurs (EKI 89:7).<sup>847</sup> The name Humban is

Stufenturm des (Gottes) Tammu hier geschmiedet.” Such a scale model would perhaps be comparable to the small ziggurat on the famous *sit šamši* model (§6.7.6.5), but it seems more attractive to take the iron bar as building material, forged by the blacksmiths into structural or, rather, decorative parts for the ziggurat.

<sup>844</sup> Women with cultic functions occur throughout Elamite history; cf. Vallat 2002/03: 539-40 and the examples listed in §6.4 ad l.19 below.

<sup>845</sup> Cf. Scheil 1911: 83, fig. 16; Pézard 1924: 4, pl. 2.2; Cameron 1936: 190 fn. 17; König 1965: 23; Steve 1992: 22; Vallat 1993a: xv; Tavernier 2004: 22-9.

<sup>846</sup> The offerings are described as PAD<sup>MES</sup> *zalmumina*, “offering(s) for (my) statue.” PAD<sup>MES</sup> (Akk. *kusāpu*) also occurs in EKI 74 II.46 (cf. §3.6.3.1 above).

<sup>847</sup> I follow the reading of EW s.v. *d.ba-ha-ib(?) -be* (König 1965: 175 reads <sup>AN</sup> *ba-ha-lu2-na2*). On *bahappe* and other forms derived from the same root see Henkelman 2002: 6-16 with fn. 19. In analogy to a common Elamite curse formula, the passage may be restored as follows: [*ha-at-ti* <sup>AN</sup>] *hu1-ban* <sup>AN</sup> *ba-ha-ib-be-[na]* *uk-ku1-ri-ir* *da1-ak-ni*, “may the terror of Humban (and) the Protective Gods be placed upon him!” (for the formula see, e.g., TZ 2:7-8, TZ 4:7-8, TZ 31: 7-8; cf. Grillot 1983b: 210; *idem* 1987: 51-2, 60-2; Vallat 1978: 98; §4.2.2 fn. 767 above). My reading takes Scheil’s NA, instead

found once more, in a broken context, in 1.9 of the same text. If the attribution to Atta-hamiti-Insušnak is correct, the text dates to the beginning of the sixth century (Vallat 1996a: 391, 393) or even to the period 530-20 BC. The last proposal, recently defended by Jan Tavernier (2004: esp. 22-9; cf. Waters 2000: 85-7; Henkelman 2003d: 262), implies that Atta-hamiti-Insušnak is identical with the ‘rebel’ Aθamaita in the Bīsotūn inscription (DB V.5). I consider the arguments raised in support of this identification to be persuasive.<sup>848</sup>

Note that Darius accuses Atta-hamiti-Insušnak/Aθamaita and his compatriots of not venerating Auramazdā. As has often been argued during the last decades, the statement should be seen in the context of royal ideology, which demanded that the ‘rebellion’ against the king be presented as a rebellion against the king’s god. It has repeatedly been pointed out that the text should not be read as a sign of religious fanaticism or intolerance since the Fortification texts manifestly show that gods of Elamite descent were sponsored by the Achaemenid state.<sup>849</sup> Yet, the contrast between the ideologically charged inscription and the economic texts proves to be even sharper than that: Humban, the very god called upon by the ‘pagan’ Atta-hamiti-Insušnak in EKI 89 (if the attribution of the fragment is correct), re-appears shortly afterwards as the god who received more offerings than any other god by the orders of Darius’ administrators at Persepolis.

of König’s RI, in <sup>AN</sup>*ba-ha-ib-be-[na]*; the illegible part of the line seems to small for RI (cf. Scheil 1911, fig. 16). The passage is translated in the EW (*l.c.*) as “Das Strafzepter des Gottes X und des (Gottes) Humban, der guten Götter, falle auf ihn!”

<sup>848</sup> Vallat (2006) cites his own interpretation of an unedited text by Atta-hamiti-Insušnak as conclusive evidence against Waters’ and Tavernier’s arguments on the date of that king. According to Vallat, the text reads “comme Šutur-Nahhunte, fils de Huban-immena, manœuvre à Ayapir, j’ai mâté son armée” (2006: 59). Since this suggests a contemporaneity with Šutur-Nahhunte, Vallat takes the text as confirmation of his earlier date for the reign of Atta-hamiti-Insušnak (*ca.* 585 BC). As Vallat does not offer the Elamite text, and since Neo-Elamite is often much harder to understand than some of his publications suggest, one cannot but refrain from using this new evidence until the undoubtedly very important text is properly published.

<sup>849</sup> See the fundamental study by Sancisi-Weerdenburg on this subject (1980: 1-47). On Achaemenid ‘religious policy’ see now the important synthesis by Kuhrt 2007a.

### 5.3. *Safe under the aegis of Humban*

In the Neo-Elamite period Humban became the most popular Elamite deity. As such Boyce even considered him a possible model for the exaltation of Ahura Mazdā to the position of the greatest of the Ahuras (1982: 27-8). Whereas this idea seems rather speculative, Humban was indeed the most important god of Elamite descent known to the Persians. Apart from the frequent attestations of his cult in the Fortification tablets, he may also have left his traces in Persian religion and royal ideology. A case that may support this suspicion is that of Humban's *kitin*.

Most important among the Neo-Elamite attestations of Humban, is the one in the main inscription of Hanni of Ayapir at Kūl-e Farah (Īzeh). The text (EKI 75), dated in the last part of the Neo-Elamite period (cf. §1.2 and §4.2.2 fn. 768 above), is important, first, because it contains the most easterly reference to Humban prior to the Achaemenid period (cf. de Miroschedji 1980: 133).<sup>850</sup> Secondly, it reveals part of Humban's character in describing his function as bestower of *kitin*, particularly upon kings. As we shall see, the concept of *kitin* was still known in the Achaemenid period and appears in Xerxes' so-called *Daivā Inscription*.

*kitin* is a hard-to-define abstraction that was crucial to (Neo-)Elamite religion and royal ideology. In its broadest sense, *kitin* seems to refer to divine authority and power as it emanates from the divine down into the mortal world. "Divine protection" is a translation that covers some of its occurrences, but is probably just a weak rendering of its full significance for an Elamite audience. Other uses of the term lead to supplementary interpretations such as "god-given royal power," "divinely-enforced legal protection," "legal authority," "legal order, rules" and "divine symbol, emblem."<sup>851</sup> *kitin* plays an articulated and important role in

<sup>850</sup> The god Humban is not mentioned in the Malyān brick inscriptions nor in the administrative documents from the same site. There is, for what it is worth, a personal name with the element Humban, Huban-mirriš, that occurs in several administrative documents from Malyān. Cf. Stolper 1984a: 39 and index s.v.

<sup>851</sup> Leemans 1946: 54 ("emblème divin, protection divin du droit"); Hinz 1950a: 294 ("Schirm, Schutz, [magischer] Bann"); *idem* 1962b: 106 ("[magischer] Schutz-Bann"); *idem* 1971d: 665 ("numinous ban"); *idem* Hinz 1973b: 275-82; *idem* 1972/75c; M. Lambert 1965: 30-1 ("justice"); König 1965: 161, 196 ("Schicksal, Schicksalbestimmung, Schutz, Schirm"); Steve 1967: 77-8 ("justice"); Hallock 1969: 714 ("ban, interdiction"); Grillett 1973: 139 fn. 39 ("ordre, règles, lois, décrets, justice, protection"); *idem* 1983b: 212, 214 ("règles divines"); EW s.vv. *ki-di-en*, *ki-te-en*, *ki-tin* ("magischer Schutzbann, Numen, Tabu-Zeichen"); Koch 2000: 587-8. Compare also Akk. *kidinnu*, a loanword, already in Old Babylonian, from Elamite meaning "divine protection (mainly for the citizens of a city), divinely enforced security (symbolised by a sacred insigne)" (CAD K 342-4 s.v. *kidinnu*; cf. AHW 472-3 s.v. *kidi/ennu(m)*).

Hanni's inscription where it is mentioned no less than thirteen times. One of the contexts in which it occurs is protection implored by Hanni over the inscriptions accompanying his relief (EKI 75:20-1):

<sup>20</sup> *ki-tin* <sup>AN</sup> *te-ip-ti ki-tin-te-um-be-en-ra-na* <sup>AN</sup> *na-pír si-pa-ak-ir-ra ba-hir* <sup>AN</sup> *na-ap-pír-ra-na* <sup>21</sup> <sup>AN</sup> *PAP be-ri-ir* <sup>(AN)</sup> *na-ap-pír-ra-na* <sup>AN</sup> *hu-ban EŠŠANA ki-tin ir šà-ra-ir-ra-na za-al-mu-ú-me nu uk-ku-na tak-ni*

<sup>20</sup> May the *kitin* of Tepti, the founder<sup>?</sup> -of-*kitin*, of *sipak* Napir, protector of the gods,

<sup>21</sup> of Šimut, herald of the gods, of Humban, under (whose) *kitin* a king (stands), be placed upon my relief! <sup>852</sup>

Humbar is mentioned two more times in Hanni's inscription. Once "the help (*puktu*) of Tepti (and) Tirutur, and of *sipak* Napir, of Šimut and of Humbar, under (whose) *kitin* a king (stands)," is called for (EKI 75:6-7).<sup>853</sup> In the third case

<sup>852</sup> Text: Hinz 1962b: 110, with interpretation (cf. *idem* 1952: 242-5; 1972/75c: 492). See also Grillett 1973: 158; 1983b: 212 with fn. 21; *idem* 1987: 28. Hinz interprets *kitin-tembenra*, the epithet of the god Tepti, as "Bann-gewährend" which probably roughly covers its meaning, but remains tentative (see also EW s.v. *te-um-be-en-ra*). The base *tembe-* is possibly a variant or cognate of *tumba* (which appears in the form *tumbašda* in EKI 74 II.12, with *kiten* as object); perhaps AElam *tembe*, "foundation" should also be compared. The logogram for Šimut may alternatively be read as MAN (references in §4.2.2 fn. 769 above). The meaning "herald" for *berir*, was first suggested by Scheil (1911: 26; cf. Hinz *ll.cc.*, EW s.v. *be-ri-ir* and Vallat 2002/03: 537). Support is found in the expression *akka tuppi hi beranra*, "he who will later read this inscription" (DB<sub>e</sub> III.70-1); König's interpretation of *berir* as "Vorleser" (1965: 159) is too literal, however. I have not attempted an interpretation of *sipakirra*, Napir's epithet; Hinz's proposal "der glänzende" (1950c: 411, 1971d: 668, and EW s.v. *si-pa-ak-ir-ra*) is speculative. For *zalmu* "relief" cf. Stolper 1988: 277 ("the terms refers to [...] the ensemble of inscribed figures with their texts").

<sup>853</sup> For the interpretation of *pu-uk-tu* <sup>AN</sup> *te-ip-ti* <sup>AN</sup> *ti-ru-tur-na* as "help of Tepti and Tirutur" see Vallat 1983b: 14-5. For Neo-Elamite *puktu* (also *pukti*) "help, assistance" compare AElam. *pikti*, frequently attested in the royal inscriptions (e.g., DB<sub>e</sub> I.42). Note that the latter spelling is attested in Achaemenid Elamite only; Vallat's reading <sup>BE</sup> *pi-ik-ti* (2005) in Kal.15 for my *nu-pi-ik-ti* (Henkelman 2003a: 221-3 [misspelled on p. 223]) is unconvincing for several reasons. First, the proposed alternative reading is slightly surprising because it does not seem to be based on inspection of the object or images thereof. Photographs of the object clearly show that the relevant sign (𐎶 𐎶) can only be NU; this form of the sign is amply attested in late Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite (cf. Steve 1992: 57 sub néo-élamite III B 5 and achéménide 2). By contrast, BE is never written with the diagonal wedge preceding the horizontal (cf. *ibid.* 53). Furthermore, though there are a few personalised objects (*šuter*, *zalmu*) that may get the personal

Humban is introduced as *rišar nappirra*, “greatest god” (lit. “great as god;” cf. Grilhot 1973: 147, “maître divin”), again followed by the phrase describing his *kitin* as a protective aegis (EKI 75:4-5).<sup>854</sup> Altogether, Humban’s position is clear enough: other gods (Tepti, Tirutur) can bestow *kitin* too, but it is Humban under whose protection a king stands. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the Kūl-e Farah sanctuary is not dedicated to Humban, but to local Ayapiran gods, notably Tirutur.

It is probably from Humban’s relationship with kings that his identification with Enlil/Ellil in two Neo-Assyrian scholarly texts must be understood.<sup>855</sup> There is no evidence that pictures Humban, like Enlil, as a storm-god or as a fate-deciding god (cf. Vallat 2002/03: 537) – nor, to be honest, any evidence to the contrary. But as emerges from Hanni’s inscription, it is Humban who spreads his protective *kitin* over a king and this function is not unlike Enlil’s well-attested role of king maker. It is not clear how old Humban’s importance for kings is; it may be a development of the Neo-Elamite period.

Another aspect that is of considerable interest is the importance of the concept *kitin* in Ayapiran theology. As stated above, the divine is the ultimate source of *kitin*, but kings not only stand under its protection, it may also become a mighty instrument in their own hands. Thus, Hanni concludes his inscription by

determinative, it would be very strange that an abstract noun like *pikti* would do so as well, as Vallat’s proposal implies. Thirdly, the personal determinative <sup>DIS</sup> (rather than <sup>BE</sup>) is used elsewhere in the same text. Fourthly, the determinative <sup>BE</sup> never occurs in the Kalmākarra corpus. Ergo: Neo-Elamite *\*pi-ik-ti* should be considered a ghost form: the word first appears in this spelling in the Achaemenid inscriptions.

<sup>854</sup> But in this case the word for king is left out. Hinz (1962b: 107) may be right in assuming a scribal omission: <sup>AN</sup>*hu-ban ri-šā-ir* <sup>AN</sup>*na-ap-pir-ra* <EŠŠANA> *ki-tin ir šā-ra-ir-ra*. Without the supplemented EŠŠANA, the meaning of the phrase would be “Humban, under (whose) *kitin* the greatest god (stands).” As *rišar nappirra* is an epithet of Humban himself, this would not make sense. On the passage see also Hinz 1950a: 294.

<sup>855</sup> The texts are VAT 13846 (published by Meier 1937/39; collation Reiner 1958: 51) and K 4320 (Langdon 1931: 134; collation Reiner *o.c.* 50), they are both commentaries to the incantation series *Šurpu*. In ll.53-4 of the former text and ll.1-3 of the latter, the names Yabru, Humba and Napruša are explained thus: “Yabru (is) Anu, Humba (is) Enlil, Napruša (is) Ea.” The names of the three gods also occur in *Šurpu* itself (ll.163; text: Reiner 1958: 17; note the other Elamite gods in the preceding lines) and in the *Underworld Vision* (VAT 10057 rev.25) published by von Soden (1936: 24); see also Livingstone 1989: 68-76. The Akkadian texts mentioning Humban have played a role in the debate on the purported identity of Humban and <sup>AN</sup>GAL/Napiriša. Cf. Hinz 1965: 353-4 and the refutation of his arguments by de Miroschedji 1980: 130-1.

stating that *he* has laid the *kitin* of the gods upon his relief (EKI 75:24). Similarly, another Neo-Elamite text states that the god Inšušinak and king Šutruk-Nahhunte jointly instated a “*kitin* that (is) just.”<sup>856</sup> Here, *kitin* may be translated as “order,” a set of (legal) rules based upon the authority of the god and his agent, the king.

The concept of *kitin* is also known from earlier periods, notably from the economic and legal texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa.<sup>857</sup> Interestingly, however, its use in royal inscriptions is virtually limited to the Neo-Elamite period.<sup>858</sup> There is only one certain exception to this rule, Xerxes’ so-called *Daivā Inscription* (XPh<sub>e</sub> 29-32):<sup>859</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *ku-ud-da hi ŠÀ-ma* <sup>AS</sup>*da-a-ia-ma šà-ri mu<sup>1</sup>-ur ap-pu-ka<sub>4</sub> da-a-* <sup>30</sup>*ma ši-ib-be hu-ud-da-iš-da me-ni<sup>1</sup> za-u-mi-in* <sup>AN</sup>*u-ra-mas-da-* <sup>31</sup>*na* <sup>DIS</sup>*ú hu-be da-a-ma-da-na-um sa-ri ku-ud-da ki-te-in uk-* <sup>32</sup>*ku ap-pi da da-a-ma ši-ib-be a-nu hu-ud-da-an*

And among the lands there was (a place) where, formerly, (the people) made (for) the *daivā* their sacrificial feast(s). Then, by the effort of Auramazdā (Uramasda), I devastated that place of *daivā* worship and I placed *kiten* upon them, lest the *daivā* their sacrificial feast be celebrated.<sup>860</sup>

<sup>856</sup> Cf. EKI 74 II.12-3, *kiten appa šutur inšušinak ak sugir šutruk-nahhunte i tumbašda*. On the passage cf. M. Lambert 1955b: 151 with fn. 5.

<sup>857</sup> On the use of Old Elamite *kiden* cf. Leemans 1946; Balkan 1954: 159-60; Hinz 1973b: 275-82; *idem* 1976/80a: 118; EW s.v. *ki-di-en*; Klíma 1963: 298-301; *idem* 1972: 49 with fn. 2; Frymer-Kensky 1977: 195-7; CAD K 342-3 s.v. *kidinnu* (a); AHW 472-3 s.v. *kidi/ennu(m)*.

<sup>858</sup> The increased popularity of the abstraction is also visible in the onomasticon. Many *kitin* names occur in Neo- and Achaemenid texts, whereas the number of such names in Middle Elamite texts is limited and largely confined to late Middle Elamite Malyān (cf. Vallat 1984: 3). Cf. Zadok 1984a: 21 [108] and EW pp. 461-3, 487-92 (esp. s.v. *-ki-tin*).

<sup>859</sup> Steve (1967: 77-8; cf. Hinz 1950a: 294) proposed to identify Middle Elamite *kuten* in TZ 38:2 as *kitin*. Yet, *kitin* (*ki-di-en*, *ki-te-en*, *ki-tin*) is always spelled with *ki-*. Moreover, *kuten* denotes a structure built by Untaš-Napiriša. Its identification as another form of *kitin* is therefore uncertain (cf. EW s.v. *ku-te-en*).

<sup>860</sup> Text: Cameron 1959: 473; Vallat 1977a: 211. Compare Henkelman 2003a: 188 fn. 24 and §1.3 above. I retain *šà-ri* in l.29, despite Bianchi 1986, who argued that *lip* is the only phonetic value of ŠÀ in Achaemenid Elamite. The value *šà* is required though, not only in the PN Šakka(š) (OPers. \*Saka-, spelled <sup>HAL</sup>*šà-ka<sub>4</sub>-iš*, <sup>HAL</sup>*šà-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>*, <sup>HAL</sup>*šà-ki-iš*), but also in NElam. *šà-ra* and *šá-ra*, “below” (EKI 75:5, 7, 21 and EKI 76:6). Note also the widespread use of ŠÀ, with value *šà*, in the Akkadian texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa, e.g., in the appellative *šà-ti* and *šà-tin*, “priest” (cf. AElam. *šá-tin*) and in the theonym <sup>d</sup>*šà-zi* (cf. NElam. <sup>AN</sup>*šá-iz-zi*). I admit that this does not prove that the reading *šà-ri* in XPh is necessarily correct: *lip-ri* is also possible, but not required. On



The crucial passage, “I place a *kiten* upon them,” in the Elamite version of XPh is clearly not a translation and not even a rendering of the parallel passages in the Old Persian and Akkadian versions. The Old Persian version has simply *patiyazbayam*, “I proclaimed, gave orders,” the Akkadian version *apteqir*, “I commanded”.<sup>861</sup> The Elamite has a divergent message, of a king brandishing the *kiten* to impose his authority and just rule, a message that echoes the Neo-Elamite inscriptions in which gods and kings place *kitin*, “protection,” on reliefs or jointly instate *kitin appa šutur*, “order that is right.” Note that in XPh too, the god (Auramazdā) is made co-responsible for the *kiten* instated by his agent. Also, the fact that *kiten* is construed with the verb *ta-* (“to place”) and *ukku* (“upon”) betrays the Elamite background; similar constructions are found several times in Hanni’s Kūl-e Farah inscription (EKI 75). The way the Elamite version expresses the ban on *daivā*-worship is, in short, not only independent from the Old Persian and Akkadian versions, but it also shows a direct link to the Elamite past.

As Cameron noted, XPh<sub>e</sub> contains a relatively high number of Old Persian loans directly transcribed into Elamite cuneiform.<sup>862</sup> Against this background the use of the very specific expression *kiten ukku appi da* increases in significance.

the verb *sari-*, “to destroy,” cf. most recently Gassan & Vallat 2004: 2-4. In l.32, Cameron hesitantly read *ap pi-da* (cf. *o.c.* 476) and was followed in this by Vallat (*l.c.*) and the EW (s.v. *pi-da*). The word division *ap-pi da*, as printed here, is preferable since *kiten/kitin* often is construed with the verb *ta-* (“to place”) and no verb *\*pida-* is known in Elamite. The construction *kiten ukku appi da* is only irregular because *ukku* is used as preposition (with *appi*), not as postposition. Influence of Old Persian syntax, where prepositions (like *upariy*, “above”) are the rule, may be assumed. Older interpretations render the passage as follows: “by a ban I proclaimed to them” (Cameron *o.c.* 474), “par un ban je leur proclamaï” (Vallat 1977a: 212; cf. *idem* 1977b: 49), “unter Bann(androhung) schärfte ich ihnen ein (dekretierte ich)” (EW *l.c.*; cf. s.v. *ki-te-in*). As for *hu-ud-da-an*: <-ti> is commonly supplemented at the end of the form (Cameron *o.c.* 473; Vallat 1997a: 211), making it a prohibitive, *anu huddanti*, “you shall not make!” This is, however, unnecessary: *anu huddan*, the subject of which is *šibbe*, is probably a supine to which the prohibitive particle *anu* gives a modal colour (cf., similarly, Tucker 1998: 178 fn. 24). Compare DPf<sub>e</sub> 23-4 *hu-be a-nu kin-ni-en ap-pa* <sup>DIS</sup><sub>LÚ</sub><sup>MES</sup> *-ir-ra ha-ri-ik-ka<sub>4</sub> el-ma-man-ra*, “lest that come to pass, what evil man plots.” The divergent formula of the Elamite version of XPh<sub>e</sub> is not noted in Lecoq 1997: 258.

<sup>861</sup> Old Persian: XPh<sub>p</sub> 38; cf. Schmitt 2000a: 92-3. Akkadian: XPh<sub>a</sub> 31; cf. Herzfeld 1938a: 31-2, 367, pl. 12. As M.W. Stolper remarks (pers.comm.) the usage of the form *apteqir* in this context is actually quite extraordinary and not really explained. In legal use it ought to mean rather “lodge a (justified, successful) complaint.”

<sup>862</sup> Cameron 1959: 471-2 counted 20 such words in 50 lines; cf. *idem* 1973: 50; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1999: 106.

What inspired the scribe to use this expression? Two answers may be given, dependent on the perspective one takes *vis-à-vis* the editorial process of the royal inscriptions. Some may hold that an Elamite scribe was hired to render an Old Persian original in Elamite, that there was some latitude for alternative wording if that improved the text, and that our phrase emerged, within that latitude, from the scribe's own cultural background. As such one could simply call the *kiten* phrase an *interpretatio elamica*. But what an interpretation! Our scribe practically slipped one of the main concepts of Neo-Elamite royal ideology into his version of the text. Are we really to believe that he introduced it of his own accord?

Admittedly, kings acting upon the authority of gods are no rarity in the ancient world, nor is the Elamite *kiten* phrase in conflict with the general outlook of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions. Yet, the fact remains that its wording is specifically Elamite and related to Elamite royal ideology. Imagine that *kiten* were Old Iranian, that the phrase occurred in the Old Persian instead of the Elamite version, and that a similar phrasing and concept occurred in the older *Avesta*: it would have been densely commented upon and would have been widely accepted as a strong indicator of cultural continuity if not cultural dependence between the Gathic community and the Achaemenids. This is, in fact, precisely what has happened with the concept of the *daivā* in XPh. So, on whose authority, to repeat the question, did the scribe, who introduced the *kiten* phrase, act? To count it as just a translator's idiosyncrasy would not only fail to take the evidence seriously, but it also poses the unargued (yet often tacitly assumed) notion that the Old Persian versions of the royal inscriptions are a more pure and authoritative wording of the message the court wanted to disseminate.

As complex and large Achaemenid inscription families, such as DSf/DSz/DSaa (with endless smaller and larger variations in each copy), clearly show, the royal inscriptions must have been made by well-organised scribal workshops. The master scribes, directing teams of graphic designers and stone carvers, were able to compose, from a creative use of a stock of officially approved templates, tailor-made texts for a range of different physical and ideological settings. They obviously did so upon the orders of the crown or its agents (such as the Persepolis architects) and it may be assumed that, apart from smaller mistakes and minor differences in the orthography, variations were never accidental. Such variations may be the addition or omission of certain paragraphs or phrases respective of the amount of available space.<sup>863</sup> Sometimes, however, the variation reaches the level of a literary experiment: the Akkadian building inscription DSaa repeats the

<sup>863</sup> This is evident in the many copies of DSf/DSz (cf. Henkelman 2003c). Similar conclusions were reached by Michael Kozuh on XPb and XPd (2003). See also Schaudig on the inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus (2001: 75-84).

message of DSf/DSz, but has a completely novel text structure. The inscription is not, of course, the work of a ‘liberal’ scribe, but a conscious and officially approved creative reworking of existing patterns. Something similar must be true for the smaller but meaningful variations in the inscriptions, *viz* the many differences between the versions of the Bīsotūn inscriptions or the introduction of the *kiten* phrase in the Elamite version of XPh, which is unparalleled in the Old Persian and Akkadian versions.

As Briant stresses, in an article on the official multilingualism of the Achaemenid empire, Darius deliberately opted for a trilingual inscription on the rock of Bīsotūn: “c’était là exprimer fort clairement qu’il n’entendait donner à la langue perse ni prééminence ni hégémonie” (1999: 94; cf. Stolper 2005: 20). It seems useful to apply this notion to our conception of the editorial process of the texts. Instead of chasing an elusive Old Persian ‘Urtext’ for each inscription and ascribing variations in the other languages to the cultural background of the scribes, one should take *all* the versions of *all* the royal inscriptions as the King’s words. Particularly in the case of texts found in heartland contexts, non-Persian versions are not lesser ‘interpretations’ or ‘translations,’ but equal strands of his polyglot message.<sup>864</sup>

In short, that the originally Elamite concept of *kiten* appears in one of the versions of the *Daivā Inscription* means that *kiten* is part of the deal. It is not an uncontrolled oddity prompted by the cultural mind-set of a single scribe, but a concept that was known, appreciated, and adapted in the Achaemenid context. That it appears in only one version of the inscription, to with the Elamite version, does not alter the fact that it is part of the King’s message and thus of Achaemenid royal ideology. Moreover, the locus of its appearance is highly significant: XPh is one of the most articulated statements of what makes Achaemenid kingship. It has been the centre-piece of every single discussion on Achaemenid Mazdaism and religious ideology. That we should find Elamite *kitin/kiten* in this particular context is highly important for understanding the receptivity of Achaemenid culture to one of its most important predecessor cultures, that of the Elamites. Put more concretely, the use of the concept *kiten* in one version of the text may be an indication of Elamite royal ideology as a factor in the formation of Achaemenid royal ideology.

The above is no more than an outline of the parameters that should define a future, more elaborate discussion of the possible significance of *kiten* for Achaemenid kingship. To gain insight into this matter, at the very least a systematic comparison between Elamite and Achaemenid royal inscriptions would be necessary and that is not possible within the limits set to this study. There is, however, one

<sup>864</sup> Cf. Rossi’s (2000) insistence on the independent status of the Elamite text of DBI, which, regardless of the author’s new interpretation of the text, seems fully justified.

factor that should be mentioned here and with which we may close the circle of the preceding discussion: Humban's continued popularity in the Achaemenid period and his leading position in the state sponsorship of cultic activity. That both Humban and the concept of *kitin* survived in the Achaemenid period is probably not coincidental. As we have seen, it was especially Humban who bestowed *kitin* upon a king, according to Hanni's inscription. This opens the possibility that the concept of *kitin* became known to Achaemenid culture *via* the cult of Humban. At the same time we have to allow, as always, for considerable adaptation: Humban remained very popular, but was no longer the royal god *par excellence*, nor, apparently, the bestower of *kitin*. In XPh<sub>e</sub>, his role is taken over by Auramazdā, that other supreme god. Yet, this change of roles only underlines the possible relevance of the Humban-*kitin* complex for Achaemenid kingship.

That there is indeed a realistic potential for *kiten* as a formative element in Achaemenid royal ideology appears clearly from a recent study by Mark Garrison ([forthc. 2], responding to Henkelman 2006b). There, an attempt is made to explain the famous half-figure in the winged-disk as an articulation of the concept of *kiten*. Though the author does not claim definitive answers, it is evident that our understanding of this thorny dossier can be significantly advanced by the comparison with *kiten*, a concept that, as Garrison rightly remarks, "has the advantage of actually being documented in the Achaemenid period" (in contrast to *h<sup>v</sup>arənah-*, etc.).

#### 5.4. *Humban in the Achaemenid period*

As stated above (§5.0), Humban occurs 26 times in the Fortification texts, excluding the case of NN 2202:2, where Hallock's tentative reading of his name can now be excluded (see App.1).<sup>865</sup> In this section some general features of his cult (officials, geographical spread, commodities) will be listed, followed by a detailed discussion of a number of notable aspects (§§5.4.1-4; abstracts: ¶4).

<sup>865</sup> Spellings of the name Humban can be divided in two groups: those that render the name as 'Umba(n)' or /umpan/ and those that render it as 'Huban' or /upan/. The first variant (<sup>AN</sup>um-ba [1x], <sup>AN</sup>um-ba-an [3x], <sup>AN</sup>um-ba-in [5x], <sup>AN</sup>um-ban [2x]) occurs in 11 texts, the second (<sup>AN</sup>hu-ban [10x], <sup>AN</sup>hu-ban<sup>MES</sup> [5x]) in 15 texts, including one heavily restored passages (NN 0379). As there is no clear predilection for either of the two variants, I have retained the form 'Humban' (even though the form is not attested in Achaemenid Elamite). Note the remarkable spelling <sup>AN</sup>hu-ban<sup>MES</sup>, in which the determinative<sup>MES</sup> probably signifies that *hu-ban* is a historical spelling (cf. §6.7.6.3 fn. 1040 below). The various spellings are indicated in ¶4 below.

The officiants who receive commodities for the cult of Humban are: Akbaka, Ambaduš/Anbaduš (2x), Datukka, Kampaka (2x), Karsuka, Katukka, Kitikka, Kullili, Mardunuya, Marmaka, Natera, Pidaka (3x), Rakkuš, Supra (5x), Turkama, Umbaba, Unduš and Yama. Of these 19 individuals, eight are designated as *šatin* (cultic expert); no other designations occur.<sup>866</sup>

Humban's cult is not confined to exclusively 'Elamite' contexts. Only three of his officiants have unequivocal Elamite names, the great majority has Iranian names, including Mardunuya (Mardonius, PF 0348) and Yama (cf. Av. Yima, NN 0379).<sup>867</sup> This means that the share of Elamite names is not significantly higher than the 10% of Elamite names in the total sample. Also, Humban occurs with a variety of other gods and types of offering in cultic inventories (cf. §3.4.2):

Auramazdā, Humban, R. Hubutiš, R. Rannakarra, R. Šaušanuš	PF 0339
Auramazdā, Humban, R. Hubutiš, R. Rannakarra, R. Šaušanuš	NN 0379
[x], Humban and <i>lan</i>	NN 2372:1-2
Adad and Humban	PF 0351

Of the gods and offerings listed here Auramazdā is of certain Iranian origin and Adad of certain Elamite background.<sup>868</sup> In addition, there are a number of officiants of Humban who recur, in other contexts, serving other gods or performing other types of offerings:

<sup>866</sup> Humban officiants with the designation *šatin*: Ambaduš (both occurrences), Katukka, Kullili, Mardunuya, Pidaka (once in three occurrences), Turkama, Umbaba and Yama. Hinz (1972/75: 492) claims that magoi also received sacrificial foodstuffs for Humban, but I have not been able to find any Humban officiant who has the title *makuš* (in texts on Humban sacrifices or elsewhere).

<sup>867</sup> Probable Elamite names are: Kullili (Zadok 1983a: 102 [59]), Natera (*ibid.* p.111) and Unduš (cf. *untaš*). Names with plausible Iranian etymologies are (references to Tavernier 2007a): Ambaduš (193-4 [4.2.687]), Datukka (172 [4.2.524]), Kampaka (231 [4.2.973]), Karsuka (234 [4.2.999]), Katukka (185 [4.2.619]), Mardunuya (61 [2.2.42]), Marmaka (339 [4.2.1809]), Pidaka (276 [4.2.1309]), Rak(k)uš (278 [4.2.1330]), Supra (222 [4.2.904]), Turkama (168 [4.2.498]), Yama (363 [4.2.2009]). Dubia: Akbaka (considered as an error for Iranian Abbaka by Mayrhofer 1973: 122 [8.15] and EW s.v. *hh.ak-ba-qa*), Kitikka (considered Iranian by Zadok 1984c: 388 and EW s.v. *v.ki-ti-ik-qa*; a name with Elam. *kiti-* seems possible too).

<sup>868</sup> Cf. §4.1.3 on Adad. The *lan* offering does not seem to have a specific cultural affiliation (cf. chapter 3). The status of the river-offerings 'for' (at) the Hubutiš, the Rannakarra and the Šaušanuš depends on whether these are deified rivers or just cultic sites where certain gods (Napiriša, Anāhitā?) were venerated (cf. §5.4.3 below).

Tetukka	“the gods”	NN 2202:1
	Mt. [x]	NN 2477:1-2
Umbaba	<i>lan</i> , Mariraš, (the) Mišebaka	Fort. 8960:1-2
	<i>lan</i> , Turma, Mariraš, Earth and (the) Mišebaka	PF 1956:1-2
Karsuka	“the gods”	PF 0360 and NN 1315
	<i>kušukum</i>	PF 0799
Rakkuš	“the gods”	PF 0359

Again, the list contains gods of both backgrounds: Mariraš has a probable Iranian background; Earth and *kušukum* both plausibly have an Elamite one.<sup>869</sup>

The evidence on Humban officials also involved in cults with Iranian *and* Elamite backgrounds outweighs that on ‘separate’ cults. Koch cites two examples to demonstrate the existence of “ganz verschiedene religiöse Bereiche” (1987: 263-4). One of these cases is unclear,<sup>870</sup> the other involves the town of Umpuranuš where Pidaka receives barley for Humban offerings (cf. App. 7.4) and Mišsezza for Mišdušiš and Sakurraziš, the third month. ‘Mišdušiš’ is indeed an Iranian name, but the barley ‘for’ the month Sakurazziš is probably destined for a religious festival and we can only guess which gods received offerings at the occasion.<sup>871</sup>

<sup>869</sup> Cf. §4.2 fn. 755 above on Mariraš and §4.2.2 on ‘Earth.’ For *kušukum* cf. ¶19. Turma is usually assumed to have an Iranian background, but there is room for some doubt (cf. ¶15). The type of offering indicated by the name *mišebaka*, “All Gods,” could be a ceremony for all gods regardless of their background (cf. §4.2 fn. 755).

<sup>870</sup> This case concerns the town Pirdatkaš. Koch (1987: 264) contrasts Irdunara, who receives barley for a *daušannuaš*, and Ambaduš, who performs offerings for Humban (cf. below). The word *daušannuaš* is Old Persian and *may* mean “offering feast.” Its divine beneficiary or beneficiaries are not known, however, and the reading is uncertain: instead of <sup>AN</sup>*da-u-šá-an-nu-áš*, <sup>AN</sup>*da-u-šá-an-nu*<sup>MEŠ</sup> could be suggested (cf. §3.4.6 fn. 509 above and ¶26 below). Irdunara occurs only this once (PF 0766), so it would be rash to conclude that he is responsible “für iranische Gottheiten.” Compare also the situation in nearby Parmadan (cf. App.7.5). There, Turkama and Yama both offer wine to Humban *and* Auramazdā (PF 0339, PF 0379). It is not credible that a completely different regime *vis-à-vis* the religious ‘spheres’ was put in place in two adjacent towns. One of the wine suppliers, Ušaya, is based at Parmadan but also active at Pirdatkaš (PF 1211), which strengthens the connection between the two towns.

<sup>871</sup> On Mišdušiš cf. Gershevitch (1969b: 174; *apud* Hallock 1969: 732) who reconstructs *\*miždušī-*, “giving reward,” and identifies this as an epithet of Avestan Aši (“Reward,” cf. Bartholomae 1904: 242 s.v. *ašay-*), the goddess of fortune (cf. esp. *Yašt* 17). As far as I can see, the meaning of the names is the only connection between the two deities: Mišdušiš does *not* occur in the Zoroastrian tradition, either as deity, or as epithet. A related form is found, however, in the name of the Kushan god μoζδooαvo, “the Gracious One,” as Sims-Williams 1997 has demonstrated. The same scholar also points

More pertinent is the observation that the presence of two officiants (both qualified as *šatin*, cultic expert) in Umpuranuš only means that there was substantial cultic activity at this location and that various tasks had been assigned to different individuals. It is certainly not *a priori* significant in terms of religious ‘spheres’ and as such it may be contrasted to the evidence cited above: in several cases the same officiants administer cults with Elamite and Iranian backgrounds.

A last test that can be run to see whether Humban has a certain cultural affiliation is the reconstruction of a relative topography of his cult. An attempt at this is undertaken in App.7 below on the basis of the proper names and seal impressions associated with Humban. From this, it appears that offerings for Humban are concentrated in the central Fahliyān region, where Elamite traditions were probably stronger than elsewhere, but are also amply represented in the eastern Fahliyān region. Beyond that, they are decidedly attested in the Kāmfrūz and Persepolis regions. Altogether, quite a number of offerings are performed in places that are relatively close to Persepolis. To be sure, not all places in this category can be explained as ‘exceptions.’ Moreover, the places where Humban was worshipped, it must be stressed, were not provincial backwaters, but often (larger) towns along the royal road. In short, the evidence on the topography of Humban’s cult in Achaemenid Fārs does not suggest that it was exclusively Elamite. This result fits the conclusions reached earlier in this paragraph, drawn on the basis of the names of officiants and the gods with whom Humban is associated.

It is simply not true that Humban is confined to ‘Elamite’ contexts. Rather, the spread, popularity and non-exclusivity of his cult lead to the appraisal of Humban as a ‘Persian’ god (cf. §4.1.5 above on Adad).

5.4.1. *A vegetarian god?* – One of the most remarkable characteristics of the texts on Humban is that there is no mention of sacrificial animals. It seems unlikely that this fact is to be explained from a cultic taboo on blood sacrifices. As has been mentioned above, the high-priestess of Humban received one head of cattle and six sheep or goats which were presumably slaughtered for the god she served (EKI 85:14; cf. §5.2 above). Koch (1977: 124-5) surmised that Humban might be one of the gods worshipped in the *kušukum* rituals, which sometimes include the sacrifice

out a number of traits of  $\mu\omicron\zeta\delta\omicron\omicron\alpha\nu\omicron$  that remind one of Śiva, suggesting that the deity has an Indo-Iranian background. It may have been from that background that Mišdušiš came into the Persepolis pantheon, despite the acceptance with which Gershevitch’s Avestan proposal has met (Hinz 1975a: 168; Koch 1977: 90-1; Schwarz 1985: 686; Hutter; 1996: 240; cf. Boyce 1982: 140 [hesitant] and De Jong 1997: 105 [*idem*]). On the name cf. Mayrhofer 1994: 357-358 and Tavernier 2007a: 391 [4.1.4]. See also §§5.4.4 fn. 871 (Mišdušiš) and 6.4 ad l.12 (months) below.

of animals. While this may be true, it remains remarkable that other gods who are attested less often than Humban (Adad, Napiriša and Minam), appear as recipients of livestock. Is it feasible that, with 26 texts on the god, the absence of animal sacrifice is just due to chance survival of a selective part of the Humban dossier?

An answer may be found in the distribution pattern of livestock for cultic purposes. As can be observed from the table in App.4 below, most sacrificial animals are documented as prerequisites of certain types of offerings rather than as gifts for individual, named gods. The total of 489 head of sheep and goats allocated for sacrifices can be divided in three categories:

- |     |                                 |  |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|
| 446 | for specific types of offering: | <i>lan</i> (148), <i>bašur</i> (168), <i>šip</i> (47), <i>šumar</i> (26), <i>kušukum</i> (21), <i>tikrakkaš</i> (5), <i>hapidanuš</i> (4), the months Karbašiya (11) and Sakurraziš (2), River Hubutiš (2). <sup>872</sup> |
| 29  | “for the gods” <sup>873</sup>   |  |
| 14  | for named gods:                 | Adad (6), Napiriša (2), Minam (2), Mt. Šaki (2), Mt. Akšena (2). <sup>874</sup>  |

In the case where the animals are allocated for a specific type of offering, the specification “for the gods” is sometimes given, especially in the case of *kušukum* offerings (PF 0363, PF 0364, NN 0927). This shows that Koch’s proposal, that Humban could have been worshipped in the *kušukum* offerings, is feasible. At the same time, he was probably not the only god who was worshipped in this way. In fact, most of the offerings denoted by technical terms like *lan*, *kušukum*, *bašur* and *šip* may have been for the benefit of several deities. That 29 head of sheep or goats were allocated “for the gods” seems to reinforce this notion. By contrast, animal sacrifices for individually named gods are scarce.

In addition to the above considerations, it should be noted that the so-called ‘religious journal’ (NN 2259; cf. §6.2) has a distorting effect. The journal lists

<sup>872</sup> The offerings for the months Karbašiyaš and Sakurraziš may relate to festivals; the months themselves are probably not the object of worship (cf. §6.4 ad l.12; ¶24). Similarly, the offering for the River Hubutiš may actually be a ‘river-offering’ performed *at* the river Hubutiš (cf. §5.4.3 below).

<sup>873</sup> Texts: PF 0362 (presumably 4 head); PF 0367 (6); PF 0376 (4); PF 2030 (4); NN 0710 (presumably 1); NN 1077 (6); NN 2259:17-8 (4). PF 0588 may belong here as well (cf. ¶154, 156 and §6.4 ad l.14 below).

<sup>874</sup> The cases of Šaki and Akšena are not entirely clear: my impression is that the expression used in the relevant texts refers to divine mountains, but this does not exclude that the offerings mentioned were in fact ‘mountain-offerings’ performed *at* Mt. Šaki and on Mt. Akšena (cf. §6.4 ad l.4 and ¶16 below).



animals allocated for cultic purposes and as payments to members of the elite in a wide area around Persepolis and Pasargadae (cf. §6.6.6). Several beneficiaries of animal sacrifices are only mentioned as such in this unique journal. If a similar journal pertaining to the Fahliyān region were to emerge, the statistics would shift considerably and we might have allocations of animals for Humban as well.

The arguments raised here do not prove that animal sacrifices for Humban existed in the Achaemenid period, but they do show that what at first sight appears to be a dietary oddity is not necessarily a reflection of a cultic reality.

5.4.2. *Zila-Humban* – Hinz, in his review of Hallock's edition of the Fortification texts, proposed to identify the town of Zila-Humban with the open-air sanctuary of Kūrāngūn or with the site of nearby Tol-e Spīd, just north of the town of Fahliyān (1971: 426-7).<sup>875</sup> The proposal is based on the explanation of the place name as "Humban-Relief" and on the assumption that the male god depicted on the relief is Humban. Later, Hinz gave up the identification in view of Koch's topographical studies, which placed Zila-Humban further to the west.<sup>876</sup> The topography may not be a problem, however: the authority of the Persepolis administrators probably did not stretch much beyond Fārs proper, and consequently Zila-Humban may positively be situated in the Fahliyān region. In fact, its connections (*via* PFS 0043\*) with Ibariš, Tašpak and Šurkutur (all central Fahliyān region; cf. App.7.3) make a location at or near Kūrāngūn possible. The real problem is the identification of the male god depicted on the Kūrāngūn relief, who may be Napiriša, or perhaps 'Napiriša-Inšušinak,' but probably not Humban (cf., most recently, Potts 2004). Also, as was explained above (§5.1), Napiriša can no longer be seen as a taboo-name for Humban. As for *zila*, the meaning "relief" is feasible, yet unproven. Cameron first proposed it in his interpretation "relief-makers" for *zila-huttip*, a designation for certain craftsmen in PT 025 and PT 027 (1948: 126; cf. Hinz 1967b: 80). In Middle Elamite (EKI 54 II.50, 85, 97, III.24, 54; EKI 54B 16), the term *silā* seems to be an overarching topographical category that could be used to summarise series of place names (*pace* EW s.v. *si-i-la*). It was probably against this background that Hallock proposed "House(?) (of) Humban" for Zila-Humban.<sup>877</sup>

<sup>875</sup> The name of the town is variously spelled as <sup>AŠ</sup>*zī-la-um-ban*, <sup>AŠ</sup>*zī-la-hu-ban*, <sup>AŠ</sup>*zī-la-ban* and <sup>AŠ</sup>*šil-la-um<sup>1</sup>-ba-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>*; cf. Vallat 1993a: 312 for occurrences.

<sup>876</sup> EW s.v. *h.zī-la.um-ban*; cf. Koch 1987: 268 and 1990: 160-2, 298.

<sup>877</sup> Hallock 1969: 774, followed by Zadok 1984a: 48 [291], 51. Compare <sup>DIS</sup>*zī-la-a* in the Old Elamite Siwepalarhuhpak inscription published by Farber (1975b: 84-5, rev. II'.25'-6'; EW s.v. *v.zī-la-a*). Compare also *si-i-la* for "statue" in a Sumerian lamentation text on which cf. Katz 1999: 112 fn. 20, 114-5.

Whatever its precise meaning, the name ‘Zila-Humban’ raises the question whether the place perhaps hosted a sanctuary for Humban. Unfortunately, there is no clear indication of this in the Fortification texts. The only clue is PF 0359, in which Rakkuš receives, from Utira, barley that he subsequently prepared “for the gods” (cf. App.7.7 below). Utira was based at Zila-Humban (PF 0022, PF 0023). Probably the same Rakkuš performs wine offerings for Adad and Humban in PF 0351. Yet, the last text seems to relate to (nearby?) Hatarrikaš rather than Zila-Humban (cf. App.7.7 with fn. 1194 below). In short, there is as yet no unequivocal evidence for the cult of Humban at Zila-Humban.<sup>878</sup>

5.4.3. *At the bank of the River Betir* – According to Strabo, one of the regular sacrifices practised by the Persians was a type of ritual performed in proximity of a lake, river or spring (XV.3.14; translation adapted from H.L. Jones [Loeb]):

And to water they offer sacrifice by going to a lake or river or spring, where, having dug a trench thereto, they slaughter a victim, being on their guard lest any of the water near by should be made bloody, believing that the blood would pollute the water; and then, placing pieces of meat on myrtle and laurel branches, the Magi touch them with slender wands and sing in accompaniment thereby (ἐπαδουσιν), pouring oil mixed with both milk and honey, though not into fire or water, but upon the ground; and they carry on their accompanying hymns (ἐπωδαίς) for a long time, holding in their hands a bundle of slender myrtle wands.<sup>879</sup>

It is not certain to which period Strabo’s description refers (Achaemenid, Arsacid?), but it does seem to fit the evidence from the Fortification texts on river offerings. Five rivers appear in the edited Fortification relating to cultic activity: Ayanharišda, Hubutiš, Marriš, Rannakarra and Šaušanuš (cf. ¶17). Sacrificial animals are among the commodities reserved for river offerings (NN 2259:3-4), but wine and grain are found more regularly. Another partial parallel is the fact that some of the officiants involved have the title *makuš* (PF 1955:1-3, NN 2200:1-5). Others are introduced as *šatin* (PF 0339, NN 0379) or do not have any designation

<sup>878</sup> The GN Umbabanuš (PF 0720, PF 2000, NN 0857) may also contain the element ‘Humban,’ but nothing connects it to the cult of Humban.

<sup>879</sup> Compare also Herodotus I.131 on the role of water in Persian religion. Other relevant passages relating to the cult of rivers are Hdt. IV.91 (cf. Lecoq 1997: 20-1), VII.113 (horse sacrifices at the Strymon); Deinon FGH 690 F 5, F 28 (water as god); Arr. *Anab.* VI.3.1 and *Ind.* 18.11 (Alexander sacrificing and making a libation to the Hydaspes, Acesines and Indus upon the instruction of his seers); Strabo XI.7.5 (Hyrcanians sacrifice near waterfalls). Further references in Rapp 1865: 75-6. See also Potts [forthc. 2].

(NN 2259:3-4, NN 2183:3-4).<sup>880</sup> Additional elements in Strabo's description, such as the trench for the sacrificial blood, the myrtle and laurel branches and the hymns remain – not surprisingly – unmentioned in the Fortification archive.<sup>881</sup>

The question as to who is worshipped in the river offerings is not explicitly answered by either Strabo or the six Fortification texts just mentioned. Strabo speaks of an offering “to water.” Taken literally, this would have to mean that either a deified river or water spirits were venerated in the ritual. Both options are entirely possible: the Iranian tradition knows of deified rivers, such as the Oxus, and of water spirits protecting wells, lakes and streams.<sup>882</sup> Yet, certain other gods may well have been invoked alongside possible local spirits or deified rivers.<sup>883</sup> Sanctuaries near water have a long history in Iran. Notable examples are the Ištar sanctuary at the ‘water-hole’ of Bīt Ištar (possibly Ravānsar), which probably remained in use in the Achaemenid period (cf. §6.7.5 sub B below) and the possible Sasanian Anāhitā sanctuary at the spring of Bīsotūn, which may continue an Achaemenid or older place of cult (*ibid.* sub A).<sup>884</sup> Also, the Zoroastrian tradition knows of prayers and rituals performed on the sea-shore or near wells, springs and rivers in which certain gods, such as Anāhitā, or collectives of gods are invoked.<sup>885</sup> Such may also be the case in the Fortification texts on river offerings. The first argument pointing in this direction is that all but one of the hydronyms mentioned in cultic contexts lack the determinative marking divinity. This argument is not decisive, however, since the use of the divine determinative is not always con-

<sup>880</sup> Koch's claim (2001: 11) “Für diesen Kult [i.e. at rivers and mountaints; WH] waren die Magiër zuständig” is therefore erroneous.

<sup>881</sup> Boyce & Grenet note that oil and honey “are not offered in known Zoroastrian rites” (1991: 296; cf. Stausberg 2004: 323). This does not exclude, I think, that the Persians used these commodities, but one should reckon with the possibility that “oil and honey” are a Greek invention by Strabo or his source.

<sup>882</sup> Koch 1993c: 182 (Oxus); Bernard 1994: 97-8, 108-9 (Oxus); Mode 2003: 167-8, 173-4 (R. Zerafšan/Polytimetos in Sogdian tradition); Litvinskij 2003: 49-50 (water spirits); Taube 2003: 105 (*idem*). Šaz(z)i the (son of the) river god is regularly mentioned in the legal documents from Sukkalmah-period Susa and was still receiving offerings in the late Neo-Elamite period (cf. Acropole texts s 12: 2, 5; s 93:6; s 168:3). On Šaz(z)i cf. Frymer-Krensky 1977: 185-227 and 1981: 115-20 (reinterpretation of the ‘river-ordeal’ in Susa); Zadok 1984a: 38 [216]; EW s.vv. d.šá-iz-zí, d.šà-zi.

<sup>883</sup> Cf. De Jong (1997: 101, 138-9) on Strabo xv.3.14 and Hdt. i.131.

<sup>884</sup> A (Middle Elamite?) building at the old bank of the Āb-e Dez in close proximity of Čoḡā Zānbīl might also have played a role in riverside rituals (cf. §6.7.6.4 below).

<sup>885</sup> Cf. Stausberg 2004: 258-62, 322-5, 550-2 on rituals in or near water such as the libation performed by the mythical Gōpadšāh (see Potts 2002 on this figure).

sistent in the Fortification texts and also because there is one exception.<sup>886</sup> More pertinent is the argument raised by NN 0339, a text that records a river sacrifice for Humban:<sup>887</sup>

NN 0339 (box 0270)

seals: PFS 0041 left edge;  
another seal reverse

obverse

1. <sup>r</sup>6<sup>1</sup> *mar-ri-iš*

2. <sup>GIŠ</sup> <sup>MEŠ</sup> *GEŠTIN*

*kur-mán* <sup>HAL</sup>

3. *hi-ba-tur-ra-na*

4. <sup>HAL</sup> *ki-ti-ik* <sup>?</sup> *-ka*<sub>4</sub>

5. *du-ša* <sup>AN</sup> *um-*

6. *ba-in-na*

lower edge

7. *ha la-iš-<sup>r</sup>da*<sup>1</sup>

reverse

8. <sup>AS</sup> <sup>A</sup> <sup>MEŠ</sup> *be-<sup>r</sup>ti*<sup>?</sup> *-ir-*

9. *na* <sup>AN</sup> *be-ul*

10. *23-um-me-man-na*

1-2 <sup>r</sup>60<sup>1</sup> qts. of wine, <sup>2-3</sup> allocation from Ibaterra, <sup>4-5</sup> Kitikka received; <sup>5-7</sup> he has offered it as (the offering) for Humban <sup>8-9</sup> of (at) the River Betir; <sup>9-10</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> year.

NN 0339 is thus far the only text that mentions the name of the deity venerated in the river sacrifice, but given the above considerations there is no need to consider it an

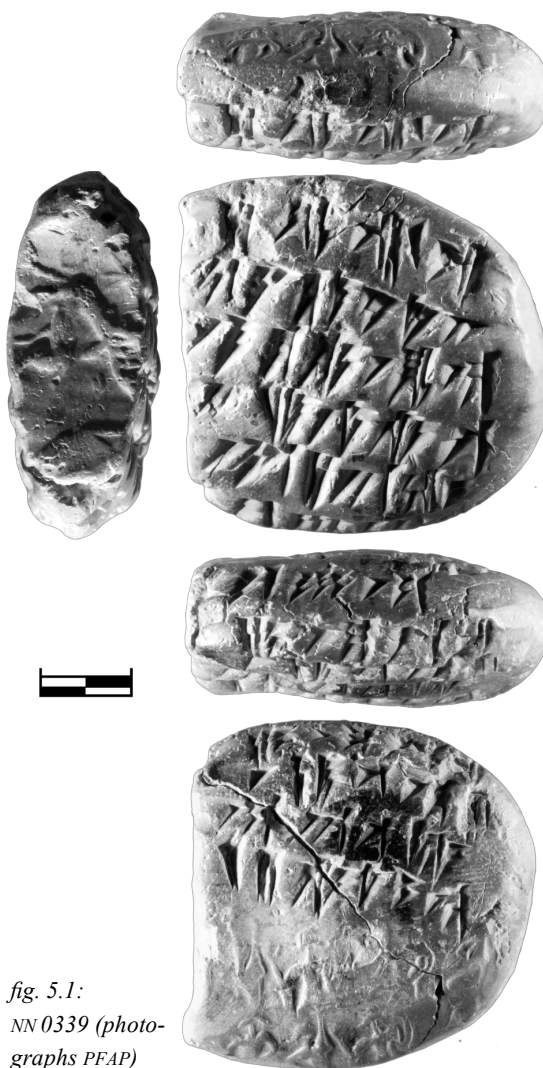


fig. 5.1:  
NN 0339 (photographs PFAP)

<sup>886</sup> The river Marriš once has and once lacks the determinative (NN 2183:3-4 and NN 2200:1-5). Compare the mountain offerings discussed in §6.4 ad l.4 and ¶16 below.

<sup>887</sup> Permission to publish NN 0339 was kindly granted by M.W. Stolper. The text was edited by R.T. Hallock and collated by C.E. Jones and M.W. Stolper. TI is the most plausible reading in *be-<sup>r</sup>ti*<sup>?</sup> *-ir-na*.

exception. Other river offerings mentioned in the archive may also have been performed in honour of certain gods rather than for the stream as such. Note, however, that there is no reason to assume that *all* river sacrifices were made for the same god, *viz* Humban. Other suitable candidates would be Anāhitā, frequently associated with streaming, pure waters, and Napiriša, the Elamite Ea/Enki. At any rate, NN 0339 is a powerful reminder that river offerings are not an exclusively Iranian affair as Koch (1991: 93-4) implies.<sup>888</sup>

Finally, the location of the Betir calls for attention. *Via* the appearance of the wine supplier Ibaturra, who is stationed at Tašpak, the river can be situated in central Fahliyān region (cf. App.7.3 below).<sup>889</sup> This location is hardly a coincidence: precisely the central Fahliyān region is very rich in springs and streams. The region's splendid water resources not only inspired the imagery of the Old Elamite Kūrāngūn relief (cf. the recent comments by Potts 2004), but apparently also prompted the Achaemenid river offering for Humban.<sup>890</sup>

Apart from the river Betir, we know of another special place of worship for Humban: Kullili offered wine to the god at nine *pilu*, “wine storages” (*vel sim.*). These and other storage facilities are often the locus of cultic activity, but the divine beneficiary is only rarely mentioned (cf. §6.4 ad. ll.10, 12, 14 below).

5.4.4. *The vocabulary of Humban's cult* – As pointed out before (§3.6.6), some texts on offerings for Humban adopt a unique phrase: PN *duša*, DN-*nama* (*ha*) *lašda*, “PN received, he has offered (it) as (offering) for DN.” The use of *lašda* in cultic context is confined to texts on Humban and “the gods.” Also, the form DN-*nama* is found with no other named god. These points set the cult of Humban apart in terms of terminology and point to the preservation of an older vocabulary relating to his cult.

It is not claimed here that Humban's cult is set apart in absolute terms; there is no reason to picture it as an exclusively Elamite affair (cf. §5.4 above). This is confirmed by the use of the term *bakadaušiyam* in six texts on Humban.<sup>891</sup>

<sup>888</sup> Contrast Koch 1977: 96 where the name of the River Ayanharišda is tentatively identified as Elamite (cf. EW s.v. *a-hi-in-har-iš-da*). The name Ayanharišda (pronounced /ayanharišda/ or /ayinharišda/; cf. Tavernier 2006b: 191) may contain the word for “house, family” (cf. EW s.vv. *a-a-ni*, *a-a-ni-ip*, *a-hi-in*, *a-i-in*; Vallat 1997a).

<sup>889</sup> The name of the Betir seems Elamite (cf. Zadok 1984a: 35 [186]; Stolper 2005c).

<sup>890</sup> According to Koch (1987: 260-2) there is an accumulation of mountain and river offerings in the region west/southwest of Persepolis (her ‘Bezirk 4’). This is not true for all river offerings: two texts on the Hubutiš, Rannakarra and Šaušanuš (PF 0339, NN 0379) are sealed with PFS 0017 relating them to the eastern Fahliyān region, northwest of Persepolis (cf. App.7.6 below). On river offerings see also Koch 1977: 96-8.

<sup>891</sup> PF 0348, PF 0349, NN 0108 (*ba-ka₄<-da>-u-ši*), NN 0650 and NN 0893.

The word is a transcription of Old Persian *\*bagadaučiya-*, which may be translated as “(feast) belonging to the offering for a god.”<sup>892</sup> Apart from Humban, the gods Auramazdā, Mišdušiš, Pirdakamiya, “the remaining gods” and the month Sakurraziš benefit from a *bakadaušiyam*.<sup>893</sup> That the term denotes a feast becomes clear from the stipulation *meni kurtaš makiš*, “afterwards, the workers consumed (it),” in some of the texts. In NN 1679 their number is given: 530 qts. of barley are consumed, no doubt in the form of sacrificial loaves, by 120 workers. The information of *bakadaušiyam* can be summarised as in table 5.1 below.

<i>text</i>	<i>commodity</i>	<i>beneficiary</i>	<i>comment</i>
PF 0336	400 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i>
PF 0337	800 qts. of barley	Auramazdā, Mišdušiš	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i>
NN 0978	1000 qts. of barley	Auramazdā, Mišdušiš	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i>
NN 0366	400 qts. of barley	Auramazdā	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i>
NN 0613	530 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš, Sakurraziš	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i>
NN 0679	530 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš, Sakurraziš	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i>
NN 1679	530 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš, Sakurraziš	<i>meni kurtaš makiš</i> ; 120 <i>kurtaš</i>
PF 0349	600 qts. of barley	Humban	Ø
NN 0893	600 qts. of barley	Humban	Ø
NN 0650	160 <sup>9</sup> qts. of barley	Humban	Ø
NN 0108	40 qts. of flour	Humban	Ø
PF 0348	30 qts. of wine	Humban	Ø
NN 0791	20 qts. of wine	Pirdakamiya	Ø
NN 0318	80 qts. of barley	“the remaining gods”	Ø
NN 1941	[x]+40 qts. of <i>tarmu</i>	(Markašana?)	Ø

table 5.1: *bakadaušiyam*

<sup>892</sup> So Tavernier 2007a: 461 [4.4.22.4]. See also Hinz 1973a: 84 and 1975a: 55 (“Gottes-Opferspende”), EW s.vv. *d.ba-qa-da-u-ši-iš*, *d.ba-qa-da-u-ši-ya* (“Gottesopfer”) and Schmitt 1973: 16-7 on the related personal name. Not “god-propitiatory offerings” as Gershevitch wanted (*apud* Hallock 1969: 19, comparing Av. *zaoša-* pleasure). Compare *daušam* and *daušiyam* (§3.2.1 with fnn. 460, 462 above).

<sup>893</sup> On *nap šaššakana*, “for the remaining gods,” cf. EW s.vv. *d.na-ap* and *ša-is-ša-qa*. In NN 1941 no DN is mentioned, unless the offering is ‘for’ the month Markašana. The following spellings occur for *bakadaušiyam*: <sup>AN</sup>*ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-da-u-ši-iš* (2x), <sup>AN</sup>*ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-da-u-ši* (2x), *ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-da-u-ši* (1x), <sup>AN</sup>*ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-da-u-ši-ia* (8x), <sup>AN</sup>*ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-da-u-ši-ia-um* (1x), <sup>AN</sup>*ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-du-ši-ia-um* (1x).

The stipulation that sacrificial commodities were afterwards consumed by workers does not occur in the texts on *bakadaušiyam* for Humban. This is puzzling since the amount of 600 qts. of barley issued in PF 0349 and NN 0893 could serve a party larger than the 120 workers in NN 1679. Perhaps it was clear enough for the administrators that in case of larger allocations for a *bakadaušiyam*, workers would consume it.<sup>894</sup> Note that consumption by workers does not seem the prime information conveyed by any of the above texts; otherwise their numbers would have been recorded in each case. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the 600 qts. for Humban's *bakadaušiyam* were consumed by workers. For Koch, not only the 600 qts. of barley, but also the 30 qts. of wine (PF 0348) for Humban served "einem großen Festgelage" and this may be correct.<sup>895</sup>

Feasts were an important part of the cultic activity organised by the Persepolis administrators. As I have explained in more detail elsewhere, they served an economic and ideological purpose: workers would get extra rations and these rations would be presented as (royal) largesse (cf. §§6.3.2-3). An ideological component to a feast for Mišdušiš, "Giving Reward," or Pirdakamiya, "He who fulfils wishes," is not hard to guess. More important in the present context is the connection of both Humban and Auramazdā with such feasts. Given the relatively infrequent appearance of Auramazdā in the Fortification archive and his personal connection, as expressed time and again in the royal inscriptions, with the king of kings, it would be attractive to investigate his role from the context of ancient Near Eastern royal or imperial gods such as Assur (on whom see Kuhrt 1995 II: 511-4; Holloway 2002: 65-8). The celebration of Auramazdā in feasts like a *bakadaušiyam* would at any rate agree well with a god whose prime importance may have been in royal religious ideology.<sup>896</sup> That Humban appears in the same context and, measured by the quantities of barley, flour and wine expended, was

<sup>894</sup> In this context it may be noted that not even the term *bakadaušiyam* is used consistently. Pidaka receives 600 qts. of barley for Humban in three texts, but only two of these state that the grain was used for a *bakadaušiyam* (PF 0349; NN 0893). The third, PF 0350, may pertain to the same type of offering. Less certain is the case of Ambaduš who receives 70 qts. of barley for Humban (PF 0340) and 160<sup>7</sup> qts. for a *bakadaušiyam* for the same god (NN 0650). The god Pirdakamiya receives 50, 20 and 20 qts. of wine (PF 0303, NN 0310, NN 0791), but only in the case of NN 0791 is the wine said to be used for a *bakadaušiyam*. Note also the case of Bakaparna, who receives *tarmu* (emmer) for a *bakadaušiyam* in NN 1941 and barley for an *akrim* (also a kind of feast) in NN 2035.

<sup>895</sup> Cf. 1977: 125-6. On *bakadaušiyam* see also *idem* 1987: 244, 263-5, 276.

<sup>896</sup> Cf. Kuhrt 2007a: 123-4, "it is probably more appropriate to think of Auramazda as, above all, the god of the king, rather than the overarching supreme deity he became in later periods of Persian history." As Kuhrt points out, the inscription DSK, "Auramazdā is mine, I am Auramazdā's," strikingly underlines the deity's role as royal god.

treated, minimally, *ex aequo* with Auramazdā, once more highlights the importance attached to the former by the Persian authorities.<sup>897</sup>

Finally, there is the enigmatic case of the beer received by Karsuka “offered (as) *ap-ʿzi*<sup>1</sup> (or *ap-ʿsu*<sup>1</sup>) for Humban” (NN 0109). The term *apzi* is a *hapax* for which no explanation has been found as yet.<sup>898</sup>

### 5.5. Summary

Humban’s history dates back to the *Treaty of Narām-Sîn*, in which he is mentioned as the second god. With Inšušinak he was counted among the “greatest of gods” in Middle Elamite times (§5.1). During the Neo-Elamite period, his popularity seems to have increased as can be deduced from the onomasticon and royal names, but also from four late Neo-Elamite texts, including a limestone inscription of Tepti-Huban-Insušnak and a stele of, plausibly, Atta-hamiti-Insušnak. Atta-hamiti-Insušnak may have been the same as the ‘rebel’ defeated by Darius and accused of not venerating Auramazdā, i.e. not upholding Persian imperial rule (§5.2).

Not only Atta-hamiti-Insušnak worshipped Humban: the agents of his enemy, Darius, commissioned a large number of offerings for this god. In the Persepolis pantheon, he was by far the most popular deity and, even without surviving evidence on animals sacrificed for him, the cumulative value of Humban’s offerings is the highest for any named god (§5.4.1; App.4).

Humban’s cult is concentrated in the Fahliyān region, but it is by no means confined to that region. Closer to Persepolis, at or in proximity of Pirdatkaš, Parmadan, Hatarrikaš, Barniš and Tikraš, Humban was also venerated and some of these places were major towns. Humban was not a god of provincial backwaters, nor was his worship only found in an exclusive ‘Elamite’ context as appears from the gods and officiants with whom he is associated (§5.4; App.7.4).

Humban is also the only god mentioned in connection with a river offering (§5.4.3), and this should inspire caution in assigning an Iranian background to such offerings. An Humban sanctuary may have been located at the place Zila-Humban

<sup>897</sup> Among the other beneficiaries receiving a *bakadaušīyam*, Mišdušiš and Pirdakamiya may, judging from their names, both be gods specifically associated with rewards. On \*Miždušī-, “giving reward,” cf. §5.4 fn. 871 above and see esp. Sims-Williams 1997. On \*Brtakām(i)ya-, “he who fulfils wishes,” cf. Hinz 1973a: 114; *idem* 1975a: 68; Koch 1987: 265; Tavernier 2007a: 97 [4.1.1] (and compare fn. 894 above). For abstracts cf. ¶8 and ¶12.

<sup>898</sup> The names Apzizi (Zadok 1983a: 100 [12]; 1984a: 6 [14], 48 [299]) and Apsitak (mentioned by Zadok 1984a: 62) may perhaps be compared.



(§5.4.2). Like Auramazdā and Mišdušiš, Humban benefited from *bakadaušiyam* sacrifices. The willingness of the administrators to organise such large feasts in honour of his name highlights the god's importance in the Persepolis pantheon (§5.4.4).

Finally, a significant role is assigned to Humban in the Neo-Elamite inscription of Hanni of Ayapir. One of his functions here is that of bestower of *kitin* ("divine protection") upon kings. This *kitin* recurs, as *kiten*, in the so-called *Daivā-inscription* of Xerxes where it should not be considered as a translator's idiosyncrasy, but as a token of the receptivity of Achaemenid royal ideology to such Elamite concepts. Not only *kitin* was remembered in the Persian period, but Auramazdā's role as king maker is directly comparable to that of Humban (§5.3).

## CHAPTER 6

### THE ‘RELIGIOUS JOURNAL’ (NN 2259)

#### 6.1. Introduction

The journal NN 2259 records an unusually high number of allocations of livestock for cultic purposes; ‘religious journal’ therefore seems appropriate as a by-name. The right to publish Hallock’s transliteration (collated), along with the photographs printed below, was kindly granted by Matthew W. Stolper of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago.<sup>899</sup>

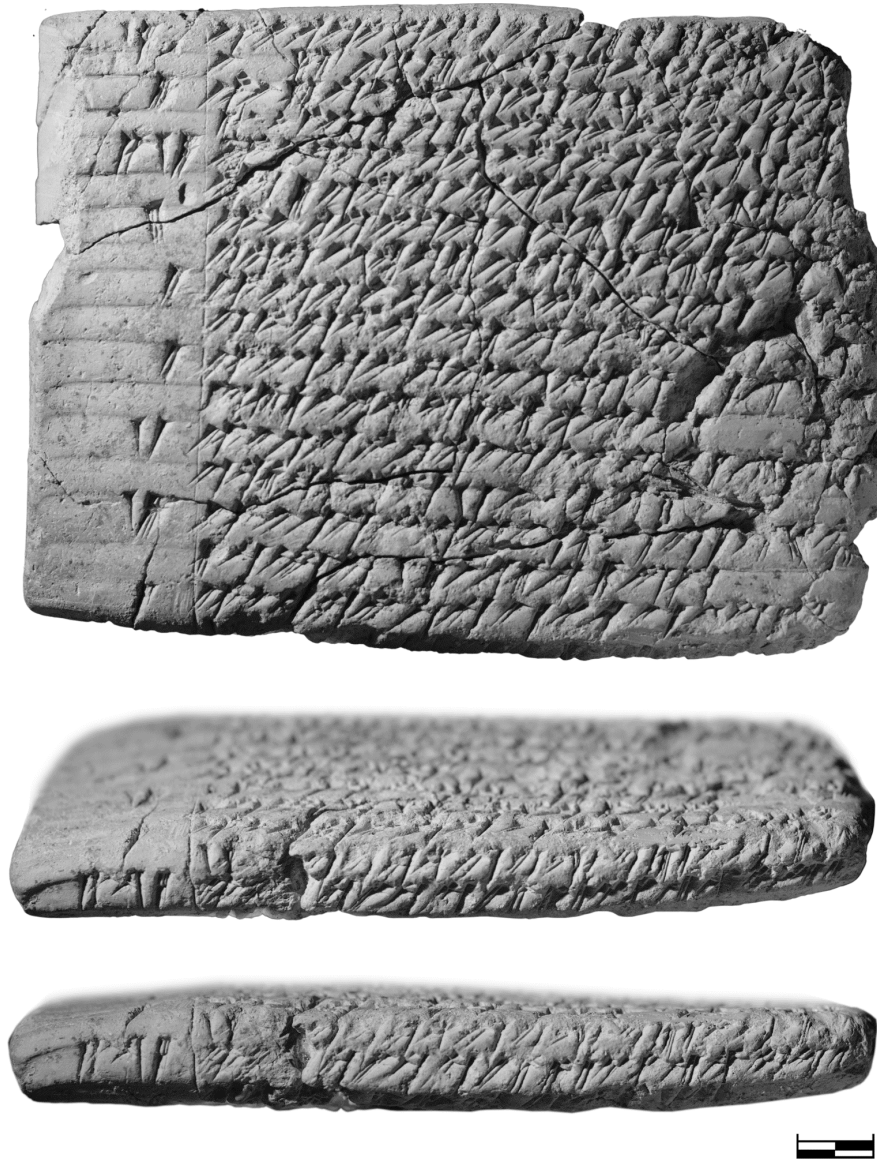
Parnakka, the chief administrator and highest representative of the King in the Persepolis economy, figures prominently in the journal. Of fourteen discrete entries, twelve mention his name. These refer to Parnakka as receiving livestock, performing *šip* and issuing sealed orders for a variety of sacrifices. His deputy, Ziššawiš, also occurs as recipient of livestock. Finally, Bagiya, on an itinerary from Kermān to the King, receives animal rations as well. Like the other two recipients just referred to, Bagiya belongs to the upper stratum of Persian society (see §6.4 ad l.27 below).

Apart from this star cast and the number of entries relating to animal sacrifices, NN 2259 stands out for the kind of ceremonies mentioned and the numbers of livestock sacrificed in them. Especially the grand *šip* and *lan* celebrations at Pasargadae are of great interest. As for the numbers: the religious journal records a total of 420 head *makka*, “consumed” during Dar. 20 (502-1 BC), 359 of which were used in various religious ceremonies. This is by far the highest number of livestock for religious purposes mentioned in a single text.<sup>900</sup> With a regular 1:100 ratio, the equivalent of this is 35,900 qts. of grain. No single memorandum, nor any journal, documents a comparable volume of allocations for cultic purposes.<sup>901</sup>

<sup>899</sup> For the transliteration style applied here cf. pp. xix-xx.

<sup>900</sup> Besides, the total number of 420 head in NN 2259 is among the ten highest recorded in all the PFT. The leading cases are NN 1865 (1,549 head) and NN 2261 (1,333<sup>+</sup> head).

<sup>901</sup> Among memoranda PF 1854 and NN 2174 (both 24 sheep/goats) are closest, among the journals NN 2202 (2,500<sup>?</sup> qts. of grain).



*fig. 6.1: NN 2259, obverse and lower edge  
(photographs PFAP)*

## 6.2. Text

NN 2259 (box 1461)

no seal (pers.comm. M.B. Garrison)

transliteration by R.T. Hallock (collated)

1. 14 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na-ma* <sup>AN</sup>*šī-ip<sup>1</sup>-ma* *ma-ak-<sup>1</sup>ka<sub>4</sub>* *du<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-*  
[...]
2. <sup>HAL</sup>*KI+MIN* <sup>AN</sup>*šī-ip* *hu-<sup>1</sup>ut<sup>1</sup>-taš-da* <sup>AŠ</sup>*bat-ra-ka<sub>4</sub>-<sup>1</sup>taš* <sup>AN</sup>*ITI*  
<sup>MEŠ</sup>*1*[.....]
3. 6 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*KI+MIN-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*[u-<sup>1</sup>ri-ka<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-ma* *du-šá* *da-u-šī-ia-um*  
<sup>AN</sup>*na-ap-<sup>1</sup>pi<sup>1</sup>-[na]*
4. 2 <sup>AŠ</sup>*KUR*<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AN</sup>*šá-ki-na* 2 <sup>AŠ</sup>*KUR*<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AN</sup>*ak-še<sup>2</sup>-na-na* 2 <sup>A</sup>*MEŠ* *ú-*  
*bu<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[ti<sup>2</sup>-iš<sup>2</sup>-na]*
5. 1 ME 18 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*uk-šī-in-ka<sub>4</sub><sup>2</sup>* *du-šá* *da-u-šī-ia-*  
*um<sup>1</sup>* [<sup>AN</sup>]
6. *la-na<sup>1</sup>* 6 <sup>AN</sup>*la-na* <sup>AN</sup>*an-da-ba-iš-ma* *li-ri-ma-<sup>1</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>* <sup>AN</sup>*ITI*<sup>1</sup>[<sup>MEŠ</sup> ...]
7. 30 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-ut-ri-za-da* *du<sup>1</sup>-šá* *da-u-šī-*  
*ia<sup>1</sup>-[um]*
8. <sup>AN</sup>*la-na* <sup>AŠ</sup>*bat-ra-ka<sub>4</sub>-taš* <sup>AŠ</sup>*pár-te-taš-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* *li-ri-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>* <sup>AN</sup>*ITI*<sup>MEŠ</sup>*1*  
10(+)<sup>2</sup>*-na<sup>1</sup>*
9. 2 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*bad-du-šá<sup>2</sup>-ak<sup>1</sup>-ka<sub>4</sub>* *du-šá* *da-*  
*u-šī-ia<sup>1</sup>*
10. <sup>AN</sup>*mī-na-um-na* <sup>AŠ</sup>*pi-lu-na* <sup>AN</sup>*ITI*<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AN</sup>*kur<sup>2</sup>-ma<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>-[ba<sup>2</sup>-]<sup>1</sup>taš<sup>1</sup>*
11. 2 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*bad-du-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-na* [*du-*]*šá* *da-u-*  
*šī-ia<sup>1</sup>*
12. <sup>AN</sup>*sa-a-kur-ra-<sup>1</sup>zī<sup>1</sup>-iš* *a-ak* *ha-pi-da-<sup>1</sup>nu-iš<sup>1</sup>*
13. 11 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*na-<sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-uk-ka<sub>4</sub>* *du<sup>1</sup>-šá* *da-u-šī-*  
*ia-um<sup>1</sup>*
14. <sup>AN</sup>*ka<sub>4</sub>-ir-ba-šī-ia<sup>1</sup>-na* 11 <sup>AŠ</sup>*ba-lu-um* *ha-tu-ma<sup>1</sup>*
15. 16 *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-ki-iš* *du-šá* *da<sup>1</sup>-u-šī-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>[(*  
*um* <sup>AŠ</sup>*)]*
16. *ku<sup>1</sup>-šu-kūm-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>* 16 <sup>AŠ</sup>*ba-lu-um* *ha-tu-ma*
17. <sup>4</sup>*1* *hal-mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár<sup>1</sup>-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>* <sup>HAL</sup>*šá-tin* *du-šá* *da<sup>1</sup>-*  
lower edge
18. *u-šī-ia<sup>1</sup>* <sup>AN</sup>*na<sup>1</sup>-ap-pi-na* <sup>AN</sup>*ITI*<sup>MEŠ</sup>*1* <sup>AN</sup>*sa-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-kur-<sup>1</sup>ra-zī-iš<sup>1</sup>*
19. 1 ME 44 *hal-<sup>1</sup>mi* <sup>HAL</sup>*pár<sup>1</sup>-na-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*ku-<sup>1</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>* *a-ak* <sup>SAL</sup>*ú-tur* *du-iš*  
*ra<sup>2</sup>-x<sup>1</sup>[(...)]*

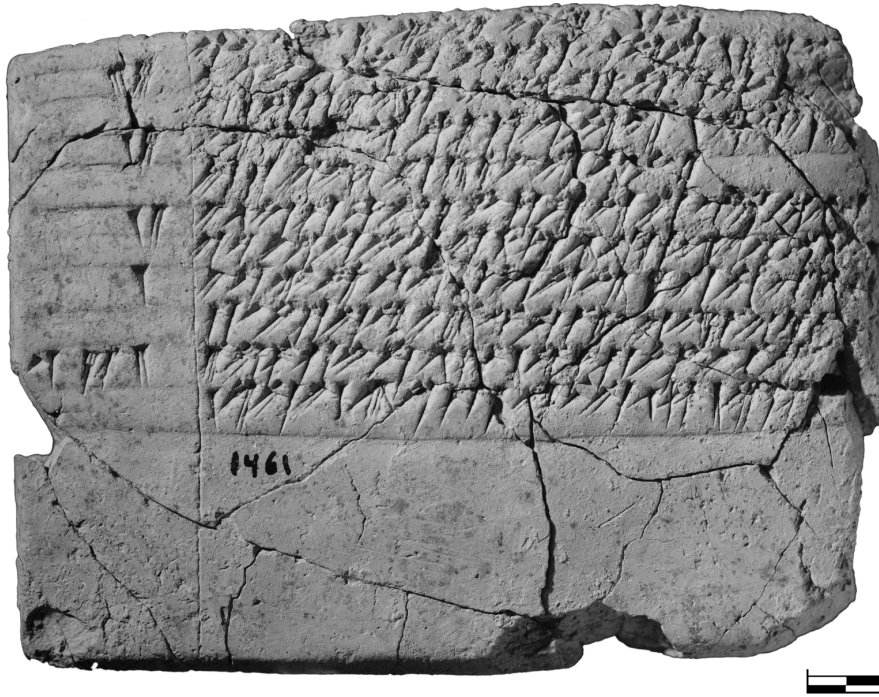


fig. 6.2: NN 2259, reverse  
(photograph PFAP)

reverse

- |                |    |   |
|----------------|----|---|
| 20.            |    | $\text{rGiS} \text{ba}^2\text{-š}^2\text{u}^2\text{-ur}^2 \text{ha gi-ra-iš}^2\text{-da}^2 \text{AN} \text{ITI}^{\text{MEŠ}} 11\text{-na}$                            |
| 21.            | 36 | $\text{rHAL} \text{pár}\langle\text{-x}\rangle\text{-na-ak}^1\text{-ka}_4 \text{gal}^1\text{-lu-ma} \text{du}^1\text{-iš-da} 18 \text{rAN} \text{na}^1\text{-}$       |
| 22.            |    | $\text{an ha-tu}^1\text{-ma} \text{rAN} \text{ITI}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{AN} \text{ka}_4\text{-ir}^1\text{-ba-ši-ia-rma}^? \text{AN}^? \text{ba}^? \text{[gi}^2\text{-}$ |
|                |    | $\text{ia}^2\text{-ti}^2\text{-iš}^2\text{-na}^2]$  |
| 23.            | 15 | $\text{rHAL} \text{zi-iš-šá}^1\text{-[ú-]} \text{iš}^1 \text{gal-lu-ma du-iš-da}^1 10 \text{rAN} \text{na-an ha}^1\text{-}$   |
| 24.            |    | $\text{tu-ma} \text{AN} \text{ITI}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{AN} \text{sa-a-kur-ra-zí}^1\text{-iš}$  |
| 25.            | 12 | $\text{HAL} \text{nu-du-rma}^1\text{-tam}_5 \text{du}^1\text{-šá} \text{pu}^1\text{-ma-zí}^1\text{-iš-na}^? \text{AN} \text{na}^1\text{-ap}^1\text{-pi-}$             |
|                |    | $\text{na}^1$   |
| 26.            |    | $\text{an-ka}_4 \text{HAL} \text{pár-na-ak-rka}_4 \text{AN} \text{ši-ip hu-ut-taš-da} \text{AN} \text{mar-rka}_4\text{-šá-}$  |
|                |    | $\text{na}^1[(-i\text{š})]$   |
| 27.            | 10 | $\text{HAL} \text{ba-gi-ia ka}_4\text{-li-ma du}^1\text{-iš-da} \text{r5} \text{AN} \text{na-an ha-tu}^1\text{-}$   |
| 28.            |    | $\text{ma} \text{AS} \text{kur-ma-na-mar} \text{HAL} \text{EŠŠANA}^1\text{-ik-ka}_4 \text{pa-ráš} \text{AN} \text{ITI}^{\text{MEŠ}}$                                  |
|                |    | $\text{AN} \text{sa}^1\langle\text{-a}\rangle\text{-kur-ra}^1\langle\text{-zí-iš}\rangle$   |
| 29.PAP 4 ME 20 |    | $\text{UDU.NITÁ}^{\text{MEŠ}} \text{ma-ak-ka}_4 \text{be-rul}^1 20\text{-um-rme}^1\text{-ma kur-mán} \text{HAL} \text{áš-}$   |
|                |    | $\text{ba-rí}^1\text{-}$  |
| 30.            |    | $\text{u-da-na} \text{HAL} \text{u-ri-rka}_4\text{-ma} \text{šá-ra}^1\text{-man-na be-ul 20-um-rme-ma}^1$   |

## 6.3. Translation

<sup>1-2</sup> 14 (head), in accordance with a sealed document from Parnakka, were consumed at a *šip* feast, *du*[...]; Parnakka has performed the *šip* feast (at) Pasargadae (in) the month [...].

<sup>3-4</sup> 6 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Urikama received (as) offering for the gods: 2 for the divine mountain Šaki, 2 for/at the divine mountain Akšena (“Turquoise”), 2 for/at R. Hubutiš.

<sup>5-6</sup> 118 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Ukšinka received (as) offering for an oblation(-ceremony). 6 oblation(-ceremonies) are being delivered/performed at Andabaš (during) [...] month(s).

<sup>7-8</sup> 30 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Šatrizada received (as) offering for the oblation(-ceremony), to deliver/perform at the plantation (at) Pasargadae (during) 12<sup>7</sup> months.

<sup>9-10</sup> 2 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Badduškaka received (as) offering for Minam at a/the wine storage in the 4<sup>th</sup> month.

<sup>11-2</sup> 2 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Baddumana received (as) offering (for/in) Sakurraziš and (for/at) a reservoir.

<sup>13-4</sup> 11 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Napukka received (as) offering for/in Karbaši(ya)š at 11 storehouses.

<sup>15-6</sup> 16 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Šakiš received (as) *kušukum* offering at 16 storehouses.

<sup>17-8</sup> 4 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Šakka the *šatin* received (as) offering for the gods (in) the 3<sup>rd</sup> month.

<sup>19-20</sup> 144 (head), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Parnakka, Kusa and the woman Utur received; *ra*[...] (on) an (offering) table they therewith have made (a) dedication(s)<sup>7</sup> during 11 (*recte* 12) months.

<sup>21-2</sup> 36 (head) Parnakka has received as payment during 18 days in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> months.

<sup>23-4</sup> 15 (head) Ziššawiš has received as payment during 10 days in the 3<sup>rd</sup> month.

<sup>25-6</sup> 12 (head) Nudumatam received for (a) *pumaziš* for the gods, when Parnakka performed a/the *šip* feast, in the 8<sup>th</sup> month.

<sup>27-8</sup> 10 (head) Bagiya received as payment during 5 days; he went from Kermān to the King, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> month.

<sup>29-30</sup> (Summary): Altogether 420 head of sheep/goats consumed in the 20<sup>th</sup> year; allocations from Ašbayauda, Urikama being responsible, in the 20<sup>th</sup> year.

6.4. *Comments*

- 1 ***halmi parnakkanama*** ([PN.n.m(a)]): this is the only time in this text that the phrase “in accordance with a sealed document from PN” is written out fully (elsewhere: *halmi parnakkana*, [PN.n(a)]). The sealed document referred to probably was a letter order (cf. §2.5.5.1 above). The issuing of such orders in relation to special cultic activities may have been common, but is attested or referred to only rarely. Apart from NN 2259 (which has ten such cases), the cases found in the available sample are:

PF 1802	Parnakka	barley for Nah (Nahhunte?; cf. ¶6 below)
PF 1854	Harrena	sheep/goats for a <i>bašur</i> offering
PF 1953:4-6	Karkiš	wine for a <i>kušukum</i> offering
PF 2067	Parnakka	wine for the gods at Gimarukkaš
PF 2068	Parnakka	barley for the gods at Gimarukkaš
NN 1665	Parnakka	sheep or goats for a <i>šip</i> feast (cf. ★App. q.v.)
NN 1700	Ziššawiš	barley for <i>šumar</i> keepers (cf. ¶103-7)
NN 1848	Mardašba	flour for <i>šumar</i> keepers (cf. ¶107-10)
NN 2174	Parnakka	sheep/goats for <i>šumar</i> keepers (cf. ¶110-3)
NN 2348:12-4	Rabbezza	wine for/in Karbašiya and <i>kušukum</i> offerings
NN 2348:15-6	Rabbezza	wine for/in Karbašiya and <i>kušukum</i> offerings
NN 2348:17-9	Rabbezza	wine for/in Karbašiya and <i>kušukum</i> offerings
NN 2486:47-8	Ziššawiš	fruit for an <i>anši</i> ceremony (cf. ★App. q.v.)
Fort. 2512	Parnakka	sheep/goats for <i>šumar</i> keepers (cf. ¶113-5)

No doubt the importance attached to the above ceremonies, or their extraordinary nature, prompted the use of letter orders.

The available evidence on *šip* suggests that commodities offered during such feasts were consumed by larger groups. The 14 head of livestock mentioned here may have fed as many as 140 participants (cf. ★§6.3.3).

- 2 The identification of **Batrakataš** (also Bašrakada) with Gk. Πασ(σ)αργάδα is widely accepted, though the etymology remains problematic. On the name cf. Bailey in Hansman 1975: 311-2 (*contra*: Gignoux 1976: 306-7), Humbach 2003 and Tavernier 2007a: 392 [4.3.166]. See Vallat 1993a: 38-9 for the numerous occurrences in PFT (cf. Stronach 1978: 281; Koch 1988b; *idem* 1990: 30-1 and index s.v.).

Apart from NN 2259:1-2, Pasargadae is the scene of cultic activities in PF 0774 (*akriš*), PF 1942:1-2 (*akriš*), NN 1701 (*šip*), NN 1731 (*šip*), NN 1941 (*bakadaušiyam*), NN 2035 (*akrim* = *akriš*), and NN 2259:7-8 (*lan*).<sup>902</sup> In

<sup>902</sup> See also Hinz 1970: 425; Koch 1977: 57, 60, 141; 1987: 270-1; 1993b: 68, 88-9.

addition, the classical sources inform us on the sacrifices at Cyrus' tomb (Arr. VI.29.4-7; Strabo XV.3.7; cf. §152-4 and §6.7.3 below), and on a specific kind of sacrifice that reportedly took place in Pasargadae and Persepolis (App., *Mith.* XII.66 and Diod. XIX.22.1-3; cf. Calmeyer 1982: 185-6; Briant 1996: 256; §§1, 6.4.4).

NN 2259:1-2 does not specify the exact location of the *šip* feast at Pasargadae, nor do any of the texts relating to cultic activity at Pasargadae, except for NN 2259:7-8 which refers to the *partetaš*, "plantation" (cf. below ad l.8). We do know, however, that a *šip* feast was a rather grand occasion, presided over by Parnakka or Ziššawiš and attended by a large number of participants. This naturally brings to mind the so-called 'sacred precinct' in the northwestern part of Pasargadae. Leaving aside the mud-brick terrace (probably of a later date) and the 'wall' enclosing a large space (*idem*), the sacred precinct is a large open space centred on two large stone plinths that may date to the early Achaemenid period. One of these has a staircase, the other probably never had. The most convincing analysis takes the two as a single monument: a platform for an officiant and a second platform to support, perhaps, a portable fire altar. The ritual performed would mirror that of the façades of the royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis: the King standing on a stepped platform, in front of a fire altar on a second stepped platform.<sup>903</sup> The parallel seems compelling and fragments of two or three stone fire altars have indeed been found at various locations in and near Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: 141; Houtkamp 1991: 37; Garrison 1999: 614-5, pl. 3). At any rate the ritual centred around the two stone plinths may well have been a phase of the large sacrificial feast that the tablets refer to as *šip*. The argument that, in my view, convincingly connects the ceremony called

<sup>903</sup> On the plinths and the interpretation of the monument see: Stronach 1978: 138-145, pls. 103-7; Trümpelmann 1977 (speculative); Yamamoto 1979 [*non vidi*]; Boyce 1982: 53-4 ("made to enable the Great King to perform religious rites in the open with fitting solemnity"), 89; Boucharlat 1984: 126-7; Stronach 1985b: 606-8, pl. 36a; Houtkamp 1991: 36-7; Garrison 1999: 614-5. The geo-magnetic survey by Boucharlat & Benech (2002: 30-3) revealed that the enclosure of undressed stones, which seems to connect the plinths and the mud-brick platform in a large, asymmetric layout, exists only on the surface: "ces murs ... n'existent pas en profondeur; il est peu probable alors qu'ils soient contemporains des plinthes en pierre ni même de la série de terrasses. La conséquence directe de ce constat est la disparition de tout lien certain entre les deux plinthes et les terrasses." This and the later date of the terrace are compelling reasons to consider the stone plinths as a separate monument that was only later included in a larger complex. See Garrison [forthc. 3] on different fire altar types on Achaemenid seals in relation to the scene on the royal tombs.



*šip* and the ceremony attested by the stone plinths is their scale. The monumental plinths are clearly intended for the King or his representative to be seen by a larger audience. They are, as it were, an ideological stage built to visualise the King's exalted position and his exceptional closeness to the gods. Similarly, the *šip* feasts involved hundreds of participants and were closely connected to the crown by the involvement of Parnakka or Ziššawiš and by their location, notably Pasargadae and the royal *partetaš* at Appištadan (cf. §6.7.5 and ★§6.3.3). One can easily imagine the King or his high representative dominating the feast, standing on the platform, calling for divine blessing and acceptance of the offerings and granting the sacrificial meat (a rare treat!), loaves, wine, etc. as gifts to the attendants gathered around the two plinths. I admit that there is no formal proof to substantiate this hypothesis, but it offers a logical combination of the given elements: a sacrifice at Pasargadae, the attendance of a larger audience, the involvement of a high official and the two monumental plinths at Pasargadae plausibly mirroring the stepped platforms in the royal ritual on the royal tomb façades. Moreover, there are two parallels, though from different periods, that support the above scenario. The first is the sacrifice and ritual banquet depicted in the Neo-Elamite open-air sanctuary of Kūl-e Farah (Īzeh; cf. ★§7.3), the other the sacrificial feast held at Persepolis in 317 BC where the Macedonian army sat in four concentric circles around two altars "for the gods and for Alexander and Philip" (Diod. XIX.22; cf. ★§6.4.4).

<sup>AN</sup>IT<sup>MEŠ</sup>[.....] is written mostly on the right edge.

- 3 As the present text shows, **Urikama** was both active as officiant and as an official overseeing transactions (l.30). He occurs in one or both of these capacities in six other texts. Urikama is the only officiant of "the divine mountain Šaki" known to date and is mentioned as such in NN 1751:1-2, 14 and NN 2202:3. In these two journals, and in a third, he is (also) issuing sealed orders (NN 1751:4-7, 15-7, 18, NN 2183:7-11, NN 2202:4-9, 15-7, 18) and supervises the total of transactions (NN 1751:25, NN 2202:5). Urikama's activities in NN 2259 are thus remarkably similar to those in NN 1751 and NN 2202 in particular. In addition, horses and sheep/goats fall under his jurisdiction (PF 1877, PF 1878, PF 2011; cf. Koch 1990: 52-6). Finally, Urikama assigns workforces (NN 2183:7-11, NN 2202:15-7). In all these texts he is associated with the GNS Numarban, Marriš and Tikraš (on Tikraš cf. §4.1.5 above and App.1 below; see also Tuplin 1998: 91 fn. 61 [for "NN 2207" read "NN 2202:10"]). On the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 128 [4.2.212].

*daušiyam*: cf. §3.2.1 above for the translation "belonging to an offering."

- 4 The interpretation of 2 <sup>AS</sup>KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AN</sup>šá-ki-na is complicated by the determinative marking divinity that precedes Šaki. Šaki and Akšena (cf. below) are the only oronyms with the determinative <sup>AN</sup>. Normally, such names are

preceded by <sup>AS</sup> (marking toponyms) or by no determinative at all, even when listed among other beneficiaries (gods) that do have <sup>AN</sup>. This may suggest an intentional distinction between actual divine or sacred entities (gods and rites such as *lan* and *šip*) and a particular class of offerings *on* mountains (or *at* rivers). In this interpretation, the mountain or river itself was not necessarily considered divine (cf. §§3.4.2, 4.1.7 above) and the oronyms and hydronyms are therefore treated as ordinary toponyms (<sup>AS</sup>KUR<sup>MES</sup> <sup>AS</sup>GN or <sup>AS</sup>KUR<sup>MES</sup> GN; <sup>AS</sup>A<sup>MES</sup> GN). The case of Mantiyamaš, which is both the name of a mountain (NN 1999) and of a village (PF 0764, PF 1621), seems to favour this view. Šaki and Akšena (and R. Marriš) apparently present different cases, at least in the expression used, i.e. <sup>AS</sup>KUR <sup>AN</sup>GN/DN-*na*. The preferable interpretation seems “for the divine mountain GN/DN,” rather than “for the mountain of DN.” The EW (s.v. d.šá-*ki*) takes the construction as elliptical, i.e. <sup>AS</sup>KUR<-*na*> <sup>AN</sup>GN/DN-*na*, “for the mountain <of> the god DN,” but I believe that the consistent absence of the first -*na* pleads against this solution. Other occurrences of Šaki are NN 1751:1-2, 14 and NN 2202:3 (cf. above ad l.3 and App.1.4 fn. 1059 and ¶16 below). Šaki is not attested outside the Fortification corpus.

The sign ŠE in <sup>AN</sup>*ak-še<sup>?</sup>-na-na* has two extra horizontals on top, but they seem to be the remains of an erased sign (cf. Hallock ms.). Akšena (\*Axšēna-) means “blue-green” or “turquoise” (Hinz 1975a: 25; Tavernier 2007a: 47 [2.2.9]). The word is primarily known as a qualifier of precious stone in the *Susa Charter* (DSf<sub>e</sub> 34, DSz<sub>e</sub> 36: *ak-še-na-um*), where it renders OPers. *axšaina-* (on the Akkadian version cf. Vallat 1983a). The name of a divine mountain *Akšena* is a hapax, but it does elsewhere occur as a personal name (PF 0479, NN 1467, NN 2127).

*ú-bu<sup>?</sup>-[ti<sup>?</sup>-iš<sup>?</sup>-na]*: only faint traces of the sign Ú survive. The restoration is based on (<sup>AS</sup>A<sup>MES</sup>) *hu-bu-ti-iš* in PF 0339 (cf. NN 0379°) and the PN <sup>HAL</sup>*ú-bu-ti-iš* in NN 1967 and Fort. 6180. See Vallat 1993a: 330 and Koch 1987: 261-2 on the river. On the name Hubutiš (PN and hydronym), from Old Persian \*(H)ubaudiš, “well-smelling,” cf. Hinz 1975a: 122; Tavernier 2006a: 387; *idem* 2007a: 203 [4.2.773], 383 [4.3.93].

5 <sup>HAL</sup>*uk-ši-in-ka<sup>?</sup>*: QA is written over an erasure (Hallock). Ukšinka is not known otherwise.

6 For the translation “oblation” for *lan* cf. §3.1.3.1 above. In this line, the first *lana* is clearly to be explained as “for the oblation” ([la.n(a)]). The syntax makes it likely that the second *lana* represents [la.n], i.e. without the attributive suffix, and is the subject of *lirimak* (cf. below). Admittedly, this interpretation takes the second *la-na* as an exceptional spelling for *lan*, but the alternative (“[118 head], for 6 *lan*, to be delivered at GN”) does not seem attractive to me as *lan* is always the object of *liri-*. Possibly, the scribe

mistakenly repeated the first <sup>AN</sup>*la-na*, instead of writing the required <sup>AN</sup>*la-an*. On the entry see also Razmjou 2004a: 106.

**Andabaš** is not known otherwise (cf. Vallat 1993a: 9).

***lirimak*** is a conjugation II formation with auxiliary *-ma*, built on either a verbal base *liri-* ([liri.ma.k]), or, rather, as suggested in §3.6.1.2 above, on a reduplicated verbal base *li-* (\**lilimak* [li.li.ma.k] > *lirimak*). *li-* means “to give, to deliver” (cf. §3.1.3.3). The *liri-* forms are invariably connected to *lan* in Achaemenid Elamite and may have developed an independent meaning (cf. Hallock 1969: 721, “to perform?”). This is the reason why I have taken the six *lan* ceremonies (not the 118 head) as subject of *lirimak* (cf. above). In my translation, *lirimak* is interpreted as a present with passive value, following Elizabeth Tucker’s analysis of the *-man/-mak* forms in Achaemenid Elamite (1998: 184-93, esp. 192). The 6 *lan* ceremonies are taken as a collective singular, which is a regular phenomenon, even with animals, as the case of *halsaka*, “put on pasture” shows.<sup>904</sup>

7 **Šatrizada** is not known otherwise; for the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 359-60 [4.2.1976].

8 On the ***partetaš*** in Pasargadae cf. below §6.7. In my translation, I have avoided “paradise,” “(hunting) park,” or “(botanical) garden,” the terms that are widely used to render Gk. παράδεισος. As the precise function of *partetaš* in the Persepolis economy remains unclear, I have opted for the non-committal “plantation.” The EW proposes a derivative meaning “Domäne, Herrengut” (s.v. *h.bar-te-taš*).

In contrast to the conjugation II finite form *lirimak* in I.6, ***lirima*** is best explained as an active conj. I infinitive or supine (also with auxiliary *-ma*): “PN (received x for *lan*) to deliver/to be delivered at GN.” Compare the conjugation III form *li-ri-ma-nu* in PF 0753 and NN 0556, which Hallock thought of as an infinitive as well (1969: 721). It seems that this form combines the auxiliary elements *-ma* and *-nu* ([liri.ma.nu]), as in the case of the (1<sup>st</sup> pl.) form *tirimanun* (DBa<sub>e</sub> 7, DB<sub>e</sub> I.5-6; cf. Reiner 1969: 80; on *-nu* see esp. Stolper 1978a: 266-9).<sup>905</sup>

<sup>904</sup> PF 1940:11-21 (fowl), PF 1942:4-6 (horses), PF 1943:31-3 (cattle), PF 1943:34-6 (sheep/goats), etc. Cf. Tucker 1998: 174. See also Grillot & Vallat 1975, Malbran-Labat 1986 and Stolper 2004a: 80 (with references) on the auxiliary element (or verb) *-ma*. The form *makka* (not *maka*), “consumed,” is unrelated to *-ma* (despite Grillot & Vallat 1975: 214). It derives from a verbal base *maki-*, as appears from forms like *ma-kaš* (NN 1874) and *ma-ki-iš-da* (PF 0707, PF 0708, etc.) (Henkelman [forthc. 1] §2 fn. 23).

<sup>905</sup> On NN 2259:7-8 see also Razmjou 2004a: 106, 109. On p.109 “storehouse, *balum*, at Pasargadae” should be corrected to “*partetaš* at Pasargadae” and “a ‘wine storehouse’ in Pasargadae” to “a ‘wine storehouse’ ” (on NN 2259:9-10).

- 9 **Baddušaḫka** is not known otherwise; on the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 476 [5.3.2.24].
- 10 The god **Minam** is mentioned only here. The EW (s.v. *d.mi-na-um*) thought of an OIr. god, “möglichlicherweise eine Art persischer Bacchus, vielleicht \*vinam.” This suggestion is based on the location of the sacrifice (*pilu* seems to be a kind of wine storage, cf. below) and on the – possibly fortuitous – resemblance of Minam and Lat. *vinum*. Audacious and unargued as it is, there is actually some room for the proposal, particularly since Lat. *vinum*, Gk. οἶνος, Hitt. *wiyana-*, Arm. *gini* (etc.) have been shown to continue PIE \**u(e)ih<sub>1</sub>-(o)n-* (Beekes 1987; 1995: 35; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 474 [5.3.1.3]) instead of being loans from a Semitic or substrate language, as was assumed previously. A hypothetical Old Persian form \**vīna-* could, in theory, have been derived from the zero grade (\**uih<sub>1</sub>-n-*). The problem is, however, that there are no cognates of the word in Indo-Iranian (despite the existence of loans in Semitic languages, like Arabic *wain* – these may have been derived from another Indo-European language). This renders the proposal of the EW problematical after all. An alternative does not suggest itself at present (derivation from OPers. \**minu-* “Halsgeschmeide” [cf. Hinz 1975a: 166 on \**minuyara-*] does not seem likely).

The translation “wine storage” for *pilu* is a conjecture derived from the relevant contexts. A connection with the verbal base *pele-/pili-*, interpreted by Grillot and Vallat as “assurer, garantir, préserver, maintenir,” is perhaps not to be excluded.<sup>906</sup> In any case, the available texts do unequivocally show that *pilu* was indeed a locale where wine was kept (cf. Hallock 1969: 743). In PF 1954:24 (on which Koch 1990: 112 fn. 471) part of the wine that was “left over” (*šašika*) in Dar. 20 is “deposited at a *pilu*” (*piluma daka*). NN 2265:29, 39 presents a comparable case. Wine is deposited at a royal *pilu* in PF 2001, “(for) allocation(s) by PN the <sup>AS</sup>*ap-pir-na-bar-ra*, lit. “barrel carrier.”<sup>907</sup> In short, “wine storage” seems justified as a provisional interpretation.<sup>908</sup> This is not to say that a *pilu* was only a storage facility: it was also the scene of some sort of rite as appears from the present text and from NN 0153, which records a wine offering for Humban at various *pilu*. As such, a *pilu* is comparable with a *balum* (“grain storage”), and, perhaps, with a *hapidanuṣ* (“water reservoir, cistern”), places that could host religious ceremonies too.

<sup>906</sup> Grillot & Vallat 1984: 26. See also *eidem* 1978: 82-3 with fn. 9; Zadok 1983a: 104 [90]; *idem* 1984a: 34 [181-a].

<sup>907</sup> See Hinz 1971c: 290; 1973: 94 (“Faßwart, Kellermeister”); Tavernier 2007a: 415 [4.4.7.8] (“barrel-carrier, head of the wine cellar”).

<sup>908</sup> Hinz’s “Weinkeller” (1973a: 94; EW s.v. *h.pi-lu*) seems over-imaginative, however.

In NN 2259 there is a remarkable concentration of offerings at various storage facilities (cf. ad l.12 and l.14 below; see also Razmjou 2004a: 109).

- 11 **Baddumana** is not known otherwise; on the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 273 [4.2.1293].
- 12 There are, apart from the present passage, four texts on sacrifices ‘for’ the third Old Persian month **Sakurraziš** (Θāigrači-): PF 1947:2, NN 0613, NN 0679 and NN 1679. Similar offerings ‘for’ the sixth month are known (cf. l.14 below). It has been claimed that the eighth month is the occasion of some kind of religious activity as well, but this is rather uncertain (NN 1386; cf. EW s.v. h(?)*.ba-na* [speculative]). Such sacrifices ‘for’ certain months may be explained by assuming the celebration of certain festivals, instead of taking the month itself as the object of veneration (as Koch 1987: 263 did). Like other calendars, the Old Persian calendar provides some clues as to such festivals (Schmitt 2003, *passim*). The name Θāigrači- has been explained as derivation (Θāigrač-i) of OPers. \**θigra-ka*, “(a festival) related to garlic,” in turn derived from \**θigra-*, “garlic” (Schmitt 2003: 36-9). The Zoroastrian “feast of garlic” (*Sīr-sūr*), attested in the early Islamic period by al-Bīrūnī’s testimony (cf. Christensen 1944: 175) could be relevant, but at present there is no compelling reason to connect a possible Achaemenid predecessor of such a festival to the animal sacrifices referred to in NN 2259:12. I note, in passing, that the anti-demonic properties of garlic, which seem to be the *raison d’être* of *Sīr-sūr*, are not confined to Zoroastrianism (cf. Justi 1897: 244-5). In any case, Schmitt’s warning (1991b: 113-4) that the Old Persian month names do not necessarily reveal much about religion during the reign of Darius I, but rather reflect a much older period, should be taken into consideration. Along the same lines, it may be noted that the months that are most clearly named after religious festivals (VII. Bāgayādi-/Bāgayādyā- and IX. \*Āçiyādi-/Āçiyādiya; cf. Schmitt 1991b: 112-3; 2003: 29-33) do *not* turn up in the available PF evidence as occasions of special sacrifices (as months III and VI do). On the positive side, it may not be a coincidence that the summer solstice normally occurs during Sakurraziš (cf. §2.3.5 above). Cf. §4.3 fn. 778 above. On the month name see also Tavernier 2007a: 39 [1.4.12.6], 43 [2.1.5] and 85 [2.4.11.12].

The term **hapidanuš** literally means “water container, reservoir” (Tavernier 2007a: 437 [4.4.8.3]: OPers. \**āpidānīš* - < \**āpi-dān-(i)ya-*). It is, however, mostly used in an abstract sense (without determinative), plausibly meaning, as Hinz proposed, “Reserve, Vorrat” (1970: 428; 1975a: 32). As such it is used to qualify grain, wine, fruit, livestock, and ‘oil’ (probably

ghee) in various accounts and other texts.<sup>909</sup> See Hallock 1969: 46, 67-8 (*contra*: Kawase 1980: 49 fn. 13), 690. As a locale, *hapidanuš* (here <sup>AS</sup>*ha-pi-da-nu-iš*) is a site where flour rations were issued (PF 0329).<sup>910</sup> In three cases there is a religious context, an animal sacrifice ‘for’ a *hapidanuš* (PF 0352, <sup>AS</sup>*ha-pi-da-nu-iš*; PFa 03, *ha-pi-da-nu-iš*; NN 2259:11-2). There, *hapidanuš* may not be the actual beneficiary of offerings (for what it is worth: the term is never preceded by <sup>AN</sup>), but a water reservoir or cistern that was the regular locus of some special kind of (animal) sacrifice.<sup>911</sup>

- 13 There are at least two individuals named **Napukka** in the Fortification archive. One is a scribe (NN 0961, NN 2165, NN 2536), who is probably to be distinguished from the Napukka mentioned here. Our Napukka is associated with several *balum*, “storehouses” (cf. below), which plausibly connects him to Mišaraš where a large quantity of barley is received as revenue, for allocation(s) by a Napukka (NN 0416). Mišaraš seems to be located north of the Persepolis-Susa road, and was a way-station on the route to Media (*pace* Koch 1987: 256 and *idem* 1990: 271; cf. App.6.6 below). The town was a local storage and distribution centre whence provisions for various sacrifices were issued (NN 2290:1-3). Other homonymous individuals are more difficult to link to the Napukka in the present text. The Napukka of NN 1022, NN 0477, NN 1018 and (perhaps) PF 1138 is probably one and the same (wine, exchange of wine for animals, association with Zinini). Based on PF 1138, we may locate this Napukka at or near Tamukkan (here the inland Ταόκη of Ptol. *Geogr.* VI.4.7), which connects him to the region north/northeast of Persepolis, perhaps not far from Pasargadae.<sup>912</sup> Another (?) Napukka receives barley for a horse in three texts (PF 1635, PF 1636, PF 1637) that are all sealed with PFS 0003 (used for the Kāmfirūz region; cf. Hallock 1977: 131; Koch 1990: 290, 296; Arfa’i 1999; §2.3.2 above). The travelling Napukka of NN 2018 could be yet another individual. On Napukka

<sup>909</sup> PF 1593, PF 1831, PF 1948:1, PF 1989, PF 2009, PF 2084:19, 26, PF 2085, NN 0579, NN 2546:43. On ghee see Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. <sup>GIS</sup><sub>1</sub>MEŠ.

<sup>910</sup> Cf. Hallock i.m.: “evid. not GN” (also *idem* 1978: 110).

<sup>911</sup> Note that the word may be related to OPers. *apadāna*- if Lecoq’s interpretation (1997: 115-6) is correct (but see Kent 1953: 168 and Brandenstein & Mayrhofer 1964: 104 for alternatives). *apadāna*- occurs in A<sup>2</sup>Sa 4, 5 (Steve 1987: 88-90), A<sup>2</sup>Ha 5, A<sup>2</sup>Hb and D<sup>2</sup>Sa<sup>o</sup> (for survivals in later periods see Schmitt 1986b and Stolper 2006a: 233-4, 242. Compare also the *appidānabarra*(be) (\**āpidānabara*-; Hinz 1975a: 32 “Reservoirwart” [or “stock-caretaker”?]) in PFa 29: 17-8 and PFa 03.

<sup>912</sup> Compare Hallock 1969: 760; 1978: 115; Metzler 1977: 1058-9. The EW s.v. h.*tam5-qa* does not recognise Ptolemy’s clear reference to *two* Taocae.

see also Koch 1990: 76, 148; on the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 256 [4.2.1155, 1157].

- 14 **Karbaši(ya)š** is the name of the sixth Old Persian month. Apart from this instance, there are three more offerings ‘for’ the sixth month (NN 2348: 12-4, 15-6, 17-9; all with wine). On such offerings cf. ad 1.12 (Sakurraziš) above and ¶24 below. The number of texts on religious ceremonies that pertain exclusively to the sixth month (five) is not particularly high or low compared to other months. Furthermore, no insights can be gained from the month name itself given Schmitt’s *non liquet* on its etymology (2003: 49-52).<sup>913</sup> It may be noted however, that the autumnal equinox normally took place in the sixth month (cf. §2.3.5 above).

**balum** is one of the Elamite terms for storehouse used in PFT. The word denotes, among other things, a storage place for seed (e.g., PF 0435). It may be that Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite *balum* continues BAL, a term known from the Akkadian legal-administrative texts from Sukkalmah-period Susa. The contexts in which BAL occurs suggest that it was a locale and that the term was used to refer to real property (see discussion, with references, in CAD P 74-6 s.v. \**palû* and De Graef 2007: 49-50; cf. *idem* 2006, *passim*).

*balum* occurs mainly as a facility for storing various kinds of grain.<sup>914</sup> From this, Hallock (1969: 674; cf. Hinz 1971c: 286-8) surmised that *balum* was a synonym for Achaemenid Elamite *kanti*<sup>915</sup> and Old Persian *ambaraš* (\**hambāra*- “storehouse, entrepôt” [Stolper 1977: 252-4]). Yet, while certain pairs of texts suggest that *balum* and *kanti* could, under certain circumstances, be administrative equivalents (PF 0435 – PF 1672; PF 0460 – NN 0288 [on the contexts cf. Aperghis 1999: 166-8, 174]), these terms are not necessarily full synonyms and one certainly has to keep in mind that the Persepolis scribes worked with an extensive and refined terminology for a whole range of different storage facilities. Like other storage facilities, a

<sup>913</sup> Earlier attempts at an etymology, for that matter, explained the month name in the profane sphere (Hinz 1950b: 351; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 474 [5.3.1.2], 506-7 [5.3.4.29]; Sims-Williams 1991: 181).

<sup>914</sup> PF 0200, PF 0435, PF 0459, PF 0460, PF 0489, PF 0623, NN 0147, NN 1245, NN 2177, NN 2422, Fort. 2510; perhaps also NN 1032. In PF 2032, inventories of, most plausibly, grain harvests at various <sup>AS</sup>*šu-lu-um* are documented. Given this context, the name of the locale where the grain is stored might be read as <sup>AS</sup>*ba<sup>1</sup>-lu-um* (pace EW s.v. *h.šu-lu-um*). On the text cf. Uchitel 1997.

<sup>915</sup> The word is also spelled *kán-du*, suggesting a pronunciation /kant/ (cf. EW s.v. *h.kán-ti*). It is not excluded that *kanti* is an (early) loan from the OPers. \**ganda*-, “treasure”; cf. Elamite <sup>HAL</sup>*kán-da-bar-ra* and Aramaic *gdbr* for \**gandabara*-, “treasurer” (see Tavernier 2007a: 380 [4.3.71] and 422 [4.4.7.48]).

*balum* could be ‘royal’ or lie within the sphere of the royal domain (NN 0393, NN 2238) and was headed by its own official, in this case a *balum nuškira*, “grain/seed-storage manager” (PF 1589). More specific to *balum*, however, is that at least two of these facilities (PFa 33: 12-7, 31-8) were big enough to accommodate 1,867 and 590 “tree seedlings?” (<sup>GIS</sup> *hu-ir*). These two *balum* had a capacity similar to the three *partetaš*, “plantations,” in the same text. Although the text is not well enough understood to be sure, the parallel with the *partetaš* would seem to suggest that the trees were actually planted on the *balum* grounds, not just temporarily stored there. But the most conspicuous characteristic that sets *balum* apart from *kanti* and *ambaraš*, is its appearance as a scene of cultic activity. As such, *balum* is more similar to *pilu* and *hapidanuš* (cf. above ad ll.10, 12). Apart from the passage under discussion, NN 2259:13-4 (livestock for Karbašiya at 11 *balum*), and the subsequent paragraph, NN 2259:15-6 (livestock for *kušukum* at 16 *balum*), there is a text, PF 0375, that records beer used for the gods at x+4/5 *balum* (collation Hallock i.m.; on the text see also Koch 1977: 43). The officiant is a *šatin* (cultic expert) named Ururu, who is active at Gisat (PF 0352). A functionary of the same name, also at Gisat, is mentioned in the *Persepolis Bronze Tablet* (cf. §§3.4.9, 4.1.4 above). This text mentions a *balum* of (the places) Zippa and Šumurtan-duri (obv.40; cf. Vallat 1993a: 263, 312), but the context (see Vallat 1981a on *dala* and EW s.v. *ha-te-um-me*) is unclear and therefore of little help in establishing whether *balum* was, in itself, a sacred place and itself object of veneration, or just a locale where certain cults took place.

A possible indication that *balum* itself was not the object of veneration, may be found in two additional occurrences of *balum* in PFT. In PFa 02 barley is received at six *balum* [in exchange] for livestock for Napiriša, Adad, a *tikrakkaš* and a *kušukum*. In PF 0588, barley is received for livestock at two *balum*; the purpose is not stated but may be cultic, as in many exchange texts (cf. ¶153-7). Thus, PFa 02 and, possibly, PF 0588 reveal that *balum* could have the same role as *kušukum*, which also occurs as the locale of grain/livestock exchange for cultic purposes. To complicate matters, *balum* and *kušukum* are also mentioned together in PFa 02 as well as in NN 2259:15-6 (cf. Razmjou 2004a: 109).

Altogether, the evidence could be taken to suggest that grain surpluses at a *balum* were sometimes (periodically?) exchanged for livestock from outside the Persepolis economy (cf. ¶159-64), which was then sacrificed on the spot in various offerings including *kušukum* (seemingly the name of a locale and a certain type of offering; cf. below ad l.16). If a *balum* could host a considerable number of fruit trees (cf. above), it should not be surprising that it included some space for various cults as well.



Incidentally, it should be noted that the grain/livestock exchange has a parallel in the Neo-Elamite *Šutruru Stele* from Susa (EKI 74), dated to the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte (II), i.e. 717-699 BC.<sup>916</sup> The text (I.21) mentions 18 head of large cattle delivered to Šutruru the *šatin* (cultic expert) in exchange or compensation for “[the grain in?] his three *balum*.”<sup>917</sup> The relevance for the purported cultic affinities of *balum* becomes clear from the general context of the *Šutruru Stele*, described by Reiner as “a royal grant of Šutruk-Nahhunte II to the priest Šutruru.” According to the same scholar “the districts mentioned in it may refer to the districts to which either an exemption was granted, or which were supposed to deliver cattle and sheep and other produce to the temple of Inšušinak in which Šutruru was priest” (1969: 61-2; see also Koch 1980: 108-13; Waters 2000: 18-9, index s.v. EKI 74). If this assessment of the stele is correct, it would nicely illustrate the practice, also attested in PFT, of delivery of sacrificial animals by an outside party, *via* an exchange at a *balum*. Caution is warranted, however: prior to a (much desired!) re-edition and interpretation of EKI 74, firm conclusions cannot be based it.

- 15 The name **Šakiš** occurs in one other text (Fort. 1016), a letter order concerning rations of barley for workers at Pasargadae, for whom Šakiš the <sup>HAL</sup>*har-ši-ṛa*<sup>1</sup> (= *araššara*) is responsible. Given the location, it seems likely that this is the same Šakiš as the one in NN 2259:15. The interpretation of *araššara* is a matter of controversy (see most recently Brosius 1996: 146-7, who stays undecided). Hallock (1969: 34-5, 704; cf. Kawase 1984: 22 with fn. 12) thought it was a variant form of *iršara*, “chief” (lit. “great one”). Hinz (1952: 238-43, 50; 1971c: 267 fn. 31, 280), on the other hand, derived *araššara* (“Intendant” [araš.r(a)]) from *araš*, “Besitz, Speicher, Hof, Intendantur.” Hallock (*o.c.* 670; cf. 1960: 96-7) explained *araš* as “granary,” but I think this is a too narrow interpretation (cf., e.g., NN 0296); “storehouse” (*vel sim.*) is more attractive (see also Stolper 1984a: 99-101; Jones & Stolper 1986: 252). In short, the *araššara* Šakiš could be a “chief,” or a “stock keeper” – there no decisive arguments in favour of either of these solutions. In relation to the present case, it may be noted that grain or flour for sacrifices is sometimes issued at an *araš* (PF 0742, PF 0743, PF 0744; cf. ¶1).

<sup>916</sup> On the date of the stele cf. Steve 1986: 15; 1992: 21; Vallat 1995; new arguments confirming this date are provided by Tavernier 2004: 12-6, 34-5.

<sup>917</sup> On the context of the passage see also Grillot 1971: 230; 1984: 188; Koch 1980: 112-3. *balum* may also occur in rev.29, cf. Koch *ibid.* fn. 46.

Once, in PF 0352, sheep/goats are issued from such a facility.<sup>918</sup> The text mentions, i.a., a sacrifice ‘for’ an *hapidanuš* (cf. above ad l.12) and ‘for’ a *kušukum*, as in the case of our entry (cf. below ad l.16). In other words, if *araššara* (“stock keeper”?) is derived from *araš*, the fact that Šakiš is known as *araššara* may be relevant for his activity as officiant in NN 2259:15-6.

There may be additional attestations of the name Šakiš: Hallock (ms.) indicated that in NN 1317 <sup>HAL</sup>šá-ki-iš-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>71</sup> is a possible alternative reading for his <sup>HAL</sup>šá-ki-gi<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>71</sup>. This Šakiš (issuing travel rations to people on their way to Susa) may be a different individual.<sup>919</sup> On the name cf. Gershevitch 1969a: 229; Tavernier 2007a: 308 [4.2.1560]. The name Šakiš is clearly to be distinguished from the PNs Šakizza and Šakaš.

- 16 The term *kušukum* basically refers to a locale where certain offerings were made (as in PF 0377), but can also be used to denote a certain type of offering that was performed at this locale (as in PF 0352). Such is the case in the present entry. The expression *daušiyam kušukumna* defines the commodities issued as “belonging to an offering, for a *kušukum*-(ritual/offering)” (on *daušiyam* cf. §3.2.1 above). It also occurs in PF 1953:4-6, <sup>AN</sup>du-u-šá-um <sup>AŠ</sup>ku-šu-kúm-na. In addition, *daušiyam* and *kušukum* are found together in PF 0770, NN 0269 and NN 2482. Cf. ¶19 below.

In <sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-šu-kúm one horizontal is omitted in the middle section of NE.

- 17 **Šakka**, who is here introduced as *šatin*, has namesakes in seven other Fortification tablets. *Via* the link with Ašbayauda (cf. ad ll.29-30 below) our Šakka can plausibly be identified with the Šakka at, or in the proximity of, Dazzarakka in a fruit account (PF 1987:55-6; the context is unclear). This text also mentions a certain Zarnamiya, which links it to a duck account (NN 2539) again mentioning a Šakka, but this time at Pirmiš, a town in the region north of the royal road (cf. App.6.6 below). Šakka at Pirmiš also occurs in a sheep/goat account (NN 2270). It is probable that the Šakka of NN 2259:12, PF 1987:55-6, NN 2539, and NN 2270 is one and the same administrative official (the texts date to yrs. 18-20). Possibly this individual is also identical

<sup>918</sup> Here, *araš*, “granary,” is written *ha-har*. Earlier interpretations of the word as *aha-ar*, “hier ihm” (Koch 1977: 35; cf. EW s.v. *ha-har*) or as “ici-même” (Vallat 1994a: 273 fn. 70 reading *ha-mur*) are not convincing. A simpler solution is to read <sup>ha</sup>har (viz with phonetic complement). Compare the GN <sup>1</sup>AŠ<sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1</sup>har-iš-na-an (NN 0709) for regular <sup>AŠ</sup>ha-ir-iš-na(-an). The bare form *har* occurs regularly too, e.g., in PF 1189 ([sesame] ... *har izzimak*), and is obviously a variant of *araš* as Hallock (1969: 690) had already seen (cf. Jones & Stolper 1986: 252). Cf. Tavernier 2007d: 266 on MElam. *harši*.

<sup>919</sup> The case of <sup>HAL</sup>šá-gi<sup>1</sup>-[...] in NN 1011 is uncertain. The restoration <sup>HAL</sup>šá-gi<sup>1</sup>-[iš] is no more likely than, e.g., <sup>HAL</sup>šá-gi<sup>1</sup>-[ma].

to Šakka the *etira* in PF 1970 (yrs. 15-7; cf. Koch 1990: 115, 284), though the application of seal PFS 0012a/b (on PF 1970 as well as NN 2539) is not a very distinctive feature (Hallock 1977: 132). Šakka the *karabattiš*, recipient of flour (PF 1340, yr. 22), may be a different person; he occurs again in NN 0006. Another (?) Šakka allocates *zali* (cress?) in NN 1660.<sup>920</sup> Finally, there is a Šakka who occurs regularly in the Treasury tablets (Dar. 32 – Xer. 10) paying out silver wages (PT 001, PT 011, PT 012°, PT 017, PT 020, PT 023, PT 024, PT 026). On the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 62 [2.2.49].

- 19 **Kusa** and **Utur** are not otherwise known. One <sup>HAL</sup>*ut-tur*, *šatin* (cultic expert) at Uttiti occurs in NN 1433, but this is a man, not a woman like Utur in NN 2259:19. Though an error in NN 1433 (HAL for SAL) is not excluded – there are precedents such as <sup>HAL</sup>*iš-ti-in* for <sup>SAL</sup>*iš-ti-in* in PF 0823<sup>921</sup> – it would seem hazardous to identify the *šatin* Uttur as the woman Utur in the present text.<sup>922</sup>

<sup>920</sup> The interpretation of *zali* as a loan from Akk. *sahlû*, “cress” was first suggested by Lewis 1987: 86; it is supported by the occasional spelling *za-li*<sup>MEŠ</sup> (with the determinative indicating that the word is a loan). Hallock (1969: 772; followed in ♀165) thought that *zali* was a kind of grain, since it occurs side-by-side with barley (notably PF 2076). Similarly, Hinz (1967a: 333) and Koch (1980: 127 fn. 120) thought of linseed (cf. EW s.v. *GIŠ.za-li*). Yet, in NN 2276, *zali* is listed with (among other commodities) apples, figs and dates and subsumed under the general term *miktam*, “fruit” (OP \**migda*-; cf. Tavernier 2007a: 459 [4.4.20.9]); in NN 0002 it is subsumed, with mulberries, apples, etc., under *abbebe*, “food.” The standard ration of *zali* clearly was 1 qt./month (PF 1133, PF 1134, PF 1135, NN 0107, NN 0841, NN 0853, NN 1083, NN 1086, NN 1299, NN 1484:14-6, 17-9, 20-22, NN 1506, NN 1841, NN 2143, NN 2176). In Late Babylonian Uruk normal rations of *sahlû* were of the same size (Janković 2008 §5.4). Rations of ½ qt. and 2 qts. are occasionally attested in Persepolis (PF 1196, NN 1484:10-3) and have parallels in Uruk and Sippar as well (*ibid.*). *sahlû* was issued as seed in Babylonia, to be consumed as such, to be ground and used for cooking, or, in most cases, to be sown in order to grow cress. The same may be true for Persepolis, where we find references to *zali* stored as NUMUN<sup>MEŠ</sup>, “seed” (NN 0814, NN 1484:26). If *zali* is indeed cress, its usages, as (ground) seed or as vegetable, may account for the fact that it occurs alongside barley but could, at the same time, also be subsumed under “fruit” and “food” (ground cress seed occurs in the cereals section of Polyaeus’ list [IV.3.32] of requirements for the king’s dinner). Note also the interesting case of (sick?) camels receiving *zali* (Fort. 3546). On cress (‘cardamom’) as a ‘typically Persian’ food see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993d and *idem* 1995b: 289-91.

<sup>921</sup> See Hallock 1969: 706. Koch’s solution for PF 0823, “hh.Bagiya (und) hh.Ištin zusammen mit der Fürstin” (1990: 208 fn. 855) is unlikely, as admitted in Koch 1993a: 17 fn. 48. On PF 0823 and Bagiya cf. below ad l.27.

<sup>922</sup> Note that homonymic or semi-homonymic male/female personal names are no exception in the archive (cf. ♀147 with fn. 87). Uttur/Utur may have been such a name.

The Utur of NN 2259 seems to have been the female officiant or “priestess” in some cultic act. This follows from two considerations. First, the entry on livestock for Kusa and Utur concludes by a phrase that seems to describe making a dedication (on) an (offering) table (cf. below ad l.20). Secondly, the position of the passage within the journal as a whole predicts its cultic character. Journal texts on the expenditure of commodities, such as NN 2259, adhere to a fixed protocol: commodities for cultic acts are listed first, followed by withdrawals for the royal domain, wages of higher officials and workers, fodder for animals, withdrawal for storage and, finally, a summary statement. Naturally, not all these categories are represented in each text, but the basic pattern is nearly ubiquitous.<sup>923</sup> The entry naming Kusa and Utur is preceded by entries of expenditures for offerings and followed by entries naming payments for higher officials, starting with Parnakka himself. Normally, entries concerning Parnakka take precedence over other profane entries (if any).<sup>924</sup> Also, the entry on Kusa and Utur does not seem to contain the word *galma*, “as payment,” as the following entries do. In conclusion, it seems likely that Kusa and Utur received the livestock for cultic purposes.<sup>925</sup>

What exactly the activities of Kusa and Utur involved remains unknown. The term *bašur* mentioned in the entry can sometimes be related (indirectly) to funerary offerings but it is uncertain whether this connection is exclusive (cf. below ad l.20). The provision of livestock for the relatively long period of ‘11’ (probably 12) months would be in agreement with the provisions of livestock for funerary offerings, but other offerings are provided for equal or longer periods (e.g., the *lan* offering in NN 2259:7-8). Also the very high number of animals (144 or 12 head/month) is, as yet, unprecedented in texts on funerary offerings.<sup>926</sup> Sacrifice of the animals in a different cultic context

<sup>923</sup> Some apparent ‘exceptions’ are clearly due to the erroneous counting, by Hallock, of initial lines (in these cases on the upper edge of a tablet) as concluding entries (as in case of NN 2202; cf. App.1.1 below). On the order of journal entries cf. Giovino 1989a: 216 fn. 23, Brosius 2003: 279 and §2.5.1 above

<sup>924</sup> See PF 1944, PF 1947, NN 2038, NN 2183, NN 2265, NN 2286, NN 2477. Unclear: NN 2206, NN 2493.

<sup>925</sup> Confusingly, the entry on Nudumatam (ll.25-6, cf. below), though clearly concerned with religious activity, follows the entries on the personal rations of Parnakka and Ziššawiš. I do not believe that this has a bearing on the present discussion, however. Both the entry on Nudumatam as well as that on Bagiya (ll.27-8) seem to be additional: Nudumatam operates in the wake of Parnakka’s *šip* feast; Bagiya is the only travelling official mentioned in the journal (cf. below ad ll.27-8).

<sup>926</sup> See NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 with discussion in §138-9. A survey of texts providing livestock for cultic purposes, officials, and workmen during more than one month is

is therefore entirely possible. In any case, this is the only attestation in the entire available PF corpus of a woman directly involved in cultic activity. As such Utur brings to mind Aspasia, whom Artaxerxes II appointed ‘priestess’ (ἱέρεια) of Anāhitā at Ecbatana (Plut. *Art.* 27.4, cf. Just. X.2.4; on the passage cf. Briant 1996: 697, 759, 1026). It is conceivable that women with similar positions were active in other Anāhitā sanctuaries, e.g., in the temple of ‘Athena’ in Pasargadae (Plut. *Art.* 3.2). Whether Utur was active in this temple (Pasargadae is mentioned in NN 2259:2, 8) or another similar sanctuary remains a matter of speculation. See also App.3 and \*§6.4.1 on the “female servants of the Pasargadae-people” (NN 0087).

Women attached to temples or otherwise involved in the cultic realm are known from the Elamite past. Female temple personnel are attested in Sukkalmah-period Susa (see, e.g., MDP 23 288 [Scheil 1932b: 157-8]; cf. Vallat 2002/03: 539-40; §3.6.5 fn. 625 above). An *ēntu*, “priestess,” occurs, perhaps in the context of funerary offerings, in *Stone Stela I* from Middle Elamite Haft Tepe (l.45; Reiner 1973a: 90-1). Also, a “high-priestess of the ‘aside’ temple of Humban” (<sup>AS</sup>*en-te*.GAL É.DA<sup>rMES1</sup> [<sup>AN</sup>]*hu-ban-na*) features among the cultic officials listed in the late Neo-Elamite inscription EKI 85 (cf. §§5.2, 6.7.6.3). The mention of a high priestess (<sup>GAM</sup>*pa-ši-šum ra-rbu*<sup>MES</sup> MUNUS<sup>MES</sup>) in *PBP* rev.9 (EW q.v.) seems doubtful.

Utur’s name seems Elamite (EW s.v. *f.ú-tur*; compare *ibid.* s.v. *hh.ut-tur*); perhaps names with *utu* and *utur* (Zadok 1983a: 109 [221]; 1984a: 47 [281-2]; 1991: 232 [12]) should be compared. The etymology of the name *Kusa* is unclear. Could it be a shortened Elamite *kuti-* or *kutu-* name (Zadok 1984a: 24-5 [119-120a]), with sibilant for dental (as in, e.g., *Apta-kusir*)?

- 20 <sup>r</sup>*ra*<sup>2</sup>-x<sup>1</sup>[(-...)]: only the first half of RA is preserved.  
<sup>r</sup>*GIŠ*<sup>ba</sup><sup>2</sup>-<sup>š</sup>*u*<sup>2</sup>-<sup>ur</sup><sup>2</sup>: GIŠ and BA are clear, ŠU is likely. UM is not excluded as an alternative for UR (cf. l.16). The tentative translation “(offering) table” for *bašur* is based on Akk. *paššūru*, “table, offering table.” The word is used in similar context in PF 0302 and PF 1854 and can be related to the term *šumar* that denotes the tomb, grave or burial mound of royal and noble Persians (cf. §3.7.2.3 above). There are also secular contexts in which *bašur* (probably a homonym) occurs.<sup>927</sup>

given *ibid.* p.113 ad ll.8-18. There, NN 2259:19-20 (*Kusa* and *Utur*), is listed as a case of “a monthly provision of sheep/goats to higher officials and members of the elite.” As I have argued above, I am now convinced that the entry concerns sacrifices rather than payments. In the same paragraph read “NN 0957” for “PF 0957.”

<sup>927</sup> The texts (PF 0326, PF 0837, NN 0014, NN 0030 and NN 0825) form a clearly delineated group with Mannunda and Umardada as recipients of flour. They all have, apparently,

Hallock's emendation of *ha gi-ra* to *ha gi-ra-iš<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>* is based on PF 0302 (*bašur kanbuziyana ha girašda*). My translation "they have made (a) dedication(s)" is based on an assumed connection with the Middle Elamite verbal base *giri-*. In EKI 13 = IRS 31 (l.7), the form *girima* is translated by Malbran-Labat (1995: 76) as "par (ma) dévotion."<sup>928</sup> According to the same author *giri-* "exprime les relations cultuelles entre le dieu et son dévot dans l'accomplissement de ses devoirs religieux" (*ibid.* 77; cf. 202). On the verb see also §146 fn. 83.

The meaning of the particle *ha*, as in *ha gi-ra-iš<sup>2</sup>-da<sup>2</sup>*, remains debated. Bork (1933a: 17) identified *ha* as the successor of older Elamite *aha*, translating "hier." He was initially followed by Hinz (1967a: 330), who later changed his position, however (cf. EW s.v. *ha*), and opted for a far wider semantic range: "hier ... damit, womit, hierdurch ... dafür (im Sinne von *anstatt*)." Similarly, Hallock (1969: 9, 685; 1973a: 148 fn. 4) characterised *ha* as a "generalised oblique resumptive pronoun." Stolper's elaboration of this view, supported by additional evidence and expanding the discussion to ME *aha* and NE *ah* (1984a: 25-6; 2004a: 76-7 [with references]; cf. Khačikjan 1998: 25), is certainly attractive for PFT contexts. In case of *ha girašda* it would give something like "therewith they have made (a) dedication(s)." Caution is warranted, however, as long as the almost thousand occurrences of *ha* in the available PF sample have not been systematically analysed. In any case, it may be doubted whether the modern adherents of the Borkian "here" (Giovinazzo 1989b and Vallat 1994a: 273, both translating "ici, là") are right in taking Achaemenid Elamite *ha* as an *exclusively* locative adverb. Like *aha* in the Malyān texts, *ha* quite often occurs in PF texts that do not mention any geographical name or locale. From a bureaucratic point of view, *ha* as a locative adverb "here" or "there" would be very impractical in these cases.<sup>929</sup> Likewise, the assumption that the implicit location of the addresser

impressions of the same four seals (PFS 0072, PFS 0090, PFS 0141, PFS 0399). By contrast, the texts in which *bašur* relates to cultic activity are not sealed according to the multi-seal pattern. Note that texts with Mannunda and Umardada use various qualifications of flour.

<sup>928</sup> Grillot & Vallat 1984: 22-3, ad l.20 give "avec gratitude." Cf. M. Lambert 1974: 7 on the form *girit*, "tu as béni/sanctifié."

<sup>929</sup> There are some additional questions raised by Giovinazzo's study (1989b). One wonders, to begin with, how the administrators knew whether *ha(-)* in a given text meant "here" or "there." Secondly, contrary to the author's claims (*ibid.* 15), DSf<sub>c</sub> 22-3 hardly offers support for the "here/there" thesis (in this text *mur ... mur* is simply a distributive formula for "some place ..., some place ..."). Thirdly, I doubt whether *haduš* should be analysed as *ha duš* ("on a reçu ici"), rather than as a noun. *Pace* Giovinazzo,

or addressee could serve as referent (*ha* = “here [where I am]” or “there [where you are]”) is functionally unattractive. This is especially true in view of a feasible alternative, *ha* as reference to the commodity issued, deposited, etc. (cf. Stolper *l.c.*).

Hallock (ms.) wondered whether **11-na** was an “error for 12.” In view of the number of 144 head, this is quite plausible (giving 12 head/month).

- 21 **Parnakka**’s daily payment of 2 head of livestock is widely attested in the archive.<sup>930</sup> It is matched only by that of Bagiya (cf. ad 1.27 below) and perhaps by that of the royal woman (*dukšiš*) Irrakpirda/Irsapirda (NN 0812, if this is an allocation for one day). Other individuals with top salaries (Gobryas, Irdumartiya) are attested, but no records of livestock allocations to them survive. See also Hallock 1969: 23-4; Koch 1983: 45-6. Note that Parnakka normally receives livestock allocations for periods shorter than the 18 days in the present text (except PF 0663 and NN 2164; see also §113 ad 8-18). The translation “ration” for *gal* seems inappropriate here: two head of livestock a day surely would count as a “payment” (cf. §3.2.1 with fn. 459 above). These payments may not even have been issued on the spot, but were plausibly put “d’une manière purement fiduciaire sur le compte de la ‘maison de Parnaka’ ” (Briant 1996: 964).

the use of the determinative <sup>AŠ</sup> preceding *haduš* rather pleads against interpretation as adverb + finite verbal form. Fourth, despite the firm but basically uncorroborated statement (*ibid.* 22 fn. 3) that *haduše*, *haduyaš* and *hadumiya* “ont rien à voir” with *haduš* (in *haduš ha duka*), they clearly occur in comparable contexts and are undoubtedly cognates of *haduš* (cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *hadu(mi)ya*). *haduš* is a loan from OPers. \**ādu-*, “seed” (EW s.v. *ha-du-iš*; cf. Avestan *ādu-*); the other forms are regular *-(i)ya* derivatives. The basic meaning of *haduš* seems to be “revenue,” hence the use of the term and its derivatives for “harvest” [of grain and fruit], “increase, yield” [of herds] and “produce” [of wine]. Fifth, *haduš* is used as a collective term for new-born cattle in PF 2086:6, not as an *equivalent* for *tila*, “calf” (*ibid.* 23). Sixth, the fact that *haduš i parimak* (PF 2009:66) and *tila i parimak* (PF 2087:29) appear in similar context does not automatically imply that *haduš* = *tila*, “calf” (*ibid.*), if only because PF 2009 concerns sheep/goats, not large cattle (!). Seventh, the interpretation of PF 0233 (*ibid.*) ignores the syntax, word-order and the fact that each line of this inventory text represents a separate entry. *haduyaš* (1.5) is not the object of *sut huttina* (1.6), but a qualification of the total of 470 *irtiba* of grain in the same line (1.5).

<sup>930</sup> PF 0654, PF 0655, PF 0656, PF 0657, PF 0658, PF 0659, PF 0660, PF 0661, PF 0662, PF 0663, NN 0467, NN 0475, NN 0509, NN 0778, NN 0818, NN 1569, NN 1717, NN 2156, NN 2164, NN 2259:21-2, Fort. 5899.

Parnakka (Pharnaces), was the son of Aršāma as stated in the inscription on the second of his office seals (PFS 0016\*).<sup>931</sup> This does not necessarily imply that he was the son of Aršāma/Arsames the father of Hystaspes, and therefore Darius' uncle, as is commonly assumed. In fact, the name Aršāma may have been quite common even if it was limited to aristocratic circles. Moreover, if it had been so important to announce that the new director was the uncle of the reigning king, it would be surprising that Parnakka's first office seal (PFS 0009\*) has an inscription that reads just *prnk*, "Parnakka," without the patronymic. On Parnakka cf. Hinz 1971c: 301-3; Lewis 1977: 7-11; Hallock 1985: 589-92; Koch 1990: 224-31 and *passim*; Briant 1996: 437-8, 481-6, 921, 964; Jones in Garrison & Root 2001 I: 92-4, 404-6 (seals used by P.). On the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 178-9 [4.2.567].

*gal-lu-ma* may be taken as a form with a phonetic complement (of the CVC<sup>CV</sup> type), i.e. *gal<sup>lu</sup>-ma* instead of the ambiguous form *gal-ma* (that could also be read as *ráp-ma*). See Stolper 2004a: 68 on this form and Vallat 1989 and Tavernier 2002a: 227-8 and *idem* 2007c on phonetic complements. Alternatively, the spellings *gal-lu*, *gal-la* and *gal-li*, may reflect a particular *l*-phoneme, perhaps a lateral affricate. This would also explain the spelling <sup>ka4</sup>*gal-la-ma* (e.g., NN 0482; not: <sup>ka4</sup>*gal<sup>la</sup>-ma*).

- 23 **Ziššawiš**'s daily payment of 1.5 head is also recorded in PF 0678 and NN 2004. On this deputy of Parnakka cf. Hinz 1971c: 302; Hallock 1985: 589-90; Lewis 1985: 114-5 (comparing Tithaeus [Hdt. VII.88]); Koch 1990: 227-33; Garrison 1998: 126-8, 130 fn. 28, 131 fn. 30, *idem* 2000: 141-3 and [forthc. 4] (on the royal-name seal, PFS 0011\*, used by Ziššawiš and/or his office). On the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 155-6 [4.2.406, 408]. 'Ziššawiš,' the conventional normalisation of the name, is, in fact, imprecise. Given the etymology (\*Ciçavahuš) 'Ziššauš' or 'Zišša'uš' would be better.

- 25 **Nudumatam** is not known otherwise.

<sup>1</sup>*pu<sup>1</sup>-ma-<sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-iš-na<sup>1</sup>*: Hallock cautiously put a question mark after *pu*, but the reading is reasonably certain and there does not seem to be a convincing alternative (AG and ŠE are both unlikely). The remainder of the word is clear. The meaning of *pumaziš* <sup>†</sup> is unknown (cf. Koch 1987: 271) and the suggestion of EW (s.v. *pu(?)*-*ma-zi-iš*) "wohl ap. in der Bedeutung *Schlacht-opfer*" is derived from the present context only. Some sort of relation with a *šip* feast is suggested in the same entry (cf. ad I.26 below).

- 26 The conjunction **anka** introduces temporal ("when"), conditional ("if"), generalising or iterative ("when, whenever"), causal or motivative ("because,

<sup>931</sup> Note Garrison's interesting observation (2002 [2006] 95 n. 32), that the inscription on the seal of Parnakka seems to blend (Neo-)Elamite and Aramaic traditions.



since”) and comparative (“as”) subordinate clauses.<sup>932</sup> Though already attested in an Untaş-Napiriša brick inscription, TZ 2:10<sup>933</sup> (conditional, cf. below) and the Neo-Elamite omen text Sb 12801 rev.24<sup>934</sup> (conditional?), *anka* first became established as a generally used conjunction in Achaemenid Elamite. In the inscriptional corpus, *anka* and its variant form *naka* have 17 occurrences.<sup>935</sup> When used alone, *anka* introduces conditional subordinate clauses and corresponds to *yadi* in the Old Persian versions.<sup>936</sup> The related, contracted form *apanka* (< *appa anka* or *appa naka*<sup>937</sup>) occurs only in DSf<sub>e</sub> 13° and DSz<sub>e</sub> 11, introducing a temporal subordinate clause (cf. below), and again corresponding to OPers. *yadi*. Otherwise, *anka* may be part of the phrasal conjunction *sap appa anka* (“as, like”), which introduces comparative and causal subordinate clauses and corresponds to OPers. *yaθā*.<sup>938</sup>

The conditional subordinate clauses with *anka*, corresponding to Old Persian *yadi*, have conjugation III verbal forms with present/future tense (*anka ... tartinti, ziyanti, elmanda*) – they are labelled here as ‘type 1.’ Another group of subordinate clauses with *anka* (type 2a), corresponding to Old Persian *yaθā*, has inflected past conjugation I or II forms with an added *-na* particle. In the inscriptional corpus this type is only represented by DSz<sub>e</sub> 11-2 (*anka ... uttašdana*), but there are eight additional cases in Fortification texts (cf. below).<sup>939</sup> Finally, there is a third group (type 2b) that is similar to

<sup>932</sup> See Winkler 1896: 30-2; Paper 1955: 108-9; Hallock 1969: 667, 736; Vallat 1977b: 8-9, 85; Grillot-Susini 1987: 42; EW s.vv. *an-ka, an-qa, ap-pa an-qa, na-qa, sa-ap ap-pa an-qa, sa-ap ap-pa na-qa*; Khačikjan 1998: 55-6; Stolper 2004a: 88.

<sup>933</sup> See M. Lambert 1965: 21, 28; Steve 1967: 13-8; Stolper 2004a: 88.

<sup>934</sup> Scheil 1917: 34 §2.11 [= rev.24], 53; cf. EW s.v. *hi-pa-qa*.

<sup>935</sup> This does not include the restored occurrences in DB<sub>e</sub> III.65 (Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 35) and DNB<sub>e</sub> 13 (Borger & Hinz 1969: 56).

<sup>936</sup> DB<sub>e</sub> III.74, 75, 85, 88; DNA<sub>e</sub> 31; XPh<sub>e</sub> 39. In DNB<sub>e</sub> 24-5 *anka ... anka [in-ni]* renders Old Persian *yaci ... yaci nai*. See Tucker 1998: 179, 183, 189 on some of these passages.

<sup>937</sup> Paper (1955: 108) already suggested that *appa anka* and *appa naka* were pronounced /apanka/. The contracted form *ap-an-ka*<sub>4</sub> confirms this.

<sup>938</sup> Comparative: DB<sub>e</sub> I.48, 52, 56 (cf. Grillot-Susini, Herrenschmidt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 45 with fn. 123 and Bae 2001: 102-3); DSi<sub>e</sub> 4 (cf. Grillot 1973: 152); DSj<sub>e</sub> 3. Causal: DB<sub>e</sub> III.79 (reading *sa-ap ap-pa na<ka*<sub>4</sub>); cf. Vallat 1977a: 133 and EW s.v. *sa-ap ap-pa na-qa*. DB<sub>e</sub> I.19 *appa anka u-ikkimar ap tirikka* (without *sap*) seems comparative (“as was said by me to them”), but the generalising aspect in Winkler’s interpretation (1896: 31, “was – wann auch immer von mir gesagt wurde ... = quidquid, quodcumque a me praecipiebatur”) perhaps catches the basic meaning of *anka* better.

<sup>939</sup> There are a few other cases in the inscriptions of forms that might carry the *-na* particle (but interpretation as participle is possible as well). As these forms are not introduced

type 2a in that it has conj. I-II verbal forms, but without the *-na* particle (*anka ... huttašda, tirikka*; in several cases the verb is implicit).

As Gril­lot has argued convincingly (1973: 157-61; 1987: 41), the particle *-na* (not to be confused with the nominal, attributive suffix *-na*) derives from the precative particle *-ni*, with addition of the relative *-a* to mark its use in subordinated clauses. There are a number of Middle Elamite subordinate clauses with *-na* forms, but only a few have been properly analysed. The two examples discussed by Gril­lot (1973: 158-61) have a future-oriented, final perspective. They are not introduced by *anka* or any other conjunction.<sup>940</sup> There is only one case in which *anka* does occur and introduces a conditional *anka ... -na* subordinate clause (TZ 2:10, cf. above):

by *anka* and are all somehow problematic, they will remain outside this discussion. I merely refer to them: *appa* A<sup>MEŠ</sup>-*ma puddana* (DB<sub>e</sub> I.78; but see Hallock 1959a: 18); *hi zila sap u tukmanna* (DPf<sub>e</sub> 17-8; but see Hallock *l.c.*; Gril­lot 1987: 68; EW s.v. *tuk-man-na*; Tucker 1998: 189 fn. 43); *nap dayap appa šarina* (DB<sub>e</sub> III.78). The last form has been explained as adjective + attributive suffix *-na* (Hallock 1959: 19; EW s.v. *šà-ri-na*), giving “the other gods of being/existing.” Alternatively, “the other gods whoever are/ exist” (verbal base + modal particle *-na*) could be suggested (cf. the parallel passage in DB<sub>a</sub> 103-4, DINGIR.MEŠ *gab-bi*, “all the gods”). Gril­lot & Vallat (1975: 215-6) identified *-na* in infinitives like *tallimana* as the attributive suffix [n(a)]. Alternatively, here too the modal particle *-na* could be considered as a possible explanation (note that the relevant forms are governed by the verb *šera-*, “to order”).

<sup>940</sup> The first example (EKI 13 [IRS 31]: 6-7) has a subordinate clause ending with *hihna*, translated by Gril­lot 1973: 158 as “pour que j’obtienne.” Malbran-Labat 1995: 76 translates the same phrase as an independent clause (“Puissé-je ... obtenir”), but stresses the correspondence between this and the previous sentence (*ibid.* 77). The EW s.v. *hi-h-na* translates an optative expressing intention (“[in der langen Dauer] ... will ich ... beten”). Gril­lot’s second example is from the great Šilhak-Inšušinak stele (EKI 54 1.56-67 [§§11-2]) and includes the form *kukitna*, “afin que ... tu protèges” (Gril­lot 1973: 161). The other two forms mentioned, *pahašpina* (“afin que ... le ... les préserve”) and *gitišpina* (“afin que le ... les préserve”) are special in that the *-na* particle follows after a resumptive third person or delocutive suffix ([paha.š.p.na], [giti.š.p.na]). The Šilhak-Inšušinak stele is surprisingly rich in verbal forms in *-na*, which, in the absence of a new edition of the text, have not been fully studied yet. See on some of these forms Gril­lot 1978a: 21 fn. 50; 1988: 62 (all interpreted as final; see also EW s.vv. *gi-el-ti-na*, *gi-ti-it-na*, *ha-li-hu-na*, *ki-ir-pu-ut-na*, *pa-ta-at-na*, *ri-še-h-hu-na*, etc.). The forms occur in what seem to be long series of paratactic subordinate clauses governed by introductory main clauses (a recurrent formulaic prayer that serves as a paragraph marker). An additional case is found in 1.23 of the Šilhak-Inšušinak brick inscription published by Gril­lot & Vallat (1984: 22-3, 27): *merpa gilhuna*, translated by the editors as “afin que nous puissions commander en maîtres.”

*anka rurina ak mišimana*, translated by Steve (1967: 14) as “lorsque (ceci) [the temple, WH] se délabera et tombera en ruine.”<sup>941</sup> In short, the Middle Elamite material shows a transposition of the use of the precative *-ni* particle in main clauses to modal (conditional, final) subordinate clauses with *-na*, occasionally introduced by *anka*. One would naturally be inclined to see this as a direct precursor of the Achaemenid Elamite *anka ... -na* subordinate clauses (type 2a). Yet the Middle Elamite *-na* subordinate clauses, including the one introduced by *anka*, are future-oriented whereas the later *anka ... -na* constructions all seem to be past-oriented. And to complicate matters: conditional, future-oriented subordinate clauses introduced by *anka* do exist in Achaemenid Elamite (type 1, cf. above), but these take present/future (conj. III) forms lacking the *-na* particle (e.g., *anka ... ziyanti*, “when you see/will see” in DB<sub>e</sub> III.85-6).

A complementary system of modal subordinate clauses seems to be operative in Achaemenid Elamite. Conditional subordinate clauses with *anka* (type 1) are used for future-oriented qualifications. Temporal or causal subordinate clauses with *anka ... -na* (type 2a) are, on the other hand, used for past-oriented qualifications. The type 2b formation (without *-na*) could be a simplified version of type 2a (cf. below). The conjunction *anka* combines the type 1 and type 2a-b subordinate clauses into one system.<sup>942</sup>

When one compares the Elamite and Old Persian versions of the royal inscriptions, it is interesting to observe that the verbal forms in type 1 *anka* subordinate clauses have a distinct equivalent in Old Persian, but the one in the unique *anka ... -na* (type 2a) subordinate clause attested in the inscriptions has not. In type 1 subordinate clauses, a present/future (conj. III) ‘indicative’ (e.g., *ziyanti*) always renders a subjunctive or optative in an Old Persian *yadi* subordinate clause.<sup>943</sup> This particular deployment of conjugation

<sup>941</sup> This translation seems to rest on the analysis of *rurina* and *mišimana* as [rur(i).Ø.na] and [miš(i).ma.Ø.na], viz as inanimate third-person singulars. Alternatively, the forms could be considered as conj. III participles with added relative *-a* (cf. Reiner 1969: 101 on the variant form *miširmama*). If this is the case here (which I do not believe), TZ 2:10 obviously loses its relevance to the present discussion. See also Malbran-Labat (1995: 82; cf. 90-1) on *miširmama* (= *miširmama*) in which the final *-ma(-na)* “marque probablement le caractère circonstanciel de ce syntagme.”

<sup>942</sup> As such *anka* has no parallel in any of the Old Persian conjunctions. Heinrich Winkler, with much less material at hand, already anticipated the wide range of uses of *anka*: “man bedenke ... dass wahrscheinlich auch das conditionale wenn = anka eigentlich eine (rein susische) relative zeitpartikel = wann, als, cum ... darstellt” (1896: 30).

<sup>943</sup> Old Persian passages: DB<sub>p</sub> IV.54-5, 57-8, 72-4, 77-8; DN<sub>ap</sub> 38; XPh<sub>p</sub> 47. DB<sub>p</sub> IV.38-9 and DN<sub>bp</sub> 20-1 correspond to broken passages in the Elamite version. DN<sub>bp</sub> 35-7 and its

III forms is part of an evolved, modal use of such forms (also in main clauses) in correspondence to Old Persian subjunctives or optatives.<sup>944</sup> In the type 2a subordinate clause in DSz<sub>e</sub> 11-2, on the other hand, the *-na* form corresponds to a plain imperfective indicative in Old Persian (DSf<sub>p</sub> 14-5).<sup>945</sup>

The case of DSz<sub>e</sub> 11-2 requires some elaboration. The text reads *ap-an-ka<sub>4</sub>* DN<sup>DIS</sup> *ú* DIS<sup>DIS</sup> EŠŠANA<sup>DIS</sup> *ú-na-ha-in-ku ut-taš-da-na*, “when DN made/had made me King.”<sup>946</sup> The Old Persian text has *yadi ... akunauš*. What determined the need for a *-na* form in this context? Grilhot (1973: 159-60) has attempted to explain *uttašdana* by assuming a *causal* (rather than temporal as in the corresponding passage DSf<sub>p</sub> 14-5) subordinate clause: “*pour que* Ahuramazda m’ait établi roi” (my italics, WH). I think the context is unfavourable to this solution, and rather suggests a temporal statement (“when DN had made me King”).<sup>947</sup> This does not alter the fact that Grilhot had good reason to look for a sense of modality expressed in *anka ... uttašdana*. Indeed, one has the impression that this and similar subordinate clauses in Fortification texts cannot merely express past tense – as that would seemingly make the *-na* form superfluous – and somehow imply modality. In line with this suspicion, one might infer from the use of *uttašdana* in DSz that this particular temporal subordinate clause (as opposed to the almost identical subordinate clause in DSi<sub>e</sub> 4-5) required a conditional undertone due to the specific context. Its main clause speaks of Hystaspes and Arsames still being alive, that is *at the time of Darius’ accession*. The implication would be that one of Darius’ relatives had died shortly afterwards, before the text was written. Alternatively, the subordinate clause might carry a generalising

correlative DNb<sub>e</sub> 24-5 have present/preterit indicatives and form a separate case (cf. fn. 936 above).

<sup>944</sup> So Tucker 1998: 182. As to the background of the modal use of conj. III forms Tucker suggests that “the use of the *-n* forms to express the equivalent of an Indo-European mood could have been extended from their regular use in prohibitions, which we know existed in the earlier periods. In such prohibitions the particle *a-nu* may itself have originally served to convey the modal meaning (‘may...not,’ ‘do...not,’ ‘lest...’).”

<sup>945</sup> Unfortunately, the relevant passages in DSz<sub>p</sub> (Steve 1974b: 161-4; 1987: 79-81) and DSf<sub>e</sub> 13-4 are either not preserved or broken so a DSf<sub>e</sub>/DSf<sub>p</sub> or DSz<sub>e</sub>/DSz<sub>p</sub> comparison is impossible. Comparing DSz<sub>e</sub> 11-2 and DSf<sub>p</sub> 14-5 is unproblematic, however, as DSf/DSz are much alike and should (against common opinion) probably be taken as one single text or text family. The evidence for two really distinct texts is rather feeble (cf. Grilhot 1990; Henkelman 2003c: 381-2).

<sup>946</sup> I follow the reading of EW s.v. *ut-taš-da-na*, which is less forced than Vallat’s <sup>DIS</sup>*ú-na-ha-in ku-ut-taš-da-na* (1972: 10; 1977a: 180) that implies an unattested verb *kutta-*.

<sup>947</sup> So too Hallock *apud* Stolper 1977: 263 fn. 47.

sense (“when [i.e. ever since] DN had made me King”). But all this is mere speculation and, admittedly, a modal undertone is not always detectable in the eight known type 2a subordinate clauses in Fortification contexts. Perhaps, then, the type 2a subordinate clauses are best understood as the result of a gradual expansion of the use of *anka*. Originally a future-oriented, conditional or generalising conjunction, it grew to introduce past-oriented temporal subordinate clauses as well. The final stage (not as yet completed in PFT) of this process would have been the generalisation of the use of modal forms in all *anka* subordinate clauses, even in those cases where a sense of modality was not needed.<sup>948</sup>

In the Fortification texts subordinate clauses with *anka* of all types occur, represented by six to eight cases each. It should be stressed from the start that it is *a priori* unlikely that these subordinate clauses represent a coherent system given the uneven control of the Elamite language among the Persepolis scribes (cf. §2.2.1 above). This observation pertains especially to the distribution of type 2a and 2b subordinate clauses.

The type 1 subordinate clauses with finite conjugation III forms are relatively unproblematic. The seven cases are all conditional, sometimes with generalising aspect (‘whenever’), as in PFa 28.<sup>949</sup> Type 2a-b clauses, on

<sup>948</sup> One may compare temporal subordinate clauses introduced by *cum* in Latin. Sometimes these have a subjunctive rather than the expected indicative. It is often assumed that the use of a modal form in such factual subordinate clauses represents a generalisation of the use of the subjunctive to all subordinate clauses with *cum*. Note that Old Persian does not have a similar conjunction with generalised modal use; its subordinate clauses with subjunctives and optatives are all primarily future-oriented (cf. Kent 1953: 89-90). The proposed development of the *anka* subordinate clauses would therefore be uniquely Elamite, unless it was influenced by an Old Persian vernacular less formal than the *Kunstsprache* of the inscriptions.

<sup>949</sup> *anka tuppi nukmar parnakak tibbe danda hubemer ru akka tuppi kutimanri hupirri hišše tuppi hubema talliš tibbe daš*, “whenever you send a document from you to Parnakka, then write the name of the man who will carry the tablet on that tablet (and) send (it) forth.” See also Tucker 1998: 192 on this text. Other type 1 *anka* subordinate clauses: PF 2071 (generalising?); NN 0702 and NN 2544; NN 1137. NN 1018 is difficult to understand, but its *anka* subordinate clause seems conditional. In NN 0351, *numi ZĪD.DA<sup>MES</sup> appa anka sudamanba lala ap idduš* should, I think, be translated with a conditional subordinate clause (“you both, when they request flour, give them *lala*!”), not a motivative subordinate clause as EW s.v. *su-da-man-ba* (“wie [bestimmte Kavalleristen] es anfordern”) or concessive as EW (!) s.v. *la-la* (“obschon sie Mehl angefordert haben”). To these seven type 1 subordinate clauses *anka... nambe*, *anka nambe* and *anka nanba* in NN 2272:9, 11, 31 should be added. The text has several more *anka* subordinate clauses (cf. fn. 951 below).

the other hand, are a bit ambiguous as one has to choose between interpretation as a mere temporal or a modal qualification. In PF 1620 *anka ... tallišdana* (type 2a) is translated as a causal, motivative or temporal clause by different commentators (“because/when/as they wrote”); in this case the last option seems preferable on the basis of contextual information.<sup>950</sup> The type 2b subordinate clause in PF 1860, on the other hand, seems causal/motivative: *am anka nuda šerašda*, “now, as he has ordered you too.”<sup>951</sup> It follows that the deployment or omission of the *-na* particle is apparently not subject to very strict or clear rules in Fortification contexts.

Four of the Fortification texts on *šip* have *anka* subordinate clauses: NN 1665, NN 1701, NN 2225 and the present case, NN 2259:25-6 (cf. ¶22). Though a basic generalising aspect may be inherent in *anka* (cf. Winkler 1896: 31 and fn. 938 above), I am convinced that the type 2a subordinate clause like the phrase *anka šip huddakana* that terminates NN 1665 (a letter order on meat portions for workers), should principally be seen as a temporal subordinate clause, perhaps with a causal undertone (“when a *šip* feast was made/performed”).<sup>952</sup> Similar analyses seem attractive for NN 1701 and NN 2225 (both type 2a; cf. ¶22 for translations). This leaves only the present case, NN 2259:25-6, which has a type 2b rather than a type 2a subordinate clause: *anka Parnakka šip huttašda*. Remarkably, this subordinate clause and its main clause have different subjects (Nudumatam vs. Parnakka). From this one might want to infer that Nudumatam performed his *pumaziš* (whatever that is), *like whenever* Parnakka made/performed a *šip* feast. But again, such

<sup>950</sup> The same phrase occurs in PF 1620 and Fort. 3562 (published in Stolper 1977: 263): [NN received wine] *anka taššup tallišdana* <sup>HAL</sup> EŠŠANA-ik(ka)mar šeraka. Translations vary: “as(?) the officials(?) wrote, it was ordered by the King (Hallock 1969: 448); “...pour que les officiels (l’)aient écrit, (cela) avait été ordonné par le roi (Grillot 1973: 159); “when they wrote down people, as ordered by the King” (Stolper *l.c.*). Stolper’s solution has the advantage of being supported by Fort. 3568 which, in very similar context, mentions the same recipient as in PF 1620 in the role of *pirrašakurra*, “investigator” (*ibid.* 263-4).

<sup>951</sup> As the context is partly broken, divergent interpretations may not be excluded. The other type 2b subordinate clauses are: NN 2259:26 (the present case, cf. below), NN 2486 (cf. fn. 953 below), PF 1947:2 (*naka ... makka*, cf. ¶24), NN 1059:51 (temporal?, causal?), NN 2272:3-4°, 15°, 35° (temporal, cf. EW s.v. *ap-pa an-qa*).

<sup>952</sup> Initially, I assumed that the type 2a subordinate clauses in NN 1665, NN 1701 and NN 2225 expressed a generalised condition. Thus, in NN 1665, I would have translated *anka šip huddakana* as “as when(ever) a *šip* feast is made/performed.” But if the transaction in NN 1665 adhered to a set general condition, that general condition would probably be expressed in a type 1 (not a type 2a) *anka* subordinate clause.

a generalising aspect seems unlikely, even more so because in this case the modal particle *-na* is not used. Nudumatam simply performed a *pumaziš* for the gods *at the time of* (‘when’) Parnakka’s *šip* feast.<sup>953</sup> The fact that three of the *anka* subordinate clauses regarding a *šip* feast do have the *-na* particle (type 2a) and one does not (type 2b), once more shows that the deployment of the particle was not strictly regulated or, at least, not used consistently by different scribes.<sup>954</sup>

- 27 **Bagiya** undoubtedly belonged to the Persian aristocracy. He accompanies the royal woman (*dukšiš*) Ištīn (PF 0823), whose husband he may have been (so Lewis 1984: 600; 1985: 112; cf. Hinz 1970: 423-4), has his own elite servant task group (e.g., PF 1377; cf. Hallock 1978: 111-2; Koch 1993a: 16-7; Giovinazzo 1995: 151-6; Aperghis 2000: 137; §133 fn. 53), heads a large travel party (NN 2206: 13-6) and has a *hasura*, apparently a well-paid specialist of some profession, in his entourage (NN 0136). The ten head of livestock for five days (i.e. the same payment scale as Parnakka) fit this extraordinary profile (cf. the daily wine payment in NN 1662°). Lewis has suggested that Bagiya may be identified with Bagaeus son of Artontes, known from the Oroites affair and counted among “the foremost Persians” (Hdt. III.128; cf. Lewis *l.c.*; Briant 1996: 134-5; 965-6). Though there is a clear link between Bagiya and Kurmana (Kermān; cf. below ad l.28), the inferences drawn by Koch (1993a: 17, 20 [Bagiya as treasurer of the ‘Kermān satrapy’]) are to be treated with scepticism, especially in view of the ill-advised identification of Bagiya with the Bakagiya in NN 0692. On the name Bagiya cf. Tavernier 2007a: 143 [4.2.306] (with references). See also Tuplin 1998: 91 with fn. 61.
- 27 **kalima**: compare the more regular spelling *gal-lu-ma* in ll.21, 23.
- 28 **Kurman**: present-day Kermān. See Vallat 1993a: 133 for occurrences; see also Henkelman [forthc. 1] §5 on the ‘satrapy.’
- My <sup>ANr</sup>*sa*<sup>1</sup>⟨-a⟩-⟨*kur-ra*<sup>1</sup>⟨-zi-iš⟩ (Hallock: <sup>ANr</sup>*sa-kur-ra*<sup>1</sup>⟨-zi-iš⟩) is based on the spelling of the month name in ll.12, 24. Spelling variation occurs within this document, though, so the emendation is not strictly necessary.
- 29f. The role of allocating official that **Ašbayauda** has in this text fits that of Ašbayauda the *haturmakša* in PF 1987 (in which Šakka occurs as well; cf. ad l.17 above). There, Ašbayauda is part of the accounting team for fruit at Dazzarakka (cf. Koch 1990: 124-5, 281, 286). This town or village, though

<sup>953</sup> Compare NN 2486:47-8, [fruit was consumed during an *anši*], *anka ziššawiš anšima huttašda*, “when Z. performed an *anši*.”

<sup>954</sup> Other type 2a subordinate clauses are: PF 0770, NN 2482 and NN 0269. These texts deal with *kušukum* offerings (cf. §19).

located by Koch (1987: 254-5, 1990: 124-6) in the region southwest of Persepolis, was probably situated in the ‘northern cluster,’ as appears from its collocation with Pirmiš (cf. ad l.17 above and App.6.6 below). Note that *haturmakša* is primarily used as an administrative designation (cf. §3.2.1 with fn. 450, §3.4.6 with fn. 516); Ašbayauda himself is never attested as officiant. An Ašbayauda also occurs in what appears to be a small travelling party (NN 0120) and as supplier of flour (PF 0101) – he may or may not be the same individual (cf. Koch 1990: 124 fn. 546).

30 On PN *šaramanna* cf. §2.4.1.3 with fn. 285 above.

#### 6.5. Koch on NN 2259

The ‘religious journal’ was first mentioned and discussed in Koch’s study on the cultic topography of Achaemenid Fārs and Khūzestān (1987: 270-1). Richard Hallock apparently had disclosed the contents of the unpublished journal to Koch because he believed that it challenged her assumption that the *lan* ceremony did not include animal sacrifice, supposedly anathema to Zoroastrians and therefore unfit for the ‘state offering’ for Auramazdā (Koch 1987: 270 fn. 206). Koch’s assessment of the text aims to show that Hallock was wrong. Unfortunately, her résumé includes a number of inaccuracies<sup>955</sup> and, at one point, seriously misrepresents the text (itself inaccessible to Koch’s readers). The author, after summarising most of the entries (but not in their original order), states: “Für alles zusammen wurde zu Erläuterung gesagt ‘Als Farnakka *šip* machte.’” In reality, the phrase quoted by Koch is unmistakably part of a *discrete* journal entry with its own number of allocated animals (ll.25-6). It is therefore not a conclusion to the whole text. To make this even more obvious, the entry is followed by another, independent entry (ll.27-8) preceding the actual summary (ll.29-30). It follows that “when Parnakka made *šip*” cannot possibly have a bearing on the total of the preceding lines.<sup>956</sup> The phrase cannot be used to deny that animals were allocated for various sacrifices, including *lan*.

As to *lan*, Koch inferred that, as the 118 head of sheep/goats for 6 *lan* offerings (ll.5-6) are not divisible by six, “die Menge offenbar *unabhängig* von dem Opfern war” (my italics, WH). The formal layout of the text, the general set-up

<sup>955</sup> The first entry of 14 head for a *šip* feast made by Parnakka does not take place at Appištāpdan, but at Pasargadae (NN 2259:1-2). *šip* does not take place in the eighth month only; NN 2225 (to which Koch refers) is, e.g., dated to the ninth. There are not 2+2 head for Sakurraziš and *hapidanuš* in ll.11-2, but only 2 for both of them.

<sup>956</sup> This fact would be evident to anyone familiar with the regular layout of journal texts.



of journals and the syntax categorically forbid this explanation. The animals are undeniably intended for *lan* sacrifices, no matter what reason lies behind the number of 118 (instead of 120).<sup>957</sup> In addition, it may be noted that the next entry (II.7-8) records animals issued for *lan* as well.

In Koch's view, the *šip* feast is the reason but not the locus of the slaughtering of animals. In her view, the livestock was just slaughtered *on the occasion* of a *šip* feast and given as a special ration to workers. On this basis the following conclusion on NN 2259 is reached (Koch 1987: 271):

Somit hat sich gezeigt, daß diese Zuweisungen an Kleinvieh nur indirekt mit den verschiedenen Opfern zu tun haben und die ... allgemeine Feststellung, daß von der Verwaltung nur Getreide, Wein/Bier und Früchte als Opferzuteilungen ausgegeben werden, weiterhin Gültigkeit hat.

Unless I am mistaken, the result of this inference would seem to be that all sacrifices in NN 2259 (*lan*, *hapidanuš*, *pumaziš*, etc.) took place on the occasion of the *šip* feast made by Parnakka. At the same time, none of these sacrifices would have had a direct bearing on the animals to be slaughtered that are listed in each individual entry. For example, the 30 head for *lan* (II.7-8) would have been slaughtered on the occasion of a *šip* feast *and* on the occasion of a *lan* offering (!), but despite this imposing dual cultic context, the slaughtering itself remained an entirely profane happening and the livestock involved were no more than the Achaemenid equivalent of a Christmas turkey.

In fact, NN 2259 eloquently and unmistakably shows that animals were directly allocated and slaughtered for *lan*, *šip*, and many other rituals. By the sheer number of livestock mentioned in it, this text has by itself the power to shift markedly the whole image of offerings in the Fortification area. Moreover, NN 2259 throws a unique light on the involvement of the crown in these matters (cf. §6.6 below). The importance of this text therefore easily surpasses that of any other PF text, as already acknowledged by Hallock, with regard to cultic practice in the Achaemenid heartland and merits a place in every synthesis of Persian religion.

<sup>957</sup> The two 'missing' animals may have been delivered at an earlier occasion, or, alternatively one of the ceremonies required less animals (similarly Razmjou 2004a: 106).

### 6.6. *Why was NN 2259 drafted?*

6.6.1. *The uniqueness of the text* – Apart from its importance, it is not difficult to see that NN 2259 is also a unique document among the several Fortification texts relating to cultic activities. To begin with: there are only two journals dealing with livestock allocations, NN 2259 and NN 2261.<sup>958</sup> The latter text has a profane character and stands out for the connection to the royal domain and the number of allocations to special individuals and groups such as *yaunap* (“Greeks, Ionians”), *taššup hallinup* (“hallinu-soldiers/people”), *karamarašbe* (“registrars”) and *GIŠ<sup>MA</sup>MEŠ<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ip* (“boatmen”). Both NN 2259 and NN 2261 are clearly *hors catégorie*.<sup>959</sup>

From other perspectives, NN 2259 stands apart as well. Journals normally do not contain this many entries on cultic activity. Livestock allocations for cultic purposes are generally rare and are mostly organised *via* the exchange procedure. Direct allocations of livestock occur, apart from NN 2259, only in seven other texts.<sup>960</sup> More often (but still not very frequently), sacrificial animals were – conceivably for economic reasons – acquired (by exchange) from outside the Fortification economy (cf. Henkelman 2005b and §5.4.1 above).

So, as a whole, NN 2259 is indeed a unique document. But what could be the background of its apparent uniqueness? And, related to this question, why are there so few livestock journals? Why are there, in contrast to all other journals, so many entries on cultic activity gathered together on NN 2259?

6.6.2. *Livestock allocations in PFT* – The explanation of the paucity of livestock journals lies, at least partly, in the mundane observation that livestock allocations to individuals are generally rare. Sheep and goats are mentioned mostly as being “withdrawn” (cf. §6.6.3.2 below), collected as tax, allocated for consumption in the

<sup>958</sup> There are also some (account) texts listing a number of named individuals (PF 2011, PF 2012, PF 2084, NN 0042, NN 1052, NN 2192, NN 2270, NN 2277, NN 2292, NN 2340, NN 2539). In some of these texts, livestock (cattle, sheep and goats, *basbas*) seem to be handed over to these individuals, but such transactions may involve distributional transfers for organisational purposes rather than private payments (as Brosius 2003: 269-70 suggests). Other texts enumerate functionaries from whose stocks animals are withdrawn. The individuals listed in PF 2084 are, for example, collectively designated as storekeepers. Similarly, Kawase wondered whether the individuals listed in PF 2011, PF 2012, and PF 2084 were “herdsmen, dairy workers or simply consumers” (1980: 46).

<sup>959</sup> NN 2259 and NN 2261 have similar box numbers (1461 and 1464 respectively) suggesting that they may have been found together.

<sup>960</sup> Sheep or goats: PF 1854 (*bašur*), NN 1665 (*šip*), NN 2174 (*šumar*), Fort. 2512 (*šumar*). Bovids: NN 1701 (*šip*), NN 1731. Ducks: NN 2225 (*šip*).

royal domain or given to royal women.<sup>961</sup> Otherwise, animals are issued as payment (*gal*) to a very limited number of top-level administrators including Parnakka and Ziššawīš, and, sometimes, to special individuals such as a goldsmith, perhaps as an incidental reward.<sup>962</sup> The average workers (*kurtas*) or regular ‘middle management’ figures (*araššara*, *dasabattiš*, *sadabattiš*) seldom received meat portions; such allocations are attested in twelve texts only.<sup>963</sup> This circumstance agrees with the rarity of meat rations in Achaemenid Babylonia.<sup>964</sup> Significantly, in ten of the twelve texts the order for the allocation of meat portions was given by Parnakka himself; in another text the order came from Irdumartiya (= Artavardiya [DBp III.30-1]?), also a top-level official.<sup>965</sup> Furthermore, ten of the twelve texts are letter orders. Apparently, the allocations of livestock to ordinary workers were

<sup>961</sup> Livestock for royal women: Irtaštuna (Fort. 6764; the text is published in Cameron 1942 and re-edited in Henkelman [forthc. 1] §1; perhaps NN 1727 belongs here as well); Irdabama (NN 0641); Irrakpirda<sup>?</sup> (NN 0812); Ištīn (PF 0823, with Bagiya).

<sup>962</sup> Livestock payments to Parnakka are unusually frequent, or at least documented more frequently than others (occurrences listed in §6.4 fn. 930 above). Other individual recipients of livestock are: Bagiya (PF 0823 [with Ištīn], NN 2259: 27-8), Bakursa the horseman (NN 0751), Basaka (PF 0824), Dadda the *zarnupirra*, “gold-...” (NN 2515), Irdumartiya (NN 0957), Irtena (NN 1123), Matiša (PF 0825), Mayakurriš (NN 0246), Napariš (NN 2261:9), Rimadadda the fast messenger (NN 2261:10-1), Ziššawīš (PF 0678, NN 2004, NN 2259:23-4), Zitriini (NN 0644) and [PN] the goldsmith (Fribourg A).

<sup>963</sup> PF 1790, PF 1791, PF 1793, PF 1794, NN 0254, NN 0572<sup>?</sup>, NN 0727, NN 1101, NN 1289 and NN 1847 (all involving Parnakka); PF 1633. Compare also PT 021. On some of these texts see Briant 1982: 350-1; Koch 1983: 36, 47; Dandamaev in Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989: 163-4; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b: 293; Brosius 1996: 148-9; Stevenson 1997: 151; §113-4. The texts of PF 1793, NN 0254 and NN 1289 have a related subject (meat portions for royal and princely grooms); a fourth text, NN 1665, records meat portions for a similar group of people feeding “the royal mules” issued on the occasion of a *šip* feast (cf. §6.7.5 sub F and ★§6.4.1 and ad NN 1665:3-4, 6). Note that there are some (elite) travelling groups that receive meat portions (PF 1573, PF 2057, NN 0257<sup>?</sup>, NN 0645, NN 1352<sup>?</sup>, NN 1507<sup>?</sup> [involving Irdumartiya], NN 1807, NN 2028, NN 2062, NN 2261:4-8, 12-3, 16-8, 19-21, 26-29, 30-2, 33-4), but these contexts are clearly different (on PF 2057 cf. Arfa’i 1999: 36; App.7.2 fn. 1158 below).

<sup>964</sup> See Janković 2008: 23-5 (with bibliography), who also comments (*ibid.* fn. 89) on the level of the meat rations and argues that one goat could, in theory, provide portions of about 200 gr. for as many as 180 individuals. Similarly, the female *araššap* of PF 1790, received one sheep or goat for every three months. On the basis of the estimates cited by Janković this could translate into 90 daily portions of as much as 500 gr. of meat. Even with half that amount, being an *araššara* must have been quite attractive.

<sup>965</sup> On Irdumartiya cf. §123-4 fn. 27 and §2.5.5.1 above, with references.

considered exceptional (hence the letter orders) and required the involvement of the King's highest representatives.<sup>966</sup>

6.6.3. *Royal patronage* – Rarity of livestock allocations seems to be the reason why only two livestock journals have survived, but that in itself not does not explain the concentration of livestock allocations for cultic purposes in NN 2259. Normally, such allocations for cultic purposes are not specifically collected in a single journal. Moreover, NN 2259 seems to concern a wider area than most journals do (cf. §6.6.6 below). So what unites the entries of NN 2259? As a working hypothesis, I propose to identify royal patronage as the implicit common denominator of the allocations recorded in this text. Several considerations may serve to substantiate this idea.

First, it is not difficult to see that there was royal involvement, if only indirectly, in *all* allocations of livestock and meat portions. The payments to individuals like Parnakka and Ziššawiš and the gifts to royal women conceivably were the result of royal decrees and ad hoc decisions. Some texts explicitly refer to orders by the King.<sup>967</sup> But also the decision to hand out meat portions to workers came right from the administrative top by means of Parnakka's letters (cf. above). In such cases, Parnakka may have acted upon standing orders from the King to hand out rewards or gifts under certain conditions.

Royal involvement is also detectable in direct allocations of livestock for sacrifices. As stated above, there are seven texts, apart from NN 2259, that concern such allocations (cf. fn. 960 above). The kinds of offerings are *šip* (4x), *šumar* (2x) and *bašur* (1x). As I have shown elsewhere, *šumar* and *bašur* are terms referring to funerary offerings for deceased and royal Persians (● *passim*; cf. §3.7.2.3 above), whereas *šip* was the royal feast par excellence (★§§6.4.1-2). As for *šumar* (and, perhaps, *bašur*), Arrian indeed indicates that the livestock provided for the funerary sacrifice at Cyrus' tomb was given by the King (*Anab.* VI.29.7; cf. below §6.7.3). Xenophon, in turn, informs us that cattle was slaughtered at Persian sacrificial banquets similar to *šip*, "except when he [the King] does not sacrifice."<sup>968</sup> This underlines the royal tagging of the livestock provided for sacrificial feasts, like *šip*,

<sup>966</sup> Cf. Aperghis (2000: 132) on 'luxury' commodities such as meat portions for *kurtaš*: "in all probability, the intention was to provide an incentive, perhaps in connection with festive occasions, rather than nutrition." See also ●142-3 on the use of letter orders.

<sup>967</sup> See esp. Fort. 6764 (Irtaštuna). A royal order may underlie the transfer of 280 head of livestock in PF 1829 (cf. EW s.v. *še(?)-ráš(?)*). NN 1509 could also be relevant: Parnakka's order to put to pasture a considerable amount of livestock for the royal woman [PN] (<sup>SAL</sup>[...] *du<sup>1</sup>-[ik<sup>2</sup>]-[ki<sup>2</sup>]*) is said to be in accordance with a royal document.

<sup>968</sup> Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.3.33-4. See Kuhrt 2007b: II 514-7 for the context of the passage.

and, plausibly, other animal sacrifices. The allocation of royal livestock for sacrifices at a *kušukum* is implied by NN 2544 (cf. ¶19).

Another point that may be considered here is the status of the livestock handed out to royalty, officials, workers and officiants. In itself royal involvement does not necessarily imply that the animals were royal in the sense that their allocation was charged to the royal flocks. Toyoko Kawase's seminal study on livestock management in the PF texts (1980; cf. Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2006) evades this problem by assuming that all the sheep and goats were part of "the royal household." Yet, as Briant insists in his synthesis of the Fortification tablets (1996: 478-86), some animals (as well as their caretakers) are called "royal" (<sup>HAL</sup>ESŠANA-na), while others are not. The same is true for commodities such as fruit and *tarmu* (emmer; cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *tarmu*) as well as for certain storehouses, functionaries, officials and abstract collectives such as *huthut* ("materials, products, requirements"). From this (and from corroborating evidence in the classical sources), Briant surmised that there was a House of the King, or royal domain, separate from, but also intertwined with the general Persepolis economy. Thus, when Darius ordered livestock "from my House" (*ulhi uninamamar*) to be given to his wife Irtaštuna (Fort. 6764), "on est tenté de penser non pas qu'il fait référence de manière générique aux biens gérés par l'administration, mais plutôt qu'il charge Parnaka de prélever ces bêtes sur un compte précis" (Briant *l.c.* 484; cf. *idem* 2006b).<sup>969</sup>

So, was the livestock allocated in NN 2259 charged to the royal domain or taken from the administration's herds? Was all livestock handed out for sacrifice and consumption earmarked as royal? I tend to think it was, at least in theory, but definitive answers cannot be given on the basis of my preliminary scan of the extensive livestock dossier. The following two paragraphs may serve as an outline of the problem and the direction in which a possible solution may be found.

6.6.3.1 *Poultry* – Among the various kinds of livestock, the case of poultry (a corpus of *ca.* 100 texts) offers the most clear-cut image. Persepolitan aviculture consisted of three branches: ducks (*basbas*) were largely managed by means of a share-breeding system and entrusted to duckherds under specified conditions. Annually, a number of animals (mostly ducklings and drakes) were removed from the external herds to be fattened in bird farms directly controlled by the institution. Other birds, such as geese (*ippur*) were always kept in internal herds; they were

<sup>969</sup> Similarly, there are princely domains, such as that of the royal women Irtaštuna (Artystone) and Irdabama. On royal and princely domains as separate entities with their own hierarchy and administration, yet at the same time intimately linked to the Persepolis economy at large, see now Henkelman [forthc. 1].

raised and fattened at the bird farms. Finally, there seem to have been wild fowl, such as the “mountain birds,” captured alive and fattened at the bird farms.<sup>970</sup>

All the produce of aviculture was doubtless ‘royal’ in the sense that the many kinds of poultry we find in the inventories drawn up at bird farms and receipts of fodder apparently were never used as rations, certainly not for workers and, seemingly, not even for high-ranking officials. The only evidence we have, aside from the many bird inventories and receipts of bird fodder, are five texts on the consumption of various fowl at the king’s table (PF 0697, PF 0698, PF 2034, NN 0790, NN 2213), one text on ducks (*basbas*) used/prepared for the workforce of the royal woman Irdabama,<sup>971</sup> and one text on ducks sacrificed by Parnakka on the occasion of a *šip* feast (in the paradise?) at Appištapan (NN 2225; cf. §6.7.5 below). In short, the documentation on the usages of poultry is very telling as to its royal status. Yet, this exclusive character notwithstanding, and even though consumption at the royal court (<sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA *tibba makka*) is sometimes indicated,<sup>972</sup> poultry is never explicitly labelled “royal” (<sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA-na) apart from a single case (PF 1797) where *basbas* are put to pasture as royal *huthut* (“requirements”). It seems that it was unnecessary to specify the royal status of poultry, as this would have been evident to the administrators.

6.6.3.2. *Sheep and goats* – Sheep and goats may have been treated similarly, but the material in this case is much more nebulous. As Kawase (1980) has shown, these animals, like ducks, were managed by way of a consignment or share-breeding system. Annually, the increase of the herds, as well as the live and slaughtered animals at the livestock stations (*nutannuyaš*) were inventoried. At the end of most such accounts a total of live animals (*viz* that were kept on hoof) and a total of animals “withdrawn” (*mazzika*) from the external herds are listed. The total number of these withdrawn animals exceeds 10,000 head, i.e. far more than the *ca.* 2,500 allocated to officials, workers and officiants.<sup>973</sup> The numbers are, un-

<sup>970</sup> Cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.vv. *basbas*, *ippur*, *kuktikka*, *miššatanna(š)*, *šudabah*.

<sup>971</sup> In NN 0845, two ducks are received by Bagirabba who prepared them for the *abbakannuš*. This term denotes the workforce exclusively linked to the *abbamuš* Irdabama, economically the most active and potent royal woman in the archive (as demonstrated by Brosius 1996: 129-44). NN 0845 is elliptical: 13 other texts with Bagirabba specify that he received goods (wine) and used it for the *abbakanuš* of the *abbamuš* (= Irdabama). On *basbas*, “duck,” see Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *basbas*.

<sup>972</sup> On the meaning of this phrase see now Henkelman [forthc. 1] §§2.1-4.

<sup>973</sup> In the (hypothetical) case that all the meat from animals slaughtered for hides was distributed among workers and officials, the total number of allocated sheep and goats would not be 2,500 but 3,000, still considerably lower than the 10,000 “withdrawn.” The more than 2,700 head of livestock “consumed before the King,” i.e. at the king’s

avoidably, quite rough, and to a certain extent open to debate, but reliable enough to discern a certain trend: most of the animals withdrawn must have been transferred to the royal domain, hence their invisibility in the archive.<sup>974</sup> Sheep or goats belonging to the royal flocks are referred to only rarely, and mostly in a secondary context.<sup>975</sup> Does this mean that the *ca.* 2,500 animals allocated to officials, workers and officiants were taken from the herds and directly re-invested in the Persepolis economy? Or were they first added to the royal account before being allocated again? The use of a single denominator for all animals withdrawn from the consignment system in combination with the royal involvement attested in livestock allocations seems to support the latter option. This does not have to imply that sheep and goats were always physically transferred to the royal flocks and stables: for the administrators the important fact would be that these animals were booked on the account of the royal domain. In reality the animals may have been transported to local stables (for use within the institution) straight away.<sup>976</sup>

6.6.4. *A model for food tagging* –The findings of the previous paragraphs, it should be remembered, are preliminary and undoubtedly will be qualified once the much-desired comprehensive study of animal husbandry in the Fortification archive is undertaken. With that caveat in mind, a three-layered pyramid model may be out-

court, are not included in the calculation, because I assume they are part of the withdrawn animals (on the number cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] §2.2). As for the net increase withdrawn from the herds: I have only included the numbers withdrawn from year accounts of livestock, and neglected (to avoid double counting) simple inventories (without *mazzika*). Animals collected as tax have not been counted either. It is not clear to me whether or not this livestock was produced by, linked to or independent from the consignment system. For a suggestion on their status see Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2006: 12 fn. 7. On the layout of livestock accounts tablets cf. Brosius 2003: 268-70.

<sup>974</sup> I do not believe, at least not in the case of animals, that *mazzika* simply means “transferred directly to another storehouse” (Aperghis 1998: 44)

<sup>975</sup> PF 0775 (wine for 100 royal sheep/goats), PF 1442 (herdsmen of the royal flocks), PF 1987 (exchange, 2 animals added to the royal house), PF 2025 (574 sheep/goats as royal tax?), PF 2070 (herdsman of the king), NN 0125 (13 sheep/goats of the king), NN 2094 (74 sheep/goats paid to the royal storehouse?), NN 2465 (sheepfold of the king), NN 2544 (unspecified number of sheep/goats requested from the king), Fort. 6764 (gift of 100 sheep/goats from the House of the King to Irtaštuna). On PF 2025 and PF 2070 see Herrenschildt 1989: 108-11 and Tuplin 2008 §2.1; on Fort. 6764 see now Henkelman [forthc. 1] §1, with references.

<sup>976</sup> There are also texts on the uses, breeding and status of cattle, equids and camelids in the Fortification texts, but those dossiers are smaller and therefore less clear; they will remain outside the discussion here.

lined to describe the status and use of the output produced by the Persepolis economy (cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] §1).

At the base level, regular staple foods (wine, beer, most cereals, some fruits) are produced and for a large part immediately re-invested as rations without a pronounced royal tagging. Conversely, at the top of the model one encounters status goods such as, for example, *madukka* (“honey”) that were produced, but not used within the broader Persepolis economy.<sup>977</sup> Such goods apparently were a prerogative of the ‘tables’ (courts) of the king and royal women like Irtaštuna and Irdabama. It may be that some of these luxury items were, occasionally, given as a special royal favour, but such cases are to be considered exceptional.<sup>978</sup> Then, in a third, intermediate range, livestock should be situated, in particular herds of sheep and goats. The yearly increase of these could be re-invested in the Persepolis economy, but only in a qualified way, viz by means of royal largesse. Livestock and meat portion allocations were, within the general domain, special and relatively rare, but not irregular.

The model described here finds an eloquent parallel in the much-discussed function of the royal table as a locus of redistribution of food (and tableware) and, by that token, as a medium of royal ideology. The combined evidence from Polyaeus (IV.3.32) and Heraclides of Cyme (*apud* Ath. *Deipn.* IV.145e-f) indeed suggests a royal earmarking of livestock. Whereas the impressive daily shopping

<sup>977</sup> The meaning “(solidified) honey” for *madukka* (OPers. \**maduka-*, cf. Eng. *mead*), first proposed by Hinz (1971c: 293; cf. *idem* 1973a: 82-3; 1975a: 156 [add now Zadok 2002b]), is scarcely to be doubted. “Salt” (Hallock 1969: 25; Gershevitch 1969b: 173) is indeed unlikely as *madukka* obviously represents a rare product and salt is not (at least not in Fārs where it can be readily collected from large saltpans and salt lakes). Apparently, Hallock at one point considered “coffee” (!) though without explaining this idea (cf. Lewis 1984: 86). Because the Fortification texts deal only with local cultivated products (excluding game, wild fowl, fish, nuts and mushrooms gathered in the wild), *madukka* was logically the product of bee-keeping, rather than wild honey. Honey is mentioned in PF 0298, PF 0719, PF 0720, PF 0721, PF 0722, NN 0676, NN 1383, NN 1407, NN 1901, NN 2030, Fort. 6767. In all these texts it is explicitly issued for royal consumption, except for PF 0298, where *madukka* occurs in a list of luxury food, plausibly prepared for the royal table (compare PF 0298 and PF 0712). Cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *madukka*. The interpretation of *hal<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup>-ki* (PF 1578) as “Honig” (Hinz 1971c: 293; EW s.v.) is hazardous. Achaemenid honey: Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997: 341-2. Root has recently argued that the rounded objects brought by the Ionian delegation on the Apadana reliefs might be ‘skep’ or clay bee-hives (2007: 207-10). Apiculture in the Neo-Assyrian period: Potts 1997: 151.

<sup>978</sup> See, for example, the extraordinary gift of *kudagina* (“candied dried peaches, plums or damsons”) to travelling Greeks (cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *kudagina*).



list for the King's table recorded by Polyaeus does enumerate a considerable amount of livestock, it does not mention animals among the provisions for common soldiers. Heraclides, on the other hand, stipulates that large quantities of meat from the royal table are taken to the lance-bearers and other soldiers in the palace courtyard.<sup>979</sup> This redistribution *via* the royal table to the wider circle of participants in the courtyard mirrors the system of the allocations of 'earmarked' livestock in the wider Persepolis economy.

The distinction between a general and a royal domain should not be conceptualised as that between two independent economic realities (cf. Briant 1996: 485-6; *idem* 2006b). Apart from frequent exchanges (surplus coming into the royal domain, gratuities flowing out of it) and a number of functionaries and officials working in both spheres, it remains true, obviously, that all economic activities in the Fortification area ultimately answered to the authority of the King of Kings. If anything, the proposed pyramid model, should give the impression of a gradation, rather than a sharp distinction between the royal and the general domain. In fact, one may consider *all* allocations effectuated and recorded under the aegis of the King's trusted representative Parnakka from the perspective of gift-giving. Briant speaks in this context of "une hiérarchie des *dons* de nature économique" (1996: 327 [my italics, WH]). What I suggest is that some of these gifts, such as the sheep and goats under discussion, were more royal than others and, concomitantly, had a more pronounced gift-status than, say, barley or beer. This difference would have been felt most sharply at the base level of common workers and their team leaders for whom the contrast between bare subsistence rations and extra meat portions must have been considerable.

6.6.5. *The economic and ideological rationale of sacrifice* – It may seem as if allocations for cultic purposes stand somewhat apart from the cycle of gift-giving. Yet the royal largesse shown in the provision of livestock for the funerary offerings at Cyrus' tomb (Arr. *Anab.* VI.29.7), for the feast described by Xenophon (*Cyr.* VIII.3.33-4) or, indeed, for the *šip*, *šumar* and *bašur* ceremonies mentioned above (§6.6.3) do not only render the King a pious man. Just like the payments to Parnakka and Ziššawiš, the gifts to Irtaštuna/Artystone and the extra meat portions to workers, commodities issued for offerings had their own economic value. In

<sup>979</sup> On these passages and their relation to the Persepolis material see Lewis 1987; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 154-7, 169; *idem* 1989: 133-5; *idem* 1995b: 292-300; Briant 1989: 39-42; *idem* 1996: 297-304, 326-7, 947 and index s.v. table royale; *idem* 1997a: 70 fn. 163; Stevenson 1997: 38-40, 143-52 (suggesting that Deinon was Polyaeus' source); Amigues 2003 (with a rich commentary on individual commodities; suggesting Ctesias as source); Kuhrt 2007b: II 604-7, 610-1; Henkelman [forthc. 1] §2.4.

fact, the consumption of sacrificial loaves, wine, fruit and meat by cultic personnel and, in many cases (*bakadaušiyam*, *šip*), by ordinary workers may not have been a secondary phenomenon, at least not in the Persepolis economy. As was argued elsewhere (¶158-9), offerings were, in the eyes of the administrators, yet another way of distributing goods and this may very well be the main reason why cultic activity is recorded at all in the Fortification archive.

Apart from the cultic context, one should not overstress the distinction between rations for humans and offerings for gods. In practical terms, the only difference with profane allocations is that cultic activity offers a more explicit platform for royal ideology. By ordering commodities to be issued for religious purposes, the King could demonstrate his piety *vis-à-vis* the divine and relate this notion to his munificence as greatest giver, which in turn put the human recipients under obligation to him. In the Greek sources, the sacrificial feast “instituted by Cyrus” (*Cyr.* VIII.3.33-4) is the best illustration of this double significance. It may be remembered that Xenophon stipulates that sacrificial animals were only offered if the King himself was involved in this ceremony. In other words “le sacrifice n’est pas seulement destiné à honorer des divinités; la fête et le banquet qui l’accompagne exaltent la puissance et la générosité du roi” (Briant 1996: 258). Parnakka, when presiding over the *šip* feast at Pasargadae certainly will not have failed to stress precisely these two aspects.

6.6.6. *A showcase of royal largesse* – It is time to apply the hypothesis of livestock allocations as a token of royal largesse to the case of NN 2259. The first clue is the unusual high number of sealed documents (*halmi*): the first ten entries, all recording livestock for sacrifices, start with the reference to a sealed document from Parnakka. The use of such orders to effect sacrifices is rarely attested (cf. §6.4 ad 1.1 above). In addition, Parnakka is nearly omnipresent in NN 2259: the ten *halmi* are issued by him, he performs a *šip* feast (twice) and occurs as recipient of livestock (cf. §6.1 above). Parnakka is not only the director of the Fortification administration and the King’s highest representative within that economy, he also has a direct access to the royal flocks. For this reason, Darius could order him to hand out livestock “from my House” to Irtaštuna (Fort. 6764). It seems, then, that “Parnaka se trouve à l’intersection des deux sphères” (Briant 1996: 486). His extensive involvement in organising the sacrifices of NN 2259 accords well with the idea that the livestock was provided by the King (cf. ★§6.2). In fact, the ten occurrences of “a *halmi* of Parnakka” may refer to a single document, issued by Parnakka on the order of the King, listing animals for various sacrifices.

A second argument derives from the geographic range involved in the entries of NN 2259. Named localities are Pasargadae (twice), the divine mountain Šaki, the divine mountain Akšena, the Hubutiš river, Andabaš and Kermān (from where Bagiya travelled to the King). Based on the personnel involved, other places

can be named, such as Tikraš (§6.4 ad l.3), Mišaraš (*ibid.*) and Tamukkan (*ibid.*) and Dazzarakka (ad ll.17, 29). Some of these places may be located north of Persepolis (Pasargadae) and on the road to Media (Mišaraš); others are located southeast of that town.<sup>980</sup> There are even indications pointing to the Fahliyān region in the far west.<sup>981</sup> It would seem, then, that NN 2259 involves quite an extensive region, north, northeast, southeast and, perhaps, northwest of Persepolis. For a regular journal this would be surprising: normally the entries of a journal relate to a single administrative nucleus and its satellite villages. I can see no reason why, if the livestock in NN 2259 had no special status, it would have been listed in a single text, instead of several (smaller) journals centring on the various districts involved. If the livestock were, however, a gift from the King (perhaps issued in response to a single order from Parnakka), the wide geographical range is no longer a problem.

Bearing in mind the various caveats stated in the previous paragraphs, it may be concluded that the *raison d'être* of NN 2259 is royal largesse. Only a few journals documenting such largesse in livestock in larger regions would have been drafted annually, which probably explains why, until now, just one such journal has come to light.

<sup>980</sup> Šakka (l.17) and Ašbayauda (l.29) are both collocated with Dazzarakka in PF 1987:55-6, 70. Possibly the same Šakka is found in connection with the town of Pirmiš (NN 2539; cf. §6.4 ad l.17 above). This locates Dazzarakka in the region north of the Persepolis-Susa road, on the route to Media (cf. App. 6.6 below; *pace* Koch 1990: 124-6). Mišaraš is a way-station on the road to Media (cf. §2.3.2. fn. 266 and App.6.6). The inland Tamukkan (as opposed to coastal Tamukkan) may also have been situated northeast of Persepolis (cf. §2.3.1 with fn. 258 and App.6.5). Tikraš, on the other hand, and by association the divine mountain Šaki (NN 2202:3) are to be situated in the region southeast of Persepolis (cf. §4.1.5, Apps.6.5, 7.9).

<sup>981</sup> The Hubutiš river is elsewhere (PF 0339, NN 0379) associated with PFS 0017, a seal linked Parmadan in the eastern Fahliyān region, and once (NN 0764) even to the town of Šullaggi in the far west of the region under purview of the Persepolis administration. Cf. Koch 1990 index s.v. Ú-šá-ya; Arfa'i 1999: 39-40; Garrison & Root 2001: 340-1. Note, however, that since Hubutiš is probably a river, sacrifices on its banks may have occurred in a wide area. This would explain how Šaki and Hubutiš can appear together in NN 2259-3-4; the occurrence of Šaki in NN 2202:3 places this (divine) mountain near Tikraš, southeast of Persepolis. As for Šullaggi, this is probably the same as the Šullukki in the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts and the Šalluku in some Neo-Babylonian letters (cf. Zadok 1977: 79; *idem* 1981/82: 136 fn. 20; *idem* 1985: 285; §5.2 fn. 835 above). It may also be identified with Σολόκη, mentioned by Strabo (XVI.1.18). That town is said to have been renamed (probably by popular etymology) to Seleucia (on the Hedyphon). Seleucia was tentatively identified with the site of Ġān-e Šīn in south-eastern Khūzestān by Hansman 1978 (cf. fig. 2.1 on p. 68). Compare also Old Elamite Šalgu (cf. Farber 1975b: 83-4, rev. II'.9') and Sasanian Surak (Hansman *o.c.* 155).

### 6.7. *Sacrifice in paradise*

One of the *lan* offerings recorded in NN 2259 takes place in the *partetaš* in Pasargadae. This unparalleled circumstance poses some intriguing questions as to the nature of *partetaš* in general and that in Pasargadae in particular. This justifies reviewing part of the ‘paradise’ dossier.<sup>982</sup>

6.7.1. *Etymology and use* – In the past, it has been doubted that *partetaš* represents Old Persian *\*paridaida-* or *\*paridēda-* (Hallock 1969: 15; Lecoq 1990: 211 fn. 23), but such doubts were based on a narrow definition of a ‘paradise’ (inspired by the Greek sources) rather than etymological objections. By now, the etymology is no longer disputed.<sup>983</sup> In the Fortification and Treasury archives, *partetaš* plausibly

<sup>982</sup> This is not the place to review the plethora of evidence which already has been treated in the rich studies of Briant (1982e: 451-6, 489; 1982 index q.v.; 1996: 98-9, 245-51, 309-11, 357-8, 456-9, 940-1, 967 and index q.v.; 1997a: 86; 2001: 102-3, 111) and Tuplin 1996 (also on pre-Achaemenid gardens; cf. *idem* 1987a: 143-5). Note that the celebrated *Letter to Gadatas* has now been shown to be a Roman-period fake by Briant (2003b) and is therefore better removed from the dossier. Other studies include: Fauth 1979; Dandamaev 1984 (Babylonia); Koch 1992: 264-8; Bremmer 1999 esp. 1-10; Hultgård 2000; Lincoln 2003. A more general, but interesting study is that of Moynihan (1979). Related subjects: Briant 1991a: esp. 230-6 (Vergina: Macedonian paradises) and *idem* 2003c (‘roi-jardinier’).

<sup>983</sup> On the etymology see most recently Schmitt 1999: 82-5 and Tavernier 2007a: 446-7 [4.4.12.8-9]. Gk. παράδεισος is commonly derived from a related (‘Median’) form, either *\*paridēsa-* or *\*paridaiza-*. The young-Avestan cognate of the latter, *pairidaēza-*, occurs twice in the *Vidēvdād* (3.18, 5.49). There, *pairidaēza-* denotes a place designed for the excommunication of individuals who are cultically polluted by carrying a dead body by themselves or by bearing a stillborn. In an intriguing *e contrario* argument, Hultgård (2000: 7-8) calls this *pairidaēza-* a “schlechtes Paradies,” *viz* attesting the mirror concept of a real, good paradise. Yet, the two passages describe places lacking not only water, plants, and humid earth (the ingredients of a ‘good’ paradise), but also livestock, fire, *barasman*, and righteous man (*Vd.* 3.15, 5.46; cf. Wolff 1910: 327, 347-8). They therefore seem opposed to the world of normal human existence and the Mazdaic community, rather than to either a garden/plantation or ‘Paradise.’ Note also that the wider context of the first passages on *pairidaēza-*, the third chapter of the *Vidēvdād* (the Avestan *Georgica*), does not evoke or imply the image of a (‘good’) paradise, and therefore hardly endorses the idea of a ‘bad paradise’ as Hultgård seems to suggest. It is my impression that Avestan *pairidaēza-* is a mundane term, meaning, quite literally, “circumvallated [area]” and nothing more. It does not evoke the much wider semantic range of Old Persian *\*paridaida-* ([royal] garden, plantation, stockyard). Contrary to Hultgård (*o.c.* 9), I therefore fail to see the relevance of

denotes an agricultural production unit, not a game preserve, as appears notably from PFa 33 (fruit trees; cf. above ad l.14).<sup>984</sup> However, the term occurs mainly as a location where fruit (prob. its own produce), and *tarmu* (emmer; cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *tarmu*) was “deposited” (*zikkaka*) at the disposal of certain officials and, in case of fruit, was “kept” (*nušgimak*).<sup>985</sup> Connections to the royal house, which are so prominent in the Greek documentation, were previously unknown in primary sources except for the indirect reference in PT 048 (cf. Tuplin 1996: 95). Confirmation is now found for the plantations at Appištāpdan and Tikranuš (cf. below §6.7.5 sub E-F). Furthermore, a royal connection may also be assumed for the *partetaš* at Matannan (PF 0144) as the same town hosted a royal palace mentioned in a document from Sippar (dating to the reign of Cambyses).<sup>986</sup>

Avestan *pairidaēza-* to the question of possible cultic activity in Persian paradises. Note that the contemporary Zoroastrian purification rite known as *barašnūm* (typically involving isolation in a round, walled area) also lacks the notion of (anti-)paradise. On this and the *pairidaēza-* rite see Boyce 1975: 313-8 and Stausberg 2004: 284-96.

<sup>984</sup> The term occurs in 36 PF texts (cf. Tuplin 1996: 94 fn. 50 [see also 96 fnn. 59-60]) and in 4 PT texts (PT 048°, PT 049, PT 059, PT 1963-9). These texts refer to a total of 22 *partetaš* (cf. fn. 990 below). The corpus has been discussed by Hallock 1969: 15; 1978: 116; 1985: 608; Hinz 1970: 425-6; 1971c: 295; Koch 1980: 119-21; 1990, *passim*; Briant 1996: 439, 456-9, 481, 967; Tuplin 1996: 93-6, 178-82 (referring to NN 2259); Uchitel 1997. Sumner (1986: 26-8) provisionally linked some of the “gardens” and the physical evidence from the Kūr River Basin survey; on this subject compare also Tuplin 1996: 89 fn. 36 and Boucharlat 2003b: 265.

<sup>985</sup> The exact meaning of the phrase *gi-um* PN *ug-gi zik-ka<sub>4</sub>-ka<sub>4</sub>* remains disputed, despite several attempts to modify Hallock’s tentative “deposited (as) *kem* to (the account of) PN” (1969: 14-5, 76, 133, 713, 767, 774; 1977: 132). Koch’s analysis (1980; repeated in 1989: 125-7 and discussed by Tuplin 1987a: 156-7), which related the phrase to taxation, was rejected by Herrenschmidt (1989: 116-7; cf. Vallat 1981a). Aperghis’ new proposal (1998: 48-51; cf. 1999: 188-9) revived the taxation theory. His study contains a number of interesting observations on the functioning of the archive, but lacks linguistic support (cf. the critical remarks by Briant 2001: 134-6 fn. 281).

<sup>986</sup> The GN Matannan was identified by Kristin Kleber in YOS 7 187, which mentions labourers sent to Matannan to construct a palace. The text is dated to Camb. 7<sup>2</sup>; the palace referred to may subsequently have been given to Irtaštuna, Cambyses’ sister. Cf. Henkelman & Kleber 2007.

6.7.2. *Divergent contexts* – Two *partetaš* are the locations of activities different from the ones described above.<sup>987</sup> The first is the *partetaš* at Pasargadae, which, according to our text (II.7-8), was the scene of *lan* offerings. The other is a *partetaš*, called Parsaraš, at Persepolis. There is evidence for metal working in this plantation and, plausibly, for a stockyard.<sup>988</sup> Such features raise the question whether the definition of *partetaš* in general should be modified to encompass (at least as a possibility) craft-, livestock- and cultic functions. The alternative would be to assume that the *partetaš* at Pasargadae and Persepolis were exceptionally large and only for that reason comprised localities (stockyards, workshops, shrines/sacred places) that, strictly speaking, did not typically belong to the *partetaš* sphere. How relevant is it that the aforementioned *lan* offerings took place in a plantation?

While the case of Parsaraš may indeed be explained by assuming exceptional circumstances (location at Persepolis, large size), there is a possibility

<sup>987</sup> An apparent third case, NN 0619, has <sup>AŠ</sup>*kán-du-uk-ka* <sup>AŠ</sup>*pár-te-taš* <sup>ʾ</sup>*kap*<sub>0</sub><sup>ʾ</sup>(-)*nu-iš-gi-ma*, “[fruit deposited] (at) the *partetaš* (of) Kandukka, at the treasury” (cf. Tuplin 1996: 95). As Hallock (ms.) already observed, this is the only occurrence of a *kapnuški* in C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka*”). His suggestion that the scribe merely intended *nu-iš-gi-ma* (“[fruit deposited] to be kept (at) the *partetaš* (of) Kandukka”) is evidently correct. This eliminates NN 0619 as an exception within the *partetaš* dossier.

<sup>988</sup> Large cattle “(for) the court” (*īyan*) is mentioned in an account (NN 2280); the account itself (*mušin*) seems to have been given “in the *partetaš* at Persepolis” (prob. = Parsaraš). The precise connection remains unclear. PF 0285 is an inventory of 43 head of sheep/goats at Parsaraš (presumably the *partetaš*). PF 1815, NN 0948, NN 1280 and NN 1368 deal with four workers stationed at the *partetaš* Parsaraš and designated as *zappannutip*, a term interpreted by Hallock as “handlers of *zappan* (wood).” My own guess is that these workers were not lumberjacks or carpenters, but bronze-makers/-workers (cf. Henkelman 2005a, responding to Giovinazzo 2004). These *zappannutip* were supervised by a certain Tamšakama. A group of *kupirriyap partetaš nuškip*, “bitumen-workers”, plantation-caretakers” (NN 1612; cf. NN 2409) and a group of *marrīp*, “artisans” (NN 2165) were supervised by the same individual and may have been active in Parsaraš too. For *kupirriyap*, “bitumen-workers” cf. Gershevitch 1951: 139; Hinz 1975a: 153; Tavernier 2007a: 535 [5.5.2.2]. An alternative interpretation (“Cypriotes”) has been advanced by Koch (1993a: 39) and Lewis (*apud* Tuplin 1996: 95 fn. 54), but seems unconvincing (Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.1). Further occurrences: Vallat 1993a: 211-2. I note in passing that, by some oversight, Uchitel mixed up the contents of PF 1815 (bronze-workers) and the reference number of PF 0285 in his assertion that the former text records “rations for four wool-handlers with 285 goats” (Uchitel 1997: 141) In fact, there is not a single goat in PF 1815 and “285” must derive from “PF 0285.” Also, Hallock (cf. above) thought of wood-handlers, not wool-handlers for *zappannutip*.

that the sacrifices at the Pasargadae *partetaš* are in accord with the general nature of Persian paradises. Defending that position may be considered audacious, for, though we may intuitively suppose cultic connections, the evidence is actually quite meagre. The strong ideological undertones and the cosmological connotations in the concept of paradise may imply a sense of sanctity and the ‘paradisiacal’ growth of plants and trees in these secluded gardens may evoke a numinous presence, but all that is not the same as cultic activity. The Greek documentation yields just one clue to that effect (the Bīsotūn paradise; cf. §6.7.5 sub A).<sup>989</sup> Also, only a few of the 22 places that host a *partetaš* according to the Fortification and Treasury tablets are also the site of cultic activity and even there it is uncertain whether sacrifices actually took place within the *partetaš* itself.<sup>990</sup> So, is the location of a *lan* offering in the *partetaš* at Pasargadae fortuitous? Having evaluated the available documentation, I am inclined to answer that question in the negative. There was a special cultic connection and that is why the scribe of NN 2259 explicitly stated that these *lan* sacrifices took place in the *partetaš*. That is not to say that the evidence is unambiguous; the particular case of Pasargadae presents some deceptive clues, notably the offerings at Cyrus’ tomb.

6.7.3. *The tomb of Cyrus* – The Greek sources refer to a παράδεισος at Pasargadae: Cyrus’ tomb was situated in this garden and at this location magoi are said to have performed sacrifices for the benefit of the deceased king. Such is famously stated by Arrian and Strabo on the authority of Aristobulus (FGH 139 F 51):

<sup>989</sup> It is tempting to include the sacrifices in the ἄλσος of Cotys in Thrace in the discussion. As Briant (1991a: 232-4) has argued, this plantation was probably inspired by Persian paradises. It may well be that the sacrifices were part of the ‘paradise package’ imported by Cotys.

<sup>990</sup> Places with a *partetaš* are: Abbadaraš, Akkuban, Appištapdan, Barašba, Batrakataš (Pasargadae), Hapruma, Kabaš (at?) Tamukkan, Kandukka, Kindarizzan, Kutkuš, Mamakaš, Matannan, Mišbašiyatiš, Mišdukba, Murkaziš, Mutrizaš, Nupištaš, Parsaraš (at Persepolis), Pirdubattiš, Šaurakkaš, Tikranuš, Upirizza. Of these places, only Appištapdan and Tikranuš are the scenes of cultic activity. The paradisonym <sup>AS</sup>*kin-da-ri-iz-za-an* (PT 048, PT 1963-9) was read <sup>AS</sup>*mur-da-ri-iz-za-an* by the EW q.v. (cf. Hinz 1975a). Alternatively, Kindarizzan may be compared to a GN spelt variously as <sup>AS</sup>*ku-un-tar-ri-iz-za-an* (NN 1342) and <sup>AS</sup>*ku-un-tar-tur-ri-iz-za-an* (PF 0943, PF 0944, NN 0073°, NN 1085°, Fort. 9409). Both these spellings may express /Kunturrizzan/ and should be read as <sup>AS</sup>*ku-un-tar-ri-iz-za-an* and <sup>AS</sup>*ku-un-tar<sup>tur</sup>-ri-iz-za-an* respectively (TAR pronounced /tur/: cf. Steve 1992: 144 and Vallat 1993a s.vv. Kunturru(k)an, Kunturruš, etc.). Kindarizzan and Kunturrizzan may well be the same place.

The tomb of Cyrus was in Pasargadae, in the royal garden (ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ). Round it, a (sacred) grove (ἄλσος) with all sorts of trees had been planted, (the place) was well-watered (ὑδατι ... κατάρρυτον), and deep grass had grown in the meadow; (...). Within the enclosure (ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου), near the ascent leading up to the tomb, a small building was constructed for the Magi, who guarded Cyrus' tomb already since Cambyses, son of Cyrus, receiving this guardianship from father to son. To them was given a sheep a day from the King, a fixed allocation of meal and wine, and a horse a month, to sacrifice to Cyrus.

(Arr. *Anab.* VI.29.4, 7)

Here he [Alexander] saw also, in a garden (ἐν παραδείσῳ), the tomb of Cyrus, a modest tower, concealed within the dense growth of the trees, (...); and these things [the plundering of the tomb; WH] took place notwithstanding the surrounding guard of Magi, who received for their maintenance a sheep a day and a horse a month.

(Strabo XV.3.7)

Later, Aristobulus himself was commissioned by Alexander to restore whatever there was left to be restored of the interior of the burial chamber (Arr. *Anab.* VI.29.10). As might be expected from somebody charged with such an assignment, his description of the tomb itself (Arr. *Anab.* VI.29.5; Strabo XV.3.7) is fairly accurate (cf. Pearson 1960: 180-1), certainly when compared to that of Onesicritus.<sup>991</sup> Some caution is warranted, however. The purported inscription (Arr. *Anab.* VI.29.7-8; Strabo XV.3.7; Plut. *Alex.* 69.4) on the structure that became his personal assignment is a strong reminder to that effect. In all likelihood, this inscription never existed and was probably inspired by the inscriptions on other buildings in Pasargadae as Stronach (1978: 26) and others have argued.<sup>992</sup> Remarkably, Aristobulus does not seem to have mentioned any of these other buildings, except for the canteen of the magoi.<sup>993</sup> His sole interest was clearly Cyrus' tomb and this may have caused a second inaccuracy: though the above testimonies leave some room for doubt, one gains the impression that, according to

<sup>991</sup> Though the details are only fully understandable because we know the monument! See also Briant 1996: 219-20 on the various descriptions of the tomb.

<sup>992</sup> Not only was there probably never an inscription on the tomb itself, its purported contents clearly betray a Greek outlook and an undertone of Macedonian propaganda (so Briant 1982d: 389-91; Schmitt 1988a: 18-25; Stronach 2000; Boucharlat 2006: 458-62; cf. also Briant 2003a: 276-7 on the pseudo-inscriptions and the role of Cyrus in Macedonian propaganda).

<sup>993</sup> Elsewhere, Arrian (III.18.10; cf. Curt. V.6.10) mentions the treasury of Pasargadae, but it is not clear which source he used at this point. Incidentally, a "treasury" (*kapnuški*) at Pasargadae is also mentioned or implied in several PF texts (PF 0062, PF 0063, NN 1165, NN 1770, NN 2286:29-31), but this is not necessarily the same institution.



Aristobulus, the royal παράδεισος was planted specifically around the tomb and perhaps formed an entity separated (cf. ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου) from the remainder of the town.<sup>994</sup> The use of the word ἄλσος strengthens this impression since such (sacred) groves are often associated with tombs, as in the well-known case of Clearchus.<sup>995</sup> From what is known of the site, however, it seems likely that a considerable part of Pasargadae was landscaped and this would surely not have escaped Alexander *cum suis*. Could it be, then, that what Aristobulus really wanted to say was that Pasargadae had a large παράδεισος with meadows, trees and watercourses (ὕδατι κατάρρυτος) in which, among other features, was situated the main focus of *his* interest, the tomb of Cyrus (itself perhaps surrounded by many trees)? If so, Aristobulus' description would be imprecise and incomplete, but not, on the whole, erroneous.<sup>996</sup>

As I see it, Aristobulus' report on the sacrifices at Cyrus' tomb does not have a direct bearing on the παράδεισος as such. These rites therefore lose much of their relevance for the text under discussion, which reports animal sacrifices at the *partetaš* in Pasargadae. When Aristobulus speaks of the royal παράδεισος he may be referring to a larger part, if not all of Pasargadae, whereas the *partetaš* mentioned in NN 2259:7-8 may denote a specific and clearly delineated area somewhere on the site. This is not to say that Aristobulus' statements are without any parallel in the Fortification archive. Quite the contrary: offerings of livestock, flour (presumably for sacrificial loaves), and wine for deceased royal and noble Persians are attested in the archive.<sup>997</sup> Yet, this evidence does not concern the *lan* offerings.<sup>998</sup> Given the elusiveness of the available evidence, it would be unwise to

<sup>994</sup> Pasargadae was a real town; see Boucharlat 2001 and Boucharlat & Benech 2002.

<sup>995</sup> See Briant 1996: 250-1 on Clearchus (Plut. *Art.* 18.7-8). On ἄλσος, specifically the one in Pasargadae, cf. Tuplin 1996: 125 fn. 149, 127 with fn. 158. The combination of (sacred) grove and meadow (λεϊμῶν) may be a stereotype (cf. the parallels listed in Tuplin *o.c.* 126 fn. 155) and may have originated from Aristobulus' Greek perspective. This is not to say that a variation of wooded precincts and open lawns or meadows at Pasargadae is impossible, but the terminology used projects a sense of Greekness on the whole garden layout that may obscure its actual background and functions.

<sup>996</sup> Compare Pearson (1960: 174-5) who underlines that Aristobulus, though a laudably reliable source on other issues, did not have a particularly strong taste for botanical matters. See also Plin. *Nat.Hist.* VI.29.116 where the tomb guarded by the magoi has evolved into the image of Pasargadae as a fortress held by them: "Magi optinent Phrasargida castellum, in quo Cyri sepulchrum."

<sup>997</sup> This link, already established by Briant (1996: 106-8, 923), can now be supported by the *šumar* texts (𐎶, *passim*). See also §3.7.2.3 above on *šumar* and *bašur*.

<sup>998</sup> In my study on the *šumar* texts, I considered the possibility that two texts on *lan* offerings at Narezzaš (PF 0769, NN 1262) should be linked to the *šumar* sacrifices at the

exclude anything, but for the moment I see no reason to interpret the 30 sheep/goats for *lan* in the Pasargadae *partetaš* as funerary sacrifices for Cyrus.<sup>999</sup>

6.7.4. *The garden(s) of Pasargadae* – It would be nice if, in the case of Pasargadae, the term *partetaš* could be narrowed down to a specific area. In recent years, the knowledge of the physical remains of the local gardens has been expanded greatly by geo-magnetic surveys at the site. It is becoming clear that the centre of the site had a large “espace ‘paysagé’ ” stretching much beyond the inner garden that has been the main focus of previous studies and “englobant les bâtiments à colonnes (palais et pavillons) et se poursuivant au SE jusqu’à la rivière, et au-delà de celle-ci, jusqu’à la Porte monumentale” (Boucharlat & Benech 2002: 23, cf. 9, 24).<sup>1000</sup> As the authors stress, it is not as yet clear how far this landscaped space continued, for example in the direction of the ‘sacred precinct’ (*ibid.* 23). On the whole, however, the sacred precinct seems to be too far away to be part of the central garden (Boucharlat, pers.comm.). In addition, there seems to be no indication, at least not at present, that areas such as the ‘outer fortification’ or the ‘sacred precinct’ itself had a garden-like character. This is in agreement with the expression “*partetaš* at Pasargadae” in the present text, which would have been meaningless if the whole site were a single, undifferentiated plantation or series of gardens. Yet, though it seems logical that the “espace ‘paysagé’ ” at the centre of the site coincided with the *partetaš* mentioned by the Fortification scribes, rash equations should be avoided. As we have seen, *partetaš*, as an administrative term, denoted primarily a production and storage unit. It is therefore likely that, whereas most Persians might have called the whole landscaped centre a *\*paridaida-*, the administrators meant

same location (¶147, cited by Kuhrt 2007b: II 559). I recognise now that, though possible, this relation does not seem to have been more than indirect. The *lan* sacrifices at Narezzaš could have been performed by cultic personnel also involved in the funerary offerings, but there is no reason to assume that *lan* itself somehow belonged to the funerary realm.

<sup>999</sup> Cf. the hesitation expressed by Tuplin 1996: 116 on the same question.

<sup>1000</sup> Cf. the assessment of the authors, *ibid.* p. 39: “Le programme décidé par Cyrus ... ménage au centre un cadre magnifique, bien plus vaste que le simple quadrilatère du *chahar bagh*. L’espace ‘paysagé’ sur plusieurs hectares, peut-être des dizaines d’hectares, et parsemé de quelques constructions en pierre devait être agréable pour les résidents, mais aussi impressionnant pour les visiteurs. Au-delà de ce lieu de prestige, la place ne manquait pas sur plusieurs kilomètres carrés pour installer les activités politiques, économiques et administratives, voire religieuses, que nécessitait le fonctionnement de la capitale de l’empire.” See also Boucharlat 2002; 2003a: 91-3. Previous studies include Stronach 1978: 107-10; 1989: 480-3; 1990; 1993. Stronach already held that “the greater part of Pasargadae was, in effect, a royal paradise” (1985a: 846).

only a specific part when referring to the “*partetaš* at Pasargadae.” The matter is further complicated by the uncertainty as to whether this particular *partetaš* (mentioned only in NN 2259:7-8) was of the regular type or not. Prospective research at the site may provide some clues, but for now the material remains at Pasargadae do not answer the question why religious activities took place in the local *partetaš*.

6.7.5. *Paradise as a sacred place* – The possible ritual connections of Persian paradises are a matter of speculation as the otherwise very rich Greek documentation is not very informative on this point. The descriptions of the funerary sacrifices of Cyrus cannot securely be related to the paradise of Pasargadae (cf. §6.7.3 above). As far as the Greek documentation is concerned, only the report on Semiramis at Bīsotūn (cf. below) is a relatively clear indicator of cultic activity within, or connected with, a paradise. Tuplin rightly contrasts this situation with the abundant evidence on Mesopotamian temple gardens, groves and related subjects and therefore is inclined to see the *lan* sacrifices in the *partetaš* of Pasargadae as an isolated case (1996: 116). Indeed, the Greek tradition does not seem to have perceived the Persian paradises as “‘special’ places which might have prompted intimations of the divine” (*ibid.* 117, cf. 126; see also Fauth 1979: 12). On the other hand, one wonders how much weight should be assigned to this silence in the Greek sources. Persian veneration of notably Anāhitā and Napiriša, both intimately connected to pure waters, would surely seem to be at home in a paradise. Some time ago, Briant similarly expressed the idea that the paradises might have contained “des sanctuaires ou des oratoires dédiés aux dieux perses, en particulier à Mithra et à Anāhita” (1982c: 455). There is a case to be made for this supposition, but the evidence will necessarily be circumstantial.

First, there is extensive documentation, both iconographic and textual, on Assyrian and Babylonian gardens, including temple gardens, *akītu* gardens, the famous *Weinlaube* scene and altars in landscaped environments. The altars are set on wooded hills, in proximity of a garden pavilion (*bītānu*) and could therefore, at least in theory be of considerable interest for the Pasargadae paradise and its functions.<sup>1001</sup> Yet, though the Mesopotamian gardens and game parks are,

<sup>1001</sup> Two scenes with park, altar and pavilion are discussed by Stronach as part of the possible inspiration of the Pasargadae gardens (1989: 476-80; 1990: 171-4). On the Assyro-Babylonian evidence see also Oppenheim 1965 (*bītānu*); Fauth 1979: 15-9; Wiseman 1983; Deller 1987 (*Weinlaube*); Tuplin 1996: esp. 83-5, 87-8, 116 fn. 118; Besnier 2004 (temple gardens, sceptical on the concept of ‘sacred groves’). Note that Hittite culture was particularly rich in rituals that took place in gardens and plantations (cf. Haas 1988; I thank Willemijn Waal for the reference).

undeniably, part of the cultural background that shaped the concept of the Achaemenid paradise, these cannot be used to fill in lacunae in our knowledge, as circular arguments would become unavoidable. Cultic aspects of Assyro-Babylonian parks and gardens need not be relevant for our case since these features may not have been borrowed to begin with. Therefore, I will focus on the Iranian tradition in its widest sense, i.e. including evidence from the Elamite periods. First, however, a number of relevant cases from the Achaemenid period (including some pre- and post-Achaemenid material) should be mentioned:<sup>1002</sup>

- A Ctesias (*apud* Diod. II.13.1-2) relates Semiramis' exploits at the ὄρος ... Βαγίστανον (Bisotūn): apart from engraving a 'Syrian' inscription, the queen is said to have laid out a παράδεισος irrigated by a large spring. Ctesias stipulates that the mountain was sacred to 'Zeus.'<sup>1003</sup> Traces of a river-irrigated, enclosed Sasanian game preserve have been identified by the German excavators (Kleiss 1996: 109-13, "ein nasses Jagdgebiet") and a spring pond in the plain below the relief indeed produces a lush flow of water (Luschey 1996c). As to the sacredness of the place and the possible presence of an (open-air) sanctuary, confirmation can be found in: <sup>1)</sup> the name Βαγίστανον (OPers. \*Bagastāna, "place or stand of the god(s)" [Schmitt 1990: 290]), <sup>2)</sup> Diodorus' remark that the Βαγιστάνη district is θεοπρεπεστάτης, lit. "god(s) most befitting" (Diod. XVII.110.5; Schmitt *l.c.*), <sup>3)</sup> the plausible identification of 'Semiramis' with Šumaliya/Simiria, a Kassite goddess whose ancient cult can be postulated for the Bisotūn-area (Phillips 1968: 166-7).<sup>1004</sup> Continuing cultic activity in post-

<sup>1002</sup> The list does not include Nupištaš, a place that has a frequently-mentioned *partetaš* and has been identified with Naqš-e Rostam by Hinz (1970: 425-6; 1971c: 295) and Gershevitch (1969b: 177-9). The identification would be attractive for our purposes, as Naqš-e Rostam hosts not only the royal tombs, but also terraces possibly constructed for cultic use (Schippmann 1971) as well as the famous Middle Elamite relief and a Neo-Elamite stele (Gropp & Nadjmabadi 1970: 198, pl. 98; Huff 1984: 240 fig. 18). Yet, the arguments advanced by Rüdiger Schmitt against the identification are conclusive (Schmitt 1991c, supported by Vallat 1993a: 200; cf. Hallock 1977: 132 [implicitly denying the identification]). Nupištaš is more likely to be identical with Ptolemy's Νιπίστα "in Karmania" (*Geogr.* VI.8.13). Furthermore, Hinz's claim that Nupištaš had a temple (1970: 425, "Wie Pasargadae besaß diese Siedlung ... einen Tempel") is false: this temple does not exist in the edited PF sample, nor is there any mention of sacrifices at Nupištaš.

<sup>1003</sup> Text with commentary: Lenfant 2004: 38-9, 241-2. On the passage cf. Phillips 1968; Briant 1984: 30; 1996: 136; Tuplin 1996: 97; Hultgård 2000: 9-10.

<sup>1004</sup> It is tempting (yet speculative) to link the pre-Achaemenid lion, that was only later adapted to 'carry' the reclining Heracles (so Kleiss 1970: 145-7, pl. 66.1; contra:

Achaemenid times may be postulated on the basis of: <sup>4)</sup> the statue of Heracles Kallinikos (dated 148 BC), <sup>1005 5)</sup> the 'Parthian Stone' depicting an animal sacrifice (Kleiss 1970: 147-9, pl. 72.1; von Gall 1996) and <sup>6)</sup> three late-Sasanian sculptured capitals depicting Anāhitā and possibly belonging to a garden pavilion or small temple.<sup>1006</sup> Direct confirmation of cultic activity during the Achaemenid period is still lacking. It has been suggested, though, that the pre-Achaemenid stone terrace directly below the Bīsotūn relief was an open-air sanctuary that may still have been used (perhaps in altered form) in the Achaemenid period.<sup>1007</sup> It is conceivable that on this terrace, at the fountain-

Bernard 1980: 316 fn. 51), to the lions associated with Nanaya/Anāhitā (as mentioned by Ael. *NA* XII.23).

<sup>1005</sup> See Luschey 1996a with references. Compare also the Heracles who, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* XII.13), was venerated in a sanctuary (*templum*) near 'Mt. Sanbulos' and acted as the mysterious mounted archer in a local ritual/legend. Herzfeld and other commentators have argued that Mt. Sanbulos is in the immediate surroundings of Bīsotūn, a position developed by Bernard (1980, with references). More recently, Tubach has revived Rawlinson's idea that Sanbulos is Sumbula, near Sar-e Pol-e Zohāb (1995: 244-55). As for the identification of 'Heracles at Sanbulos,' the particular details of the local legend should be given full weight. As Tubach's lavishly annotated study convincingly shows, this makes Wahrām/Vərəthragna (defended by i.a. Bernard 1980: 322-3; Boyce & Grenet 1991: 93) a less likely candidate. Instead, Tubach proposes Tīr/Tištrya (syncretised with Nabû), as this god was later identified with Heracles (1995: 255-71). I note, in passing, that Hansman (1985: 240-4) gives a divergent interpretation of the 'Heracles' images from Masjīd-e Sulaimān (Bēl or an unidentified Elymaean god). On the legend of the riderless horses and its numismatic, glyptic and folkloristic (Bahrām Gōr) parallels cf. Calmeyer 1974: 66-71.

<sup>1006</sup> See Luschey 1990: 293-4 (with references) and *idem* 1996b (new proposal for the location of the building to which the capitals originally belonged). Compare also Taq-e Bostān with its springs and large basin (possibly Sasanian), its Sasanian reliefs (including the bas-relief of water-pouring Anāhitā in the large grotto and the splendid boar and deer hunting scenes), and the large square earthen wall originally enclosing a paradise similar to the one at Bīsotūn. A Parthian fire altar, discovered when the Qāğār pavilion was demolished, suggests that cultic use of the site pre-dates the Sasanian period. Thus far no Achaemenid remains have come to light (the Achaemenid column bases in the local open-air museum were not found at Taq-e Bostān, but reportedly at nearby Šāhābād [Kleiss 1972: 197-8 fig. 73]). See Luschey 1979: 412-3 and pl. 79.2 on the altar. An aerial photograph (by E.F. Schmidt) of the paradise enclosure can be found in Kawami 1992: 94-5, fig. 34.

<sup>1007</sup> Luschey 1972: 296; Luschey & Kleiss 1996: 25 ('[Eine] Terrasse ... die vielleicht, obwohl jede Spur davon zu fehlen scheint, ein älteres Naturheiligtum im Innern der

head, and/or further down in the game preserve, the old local goddess (Šumaliya/‘Semiramis’) came to be venerated under the name of Anāhitā already in Achaemenid times. Whether or not cultic activity at any of these locations would count as ‘sacrifice in a paradise’ depends on the unsolved question of what exactly constituted the paradise at Bīsotūn: did it comprise the entire site or just a small part (i.e. the game preserve)?

- B The Ištār sanctuary at the ‘water hole’ of Bīt Ištār, known from a Tiglath-pileser III inscription, may be identified with the spring pond at Ravānsar (57 km NNW of Kermānšāh).<sup>1008</sup> A bronze plaque, with the Akkadian inscription of a certain king Šilīruḥ, possibly the ruler of Bīt Ištār, refers to “Ištār, Lady of the City.”<sup>1009</sup> The site offers an intriguing parallel to the possible Šumaliya/‘Semiramis’/Anāhitā sanctuary at Bīsotūn, especially since, given a rock-relief depicting a ritual scene, Ravānsar may still have hosted cultic activity in the Achaemenid period.<sup>1010</sup> It is not clear whether the immediate environment of the small lake was landscaped as a paradise, but it would seem plausible, certainly in this fertile region. The spring pond (present size: 10,000 m<sup>2</sup>) and its surroundings are still advertised by the Kermānšāh province tourism organisation as a hallmark of the region’s “impressive natural beauty.”<sup>1011</sup>

Schlucht weiterbenutzt und ausbaut bzw. überbaut, und zudem auf den Quellsee am Fuße der Schlucht bezogen ist”); cf. Boehmer 1996 (Iron III pottery from the terrace).

<sup>1008</sup> Identification proposed by Radner (2003b, following a suggestion by Stronach). Bīt Ištār was a Zagros polity where Tiglath-pileser III claims to have set up an inscription “in front of the water hole” (*ibid.*).

<sup>1009</sup> The object (now MMA 5211912) was acquired from “a place north of Hamadan” – inevitably by Herzfeld! (1938; 1968: 238-46) – and contains clues pointing to Bīt Ištār/Ravānsar (Radner 2003b). Though Radner defines Bīt Ištār/Ravānsar as “part of the country of the Medes” headed by “a Median ruler” (*ibid.* 125), a certain Elamite influence should be conceded given the use of ŠĀ (cf. Diakonoff 1978: 65-6) and the name Šilīruḥ, probably Elamite \*Siliš-ruh. For the first component of the name compare especially the DN Silir-katru (Vallat 2002/03: 534); for *ruh*, “man,” compare, e.g., Mišim-ruh (Zadok 1984a: 36 [200]). On the name Šilīruḥ see also Zadok 2002a: 111 [4.7.2] (“Elam.”).

<sup>1010</sup> The relief, tentatively dated to the Achaemenid period, is carved on the façade of a rock-cut tomb and was interpreted by Peter Calmeyer (1978) as a cultic scene comparable to that on the famous relief from Daskyleion (preparation for a sacrifice). Apart from the fountain-lake and the relief, Ravānsar hosts a tepe dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium. Sherds dating to the first millennium are also found at the site (*ibid.*).

<sup>1011</sup> As in a booklet entitled *Kermanshah*, published by the Sharif Cultural Institute (Tehrān 1998). In a recent report on Kermānšāh province springs by Khatami & Shayegan 2006, the Ravānsar *sarab* is described as rich in aquatic life.

- C The temple of the Athena-like goddess (commonly identified as Anāhitā) at Pasargadae (Plut. *Art.* 3.2; cf. §6.4 ad l.19 above) might have been located in the local paradise.<sup>1012</sup> According to Plutarch this sanctuary was the site of the royal investiture. The new King had to put on Cyrus' garment (from before his rise to kingship) and had to eat a cake of preserved figs, terebinth fruit/nuts (not 'wood' [!], cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995b: 300 fn. 1), and drink sour milk. The anomalous diet is easily recognisable as the symbolic marker of a rite-de-passage in which a (re-invented) pastoral past is re-enacted and juxtaposed to the present. That such a ritual should take place in a paradise would not seem illogical, in particular given the status of Persian paradises as 'exceptions' in the physical and ideological landscape.<sup>1013</sup>
- D The temple of Anaitis (Anāhitā-Nanaya) in Elymais was home to tame lions (Ael. *NA* XII.23), which suggests an enclosed temple precinct. Setting in a paradise seems a possibility (though by no means the only one). As for the date of the Anaitis temple: there is reason to believe that the source used by Aelian was the same one that informed him on the birth-legends of Gilgameš (Γίλγαμος) and Achaemenes (*NA* XII.21). This would seem to favour the contention that Aelian describes an Achaemenid, rather than a Seleucid, Elymaean, or Arsacid sanctuary.<sup>1014</sup> The famous Gorgippa cylinder seal, representing a

<sup>1012</sup> On the passage, possibly from Ctesias, and the role of Anāhitā cf. Gnoli 1971: 245-8; *idem* 1974: 127-31 (Ištar's traits in 'Anāhitā'); Boyce 1982: 90, 201, 209; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983: 148-51; *idem* 1995: 287-8; Chaumont 1985: 1006; Orsi 1988: 143-9; Briant 1991b: 6-9 (suggesting that the scene in the Anāhitā temple was only *part* of the investiture rites); *idem* 1996: 539-40, 695-6; Kuhrt 1995: 1 685-6; Lenfant 2004: 145, 278-80. Hanaway (1982: esp. 291-2) discusses a possible echo of Anāhitā's role in royal investiture in the story of Alexander's enthronement by Burān Dokht in the twelfth-century *Dārāb Nāma*. Note that the identification of the warrior goddess as Anāhitā is not as certain as often assumed; cf. the doubts expressed by Calmeyer 1980b: 306-7 ("Anahita ... könnte zur Beschreibung Plutarchs kaum schlechter passen") and De Jong 1997: 279-80 (cf. Gnoli, *ll.cc.*). There is a possible reference to female temple personnel at Pasargadae in NN 0087; cf. App.3 below and \*§6.4.1.

<sup>1013</sup> Cf. Briant 1982e: 453, "Par rapport au territoire qui l'entoure, le paradis représente une sorte d'enclave, de territoire à part, et c'est sur un double caractère d'*exception* et de *modèle* qu'il fonctionne en tant qu'élément d'une système sémiologique idéologique." See also *ibid.* pp. 455-6 ("hâvre de paix").

<sup>1014</sup> Ael. *NA* XII.23; Hansman 1985: 234; Boyce & Grenet 1991: 47-8 (questioning the connection with Anāhitā); Briant 1996: 264-5, 943; Henkelman 2006a: 822-3 (cf. *idem* [forthc. 2] on organisational principles of Aelian, with references). De Jong 1997: 274 fn. 94 is right in pointing out that the mss. read Ἀδώνιδος, emended to Ἀναϊτίδος by Valesius. 'Adonis' would be perfectly implausible and I see therefore no reason to

goddess standing on a lion, minimally confirms the existence of a goddess-with-lion(s) in the Achaemenid period.<sup>1015</sup> I note in passing that tame lions were also kept at the Achaemenid court.<sup>1016</sup>

- E The place Appištāpdan had a *partetaš* that, judging from the number of 647 tree seedlings reserved for it, must have been quite extensive (PFa 33:39-48). The same place is regularly mentioned in elite contexts. First, there are withdrawals of various kinds of fowl, lambs and *karukur* fruit for the King's table (<sup>HAL</sup>EŠŠANA *tibba makka*) at Appištāpdan (PF 0698, NN 0071, NN 0923). This may imply a picnic in the *partetaš*. NN 0071 calls Appištāpdan a *humanuš*, "village," which suggests that the recorded consumption of lambs indeed took place in the *partetaš* (as the only suitable location). Similarly, Parnakka and Ziššawiš, whose presence in Appištāpdan is recorded (PF 0672, NN 0049, NN 2225, NN 2486:47-8), may have stayed in the local paradise. Finally, the *šip* feast performed by Parnakka (NN 2225 [ducks]) and the *anši* feasts performed by Ziššawiš (PF 0672 [flour], NN 2486:47-8 [fruit]) at Appištāpdan, may plausibly have taken place at the *partetaš* too. It should be noted that Appištāpdan does not occur very often in the Fortification text; some of the remaining nine occurrences may have an elite context as well.<sup>1017</sup>

doubt the emendation, nor did Hercher in either of his editions of *De Natura Animalium* (1858: xli, 210; 1864: xlii, 304). Even the cautious C.F.W. Jacobs, while printing (as usual) the mss. reading, indicated his support for Valesius in the critical apparatus (1832 I: 275, II: 421). De Jong doubts whether the passage "has any basis in reality at all," but a corrupt (yet easily emendable) manuscript tradition itself presents no argument to that effect. For later Anāhitā-Nanaya sanctuaries in Elymais, such as the one Antiochus IV fatally attempted to plunder (Diod. XXXI.18a.1; Polyb. XXXI.9; II Macc. 1:13-17; etc.) see Hansman 1985: 232-5; Boyce & Grenet 1991: 40-8 (oversceptical on Aelian's story).

<sup>1015</sup> See Moorey 1979: 223-4; Briant 1996: 264-5, 943.

<sup>1016</sup> See Hdt. III.32 (Cambyes playing with a puppy and a cub) and Aelius Theon *Progymnasmata* 3 (lion cub given to, and raised with, a Persian prince; cf. Henkelman 1999: 143-4). The lion cubs presented by the Elamite delegation on the Apadana reliefs may be considered from the same perspective. On the symbolically charged image of these cubs and their mother, "the lioness of Elam," see Root 2003a and *idem* [forthc.].

<sup>1017</sup> As, for example, NN 1468, an account on 24,915 qts. of wine [received/produced as] revenue at Appištāpdan and 19,252 qts. of wine *kitka* ("poured out") at the same place during three years. Note also the parchment writers with their servants (PF 1947:21-2; cf. §136 fn. 60) and NN 1581 (transport of wine<sup>?</sup> to A. by PN, *marda batišmariš*, "a Patischorian workman," under responsibility of Gobryas [text published in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.4; cf. EW s.v. *hh.ba-ti-iš-ma-ri-iš*, Briant 1990: 83-4]). Other occurrences: PF 1941:10, NN 0682, NN 0988 (with phonetic complement: <sup>AS</sup>*ap-pi-iš-*



F The place Tikranuš also had a *partetaš* of considerable size, judging once more from the testimony of the fruit tree account (PFA 33:20-25) that records 1,249 seedlings for this *partetaš*.<sup>1018</sup> Elsewhere, Tikranuš appears as the location where lambs were consumed at the King's table (NN 0071; cf. above). Here, Tikranuš is introduced as *humanuš*, "village" (cf. above). Also in Tikranuš (NN 2515, sealed with PFS 0009\* [Parnakka]), Dadda the *zarnupirra* ("gold ...-er<sup>2</sup>," cf. EW <sup>AS</sup>*za-ir-nu-pir-ra*; Tavernier 2007a: 510 [5.3.4.64]) receives 21 head of livestock during 15 months, perhaps as a royal grant (cf. §6.6.2 above), indicating his privileged status (cf. §113 ad ll.8-18). Metal (bronze) working in a *partetaš* is attested elsewhere (cf. §6.7.2 fn. 988 above); perhaps Dadda was active in a plantation, that of Tikranuš, as well. Finally, two groups of 63 and 212 grooms of the royal mules receive meat portions at Tikranuš in NN 1289 and NN 1665 (dated VII/19 and sealed with PFS 0009\* [Parnakka]). The allocation recorded in NN 1665 is intended for a *šip* feast.<sup>1019</sup> All these activities may have taken place in the local *partetaš*.

To sum up: there is some evidence, though largely circumstantial, for sacrifices in, or associated with, paradises. The cases of Bīsoṭūn, Appištāpdan and Tikranuš seem the most reliable. Also, there are some clues to the veneration of the Elamite-Iranian goddess Anāhitā in, or in the proximity of, paradises. That may seem a meagre outcome, but at least it gives some basis for the supposition that the *lan* sacrifices in the *partetaš* at Pasargadae were no coincidence. I note in this context that the 30 head of livestock assigned for these *lan* sacrifices during 1<sup>1</sup>2<sup>1</sup> months is a substantial amount. Its equivalent would be some 3,000 qts. (or more) of grain or some 1,000 qts. of wine. The highest securely attested allocations for *lan* are 1,080 qts. of grain or 360 qts. of wine (~1,080 qts. of grain).<sup>1020</sup> Even the 118 sheep/goats in NN 2259:5-6 are effectively less because they are given for six *lan* sacrifices.

<sup>1</sup>*tap*<sup>1ip</sup>-*da-an*), NN 1482, NN 2493:55-7, 58-60 (cf. Vallat 1993a: 78 [add PF 0672]). On the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 372 [4.3.3]. See also Koch 1990 index s.v. *ha-pi-iš-da-ap-da*. In PF 0672, Hallock originally read <sup>HAL</sup>*ap-pi-iš-man-da-na*, but later changed this to <sup>AS</sup>*ap-pi-iš-tap-da-na* (collation i.m.).

<sup>1018</sup> On the name cf. Tavernier 2007a: 398 [4.3.222].

<sup>1019</sup> See also §6.6.2 fn. 963 above. Besides Tikranuš, NN 1665 also mentions Pasargadae, i.e. as the location where the *dumme* ("order," cf. §2.5.5.1) was received. The text is published, with commentary, in ★App. q.v. On NN 1665 see also §3.1.3.4 fn. 423 and §6.4 ad ll.2, 26 above and Koch 1987: 271 (misinterpreted). On asses and mules see now Potts 2006a: esp. 104-5.

<sup>1020</sup> Cf. §3.2.1 above. PF 0756 may be an exception: [x] <sup>1</sup>ME<sup>21</sup> *mar-ri-iš* <sup>GIŠ</sup><sup>1</sup>GEŠTIN<sup>1</sup>MEŠ (for two years). The reading ME is very uncertain (cf. *ibid.* fn. 455). If correct, it gives a minimum annual amount of 500 qts. and potentially twice or thrice as high.

6.7.6. *An Elamite precursor to paradise?* – There is an old theory, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Huet 1691: 107-9, 157-9; cf. Briant 2006a: 17-20), according to which the four rivers springing from the Garden of Eden, the Pishon, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates, are the four streams that had a common estuary in the Persian Gulf in ancient times. A recent reconsideration of this theory equates the Pishon with the modern Kārūn and the Gihon “which flows around the land of Kush” (*viz* Elam, not Nubia or Ethiopia) with the Kerkha (Dietrich 2001: 302-17). If this is correct, the author of *Genesis* 2:10-4 associates Eden as much with Elam as with Mesopotamia.

Leaving aside Paradise, paradise had its Elamite history as well. The likely significance of the Elamite *husa*, “grove,” and *siyan husame*, “grove-temple,” (“temple du bosquet”) for the sacrifices in the Pasargadae paradise, as documented by NN 2259, will presently be addressed. The need to do so is stressed by Koch in a recent publication (1998: 226), in which she insists that *especially* the Elamite groves (“die ja gerade für den iranischen Raum als Vorläufer von besonderer Bedeutung sein dürften”) should be taken into account in the paradise dossier – a suggestion that merits support.<sup>1021</sup>

6.7.6.1 *Elamite husa* – Written sources attest to the widespread phenomenon of groves and “temples of the grove” in Middle Elamite Iran. The term most frequently used is *husa* (“tree, forest, grove”), which also occurs as a divine name in Old and Neo-Elamite.<sup>1022</sup> In addition, the terms *kištum* (a loan from Akk. *qištu*, “forest, grove”)<sup>1023</sup> and, once, *GIŠ* (“wood, tree”)<sup>1024</sup> are used. In Assurbanipal’s

<sup>1021</sup> I am not aware of any attempt to do so besides the introductory treatment by Kawami (1992: 82-6, 88). I note in passing that Šimut is called a “Göttin” in this article, but the deity’s female sex is questionable. Šimut rather seems to have been the consort of the goddess Manzat (EW s.v. *d.si-mu-ut*; Vallat 2002b: 140). See also Razmjou 2004a: 108 suggesting a connection between Elamite groves and *partetaš*.

<sup>1022</sup> Occurrences: EW s.vv. *GIŠ.hu-sa*, *hu-sa*, *GIŠ.hu-sa-e*, *hu-sa-me* and *hu-sa-ni* (for EKI 34 [*siyan husame*] see now Steve 1987: 32). On the meaning of *husa* cf. M. Lambert 1962: 93-4, “Et il se pourrait ... que les *siyan husa*, ces ‘temples des arbres,’ fussent des forêts sacrées créées pour le déroulement des mystères, pour les cérémonies religieuses, pour les fastes royaux, ancêtres, ainsi, des paradis qui font le charme de la Perse.” See also Steve 1968: 296-8 (discussing the distinction between *husa* and *malu*, “wood”) and Hinz 1970: 433. On the god Husa cf. EW s.v. *d.hu-sa* and Tavernier 2007b.

<sup>1023</sup> In the Untaš-Napiriša brick inscription TZ 25:4 (Steve 1967: 50-1). See Grillett 1986: 176 (read “n° 25” for “n° 14”); Vallat 1998b: 339; EW s.v. *ki-iš-tu<sub>4</sub>-um*. The same term is used by Assurbanipal to describe the Elamite ‘groves’ (cf. below). It also occurs in *abul kišāti*, “Gate of the Groves” in TZ 31:5 and TZ 32:6 (cf. fn. 1044 below).

<sup>1024</sup> The term is used as such in the votive inscription dedicated by Šilhak-Inšušinak to Kiririša (published by Grillett & Vallat 1984: 21-2, 25). In lines 7-8, *GIŠ ... mattarri* is

inscriptions relating to his fifth campaign against Elam, grove(s) (*qištu*) are mentioned twice: once in the context of the annihilation of Susa and Elam (setting fire to “their secret groves”) and once in an isolated fragment, perhaps from a victory hymn (“grove of the god Manziniri”).<sup>1025</sup>

The word *husa* is frequently found in the combination *siyan* (DN-*me*) *husame*, “temple (of DN) of the grove.” It should be noted that *husa* also occurs in profane contexts, denoting “tree” (as in PFa 33), “wood (?)” (TZ 58 in Steve 1967: 101-2) and “beam (?)” (*vel sim.*, in the Acropole archive). The sacred character of *husa* therefore depends on the context in which it occurs.<sup>1026</sup>

It is sometimes assumed that *husa* and *siyan husame* have a certain funerary connection or are wholly devoted to a (royal) funerary cult and/or ‘chthonic’ deities. Especially the studies of Grilhot and Vallat have advanced various arguments to that effect.<sup>1027</sup> The first of these is the location of the ziggurat at Susa (itself conceivably connected to a funerary cult) in an *husa*. That this ziggurat was surrounded by trees is also shown by a now lost relief from Nineveh (cf. §6.7.6.3 below). Secondly, Assurbanipal’s claims of having penetrated into Elam’s secret groves and to have exposed and devastated the royal sepulchres, are often taken as one, continuous statement supporting the presence of tombs of earlier kings in an *husa*. Finally, several deities that appear to have a role in the

interpreted by the editors as “qui a sous son autorité le bosquet...” See also Grilhot 1986: 175; Vallat 1998b: 339.

<sup>1025</sup> Secret groves (GIŠ.kišāti.MEŠ-šunu pazrāti): prisms A VI.65 ~ F V.44 (Aynard 1957: 56-7; Borger 1996: 55, 241). Grove of Manziniri: K 7673:9; text published by Martin 1901: 156-60 (already comparing the aforementioned secret groves); see also Streck 1916 I: clxvii-viii; Bauer 1933 II: 78; W.G. Lambert 1989 (considering a relation with the Kassite goddess Mini(m)zir). Interestingly, the preceding line (K 7673:8) speaks of “[cutting off] the waters of the ditch (*iku*) and the canal (*palgu*),” but the context is too broken to suggest a connection.

<sup>1026</sup> My translation “grove” intends to reflect the circumstance that *husa* is not necessarily sacred, though I am aware that “grove” is sometimes used to denote a sacred place with a spontaneous growth of trees, untouched by human hands (cf. Gk. ἄλσος). The groves in the Elamite kingdom may well have been have been plantations; “sacred grove” is therefore also to be avoided unless the sacred aspect is clearly documented.

<sup>1027</sup> Grilhot 1983a: 11-2 fn. 50; 1986a: 175-6, 179; 2001; Vallat 1985: 45; 1997b; 1997c (palm trees in *husa*); 1998b: 338-40; 2002/03: 541-3 (cf. Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 451, 469). See also Malbran-Labat 1995: 117, 118-20 (IRS 52 = EKI 62), 193-4; 2004: 44-5. In the last publication the Elamite grove is – evidently in analogy to the *Weltenbaum* motif – described as “un lieu de Nature où les arbres mettent en relation le monde d’en dessous où plongent leurs racines et le monde d’en dessus où se déploient leurs feuillages, lieu où les ancêtres sont appelés à protéger leur descendance.”

Netherworld or are otherwise considered as ‘chthonic,’ seem to have one or several *siyan husame* (Inšušinak, Išnikarab, Lagamar, Kiririša and, perhaps, Napiriša).

The views mentioned above are important, but not wholly unproblematic. One could argue, for instance, that, as the secret groves and royal sepulchres in Assurbanipal’s annals occur in two paratactic, independent sentences, the statements are just consecutive and not necessarily interrelated in subject matter. Also, I hesitate to accept the temple complex at Susa (ziggurat [with *haštu*, “tomb”], *husa* and gate(s) to the Netherworld) as a model that essentially defines all *husa* temples in Elam (so, e.g., Vallat 1998b: 338). Finally, some of the gods reported to have a *siyan husame* are not so easily connected to a funerary or ‘chthonic’ realm: Šimut, Manzat, Suhsipa.<sup>1028</sup> This is not to say that there is no association between *husa* and the Netherworld or some funerary cult – it seems likely that such an association existed, at least in Susa – but the matter needs and deserves a more balanced analysis. For our purposes it will be enough to observe that *husa*, “grove,” played an important role in Elamite religious life, that it was a keyword in royal inscriptions, and that *husa* apparently were spread across the whole of the Middle Elamite state. Two cases may be singled out because of their relevance to the present discussion.

6.7.6.2. *EKI 48* – A large, fragmentary stele of the renowned Šilhak-Inšušinak I (*ca.* 1155-25 BC) was unearthed in 1902 in the Inšušinak temple on the Susa Acropole and subsequently published by Père Vincent Scheil (1904: 20-30, pls. 3-4). The latest complete edition of the four-columned text is that of König (1965: 110-2), but a new translation of two larger sections is available in studies by Vallat & De Meyer (2003 [col. I.1-58]) and Grilhot (1983a: 4-6, 9-10 [col. II.111-37]). The third and fourth columns are frequently referred to in the discussion on *husa* temples, but still await re-edition.<sup>1029</sup>

The text opens with an invocation of Inšušinak, followed by a long list of Šilhak-Inšušinak’s predecessors who restored the *haštu* of the city-god.<sup>1030</sup> The king declares his respect for the votive inscriptions (?) of those earlier kings. Then, after a long lacuna, the reconstruction of the *suhter* (Grilhot 1983, “chapelle royale” and Vallat 1999: 38; 2004a, “tabernacle”) of the Inšušinak temple is described.

<sup>1028</sup> Just assuming that these divinities, by their association with a *siyan husame* “sont donc rattachées au monde de l’au-delà” (Vallat 1997b; my italics, WH), in my view really begs the question.

<sup>1029</sup> See (i.a.) Stolper 1978b: 92-3; Grilhot 1986a: 175-6; Vallat 1997b; *idem* 1998b: 339; *idem* 2002/03: 543 (cf. Steve, Vallat & Gasche 2002/03: 469).

<sup>1030</sup> On the king lists in *EKI 48*, *EKI 48a* and *EKI 48b* cf. Vallat & De Meyer 2003.

Finally, in columns III-IV, a long list is given of *siyan husame* that have been restored by Šilhak-Inšušinak. The same phrase is repeated for every sanctuary:

GN *siyan* DN-*me husame halatia kušik ak misirmana u erintumia pepših kuših*

(At) GN, the temple-of-the-grove of DN, as it was built of crude brick and was becoming dilapidated, I renewed (and) (re)built of baked brick.<sup>1031</sup>

Such *siyan husame* were rebuilt in a total of twenty places (IV.273). As far as the text has been preserved, most seem to have been dedicated to Inšušinak, but there are also temples for Lagamar, Suhsipa, and Napiriša.<sup>1032</sup>

What matters most in the present context is the apparently wide spread of verdant sanctuaries under the auspices of Šilhak-Inšušinak. Leaving aside the uncertainty of what *husa* implies exactly, such places conceivably had to be irrigated for the vegetation to survive the Khūzestān climate. They were therefore not only witness to the investment of royal capital and organisation of a massive building program, but also to the king's enduring efforts to preserve and stimulate the land's fertility and productivity (even if the *husa* themselves did not produce anything). Doubtless the *siyan husame* were not only perceived as holy places, but

<sup>1031</sup> I take *misirmana* as an inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. with *-ma* (here: durative) and *-na* (modal) suffixes (cf. §6.4 fn. 941 above). My translation rests on the assumption that the *-na* suffix governs the whole subordinate clause (including *kušik*) and adds a modal aspect to it. Its colour may be motivative ("as it ... was becoming dilapidated"), but that is just one of several options: a temporal interpretation ("when") would seem possible as well. If, on the other hand, the *-na* suffix is relevant only to *misirmana*, the translation should be: "which was built of crude brick and *therefore*, etc." (consecutive). The word is not translated in Rossi's rendering of the passage (2000: 2081).

<sup>1032</sup> If the number of twenty is correct, the *aštam* of the goddess Pinigir should probably be counted among the *siyan husame* as well (on the possible connection with Akk. *aštammu*, "tavern" see Steve 1962: 40). Legible toponyms with the accompanying DNS are: **Tēttu**, Inšušinak; **Ša Attata-mitik**, Inšušinak; **Ekallat**, Inšušinak; **Bīt Hulmi**, Lagamar; (no GN given [= Bīt Hulmi?]), Suhsipa; **Perraperra**, [Inšušinak?]; **[Bīt T]urn[i]**?, Inšušinak; **Ša Attata-ekal-likrup**, Inšušinak; (no GN given), *aštam pinigirme*; **Marrut**, Inšušinak; **Peptarsiyansit**, Napiriša; **Ša Hantallak**, Inšušinak. Most of the GNS occur only in EKI 48; cf. EW q.vv. (locating various toponyms in Mesopotamia) and Vallat 1993a s.vv. (who locates most GNS in the Susiana). Stolper 1978b: 92-3 tentatively identifies Čogā Pahn West (KS-3) with Bīt Hulmi on the basis of inscribed bricks (n° 3, 5, 6) found at that site and mentioning a *siyan husame* of Inšušinak and Lagamar. The text of these bricks is identical to that of EKI 34 (= Steve 1987: 32 n° 15 [*inšušinak lakamar* without the conjunction *ak*]). See also Biggs & Stolper 1983: 161 and Stolper 1986: 238 on the toponym and documents respectively found and drafted at Čogā Pahn and Bīt Hulummu (= Bīt Hulmi?).

also as “vitrines idéologiques,” to quote Briant’s qualification of Persian paradises (1982e: 455). The fact that most of these temples were dedicated to Inšušinak, city-god of Susa and protector *par excellence* of the royal house, may likewise have had a background in royal ideology rather than in an ad hoc inventory of existing local cults.<sup>1033</sup> In any case, Šilhak-Inšušinak left nothing to chance and had not only a stele (EKI 48) set up in Susa, but also included brick inscriptions in local *siyan husame* (as appears from EKI 34, cf. fn. 1032 above).<sup>1034</sup>

The reigns of Šilhak-Inšušinak I and Darius I are separated by some six hundred years and this warrants caution when trying to relate Persian paradise to Elamite *husa*. On the other hand, the evident importance attached to the Middle Elamite concept of *siyan husame*, its widespread and distinct royal involvement seem to be unparalleled in neighbouring cultures and really find their closest parallel in those verdant oases of the Achaemenid period. Moreover, the gap between EKI 48 and NN 2259 is at least partially filled in by a document from the Neo-Elamite period which will be treated below.

6.7.6.3. EKI 85 – From the end of the Neo-Elamite kingdom, a few inscriptions of king Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak have survived and among them is a very fragmentary text on a “bloc de pierre calcaire” published by Scheil in 1911 (Scheil 1911: 80-2). The latest edition is that by König (1965: 171-2 = EKI 85). As to its date, it has become clear in recent years that the text probably stems from the post-Assyrian era of Elamite history. Vallat (1996a: 391-4; cf. *idem* 2002a) has plausibly suggested that the traditional identification of Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak and the Te’umman (*reg.* 664<sup>2</sup>-653<sup>3</sup>), known from Assyrian sources, has to be given up in view of several arguments generated by the Neo-Elamite text corpus (cf. §1.2 above). In addition, the evidence from the so-called broken spellings (the increasing use of which can help to establish a relative chronology) favours a much later date for Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak’s inscriptions as was argued by Tavernier (2004: 39). The exact date of the king’s reign is not as yet established, but should

<sup>1033</sup> For that reason, I think the *siyan husame* for Inšušinak were not *necessarily* confined to the Susiana as Vallat (cf. fn. 1032 above) assumes. They may have covered a wider area and have functioned as markers of royal power.

<sup>1034</sup> In addition to their role as ideological markers, the *siyan husame* may also be seen as focal points in the political grid as Stolper (1978b: 93 on the EKI 34 brick inscriptions from Čogā Pahn West) surmised: “the concentration of royal capital and organisation in the temple’s reconstruction suggests, albeit remotely, that the site also functioned as a local political centre under the crown’s aegis. Indeed, failing more explicit documentation of Elamite political methods, the distribution of such terse building inscriptions as these seems the nearest available substitute for an administrative geography of the Middle Elamite state.”

in any case be placed well into the sixth rather than the seventh century, rendering Tepti-Huban-Insušnak a contemporary of Cyrus II. Depending on whether one assumes an abrupt end of the Neo-Elamite state sometime during the reign of Cyrus II (*ca.* 540/539 BC) or, as I think, a semi-independent Elamite kingdom continuing during the reigns of Cyrus II and Cambyses II, Tepti-Huban-Insušnak's reign can be dated to the period just before 540/39 (Vallat *l.c.*) or slightly later, *ca.* 550-530 (Tavernier *l.c.*). In either case EKI 85 predates the text discussed in this chapter, NN 2259 (Dar. 20 = 502-1 BC), by merely 30-50 years.

The fragmentary state of EKI 85 is particularly deplorable because it apparently gives a rich overview of the cultic nomenclature of the late Neo-Elamite state. Particularly the upper half and the right edge of the document are damaged and partially broken off.

It may be assumed that the original document had 31 discrete entries naming officials or groups who each received one head of cattle and six head of sheep/goats (hence the total of 31 + 186 head). As a result of the damage to the right edge, it is not entirely certain that the officials are actually *receiving* cattle (instead of delivering it, paying tax, etc.), but this can logically be inferred from the resumptive pronoun *kaškaš* (EKI 85:6, 7, 8, 10), related to Achaemenid Elamite *kaš* and here referring to the indirect object ("OD, to him/them").<sup>1035</sup>

<sup>1035</sup> Vallat 1987b argued that *kaš* was nothing more than "une forme archaïsante de *hi*," i.e. the regular 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. resumptive personal pronoun; this solution is, however, unmistakably contradicted by collation (cf. Stolper 2004a: 77 and pers.comm.); when BI (*kaš*) and HI occur in the same text, they are clearly written differently (see, e.g., PF 0269). Another objection could be the spelling <sup>1</sup>*ka*<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>-*iš* in PF 0795 (but the reading is admittedly uncertain; cf. Hallock 1969: 9). Thirdly, *halmi hi kaš dunuka* in PF 0290 would become absurd if one had to read \**halmi hi hi dunuka* (the sign read by Hallock as <sup>1</sup>*kaš*<sup>1</sup> is clearly *kaš* [pers.comm. M.W. Stolper]). It is true, on the other hand, that the form *kaš* fits uneasily in Elamite pronominal morphology. The solution may be that *kaš* is a loan from the OPers. indefinite pronoun *ka-* ("whoever"). The addition of a final *-š* in loans from Old Persian is a general phenomenon (Hallock 1969: 9-10); besides, the form *kaš* may have been generalised from OPers. *kašciy*, which preserves the old nominative. In turn, Neo-Elamite *kaškaš* (cf. EW s.v. *kaš-kaš*, "offenbar Verstärkung von *kaš*, *ihm*"), maybe reflect a reduplicated pronoun; Old Iranian does use reduplicated forms of the indefinite pronoun *ka-*, such as *kəm kəm* (Bartholomae 1904: 425 s.v. *ka-* II.2; cf. Lat. *quisquis*). Note that *kaš* and *kaškaš* have developed a particular use in Elamite, i.e. as resumptive rather than indefinite pronoun (though this use is not completely unknown for Old Iranian *ka-*; cf. Bartholomae s.v. *ka-* II.1). In Achaemenid Elamite, *kaš* is used to refer back to animate (e.g., PF 0269) and, rarely, inanimate indirect objects (e.g., PF 0755). The animate indirect object may be a plural (e.g., PF 1475), as is the case with our Neo-Elamite *kaškaš*.

Among the recipients of livestock are at least two *šatin* (cultic experts, ll.16-7), a “high-priestess of the ‘aside’ temple of Humban”<sup>1036</sup> and a “high-priest of the temple of *kam-ru-um*.”<sup>1037</sup> The meaning of the other preserved occupational designations is a matter of speculation.<sup>1038</sup> Some may be court titles rather than religious functions, such as *teppir* (“chancellor?”).<sup>1039</sup> Still, all individuals listed

<sup>1036</sup> EKI 85:14, <sup>AS</sup>*en-te*.GAL É.DA<sup>rMEŠ<sub>1</sub></sup> [<sup>AN</sup>*hu-ban-na* [...]; *ibid.* l.22, <sup>AS</sup>*ba-ši-šu*.GAL É<sup>MEŠ</sup> *kam-ru-um-na* [...]. The terms were already recognized by Scheil 1911: 82; see also EW s.vv. *h-en-te*.GAL, É.DA.lg, *ba-ši-šu*.GAL, *kam-ru-um*; Vallat 2000a: 1070; *idem* 2002/03: 539-40. The “‘aside’ temple” is a provisional rendering of É.DA<sup>rMEŠ<sub>1</sub></sup>. In Akkadian, É.DA is a logographic writing for *edakku*, “wing of a building” (CAD E 21-2 s.v. *edakku*), its use seems limited to profane contexts. This may imply that in Elamite context É.DA<sup>MEŠ</sup> may not be entirely the same, hence my non-committal translation. Was the É.DA<sup>MEŠ</sup> perhaps an outside shrine, built against a temple wall? Note that open-air shrines, UB.LÍL.LÁ = Akk. *ibratu*, built against the walls of private houses are known from early Sikkalmah-period Susa (MDP 55 15:2, 17:2, 22: rev.1’; cf. De Graef 2006: 95-6). As much as 1,200 litres of barley were issued for one of such shrines at the town of Durum (MDP 55 15). In Akkadian, *ibratu* means “open-air shrine (a niche or corner on the street or in a court),” but it can have the meaning “part of a temple” too as CAD I/J 4-5 s.v. *ibratu* (esp. sub. a) indicates. The dictionary stipulates that this type of shrine seems to have been especially connected with female deities and was frequented by women. From all this, it may provisionally be suggested that the Neo-Elamite high-priestess of the É.DA<sup>rMEŠ<sub>1</sub></sup> of Humban was responsible for a shrine, either of a subsidiary (female) deity attached to the Humban temple, or for a shrine of Humban attached to some other temple or larger structure. Caution is warranted however, since the chronological gap between the Sikkalmah texts and the Neo-Elamite inscriptions is more than a thousand years.

<sup>1037</sup> Remarkably, all the occupational designations in EKI 85 are preceded by <sup>AS</sup>, normally reserved for toponyms and other locales.

<sup>1038</sup> See Scheil 1911: 82; König 1965: 171-2 and EW s.vv. [h.]*je-ul-ma-be*, h.*qa-su-mu*, h.*ši-ik-ši-ib-be*, h.*uz-zi-en*, h.*qa-ru-ba-la*, *te-ip-pir*, h.PAN.*pa*-[...], *ku-pa-ra-na*, h.*har-iš-ša-el-be* (other terms from EKI 85: EW s.vv. *su-um-mu-un*, d.*šu-d[a-nu]*, *ku-uz-zu-um*). Vallat (2002/03: 540) notes that *šikšippe* also occurs in s 117 (and possibly in s 274) where it is preceded by <sup>AN</sup>, suggesting that the *šikšippe* were some kind of officiants as well. The word may be a composite ([šik.šip.p]) containing *šip*, “feast” (cf. \*§7.1.4).

<sup>1039</sup> On this title in the OElam. period cf. M. Lambert 1971 (cf. \*125-6). The title is also attested in the NElam. period (EW s.v. *te-ip-pir* and Waters 1999a on ABL 268). Tavernier 2007e: 60 argues that, from the Old Elamite period onwards, a *teppir* “had more responsibilities than those of a simple scribe” and that the word is not etymologically related to Akk. *tuppu*, “clay tablet.” The Neo-Elamite inscriptions of Hanni identify the *teppir* as a member of the court, but at the same time assign him a role in religious ceremonies (EKI 76:18, 23, 29; cf. Tavernier *o.c.* 62; Potts [forthc. 5]).



are, at the end of the document (l.23), collectively referred to as *lap*, “officiants, oblaters,” as Vallat has pointed out (2000a: 1070). If some of the occupational designations are court titles, these positions conceivably included cultic duties.

The section that is of interest in the present context is precisely the line that speaks of the *lap* (EKI 85:23, quoted after Vallat 2000a: 1070):

PAP 31 GUD<sup>MES</sup> rPAP<sup>1</sup> 186 rUDU.NITÁ<sup>MES</sup> *la-ap-ma hu-sa<sup>MES</sup>-ik si-na a-hi la-ha-na*

Total: 31 head of cattle (and) total: 186 head of sheep/goats, for the officiants, which is to be brought<sup>7</sup> to the grove (and) there to be slaughtered.<sup>1040</sup>

The uncertainties of interpretation notwithstanding, it seems fairly certain that the cattle listed in EKI 85 are slaughtered in an *husa* during a ceremony or feast that

<sup>1040</sup> For the reading *la-ap-ma* cf. Vallat 2000a: 1070. I take the form as [la.p.m.a], a plural animate noun with secondary inanimate suffix [m] (referring to the collective cattle) and relative [a]. Compare Vallat’s translation (*ibid.*) of the first part of the sentence: “total: 31 bœufs; total: 186 moutons pour les clergés.” Theoretically, “cattle of (from) the officiants” is also possible. The second half of the sentence poses more problems. First, it is surprising that a regular word like *husa* is followed by <sup>MES</sup>, normally preserved for logograms and foreign words. There are parallels for this oddity, however, such as *hal-mi<sup>MES</sup>* (e.g., PF 1056). As Matthew Stolper points out to me (pers. comm.), many of the ‘irregular’ occurrences of <sup>MES</sup> follow words with *h-* or *-h-* (*hal-mi<sup>MES</sup>*, *hu-sa<sup>MES</sup>*, *ul-hi<sup>MES</sup>*, *pu-hu<sup>MES</sup>*) and may indicate historical spellings for words in which /h/ was no longer heard. The form *lahana* may be taken as a conj. I inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. (continuing the ‘inanimate’ collective of the cattle) of the verb *laha-* with the modal *-na* suffix adding a final colour to the subordinate clause (for *laha-* cf. König 1965: 136-7 fn. 8, “schlachten, töten” and Vallat 1997b, “mourir, tuer, anéantir”). Vallat was probably thinking along the same lines when he assessed that “ces animaux sont destinés à être immolés dans le ‘bosquet sacré’ ” (2002/03: 540). The EW apparently analyses *lahana* as a perfective form (s.v. *la-ha-na*, “nachdem geschlachtet worden sind, sind zu schlachten gewesen”), but I see no argument that could justify that. Preceding *lahana*, *ahi* seems to be a variant to ME *aha* and NE *ah* (on which §6.4 ad l.20 above), rather than *aha+i* (EW s.v. *a-hi*). The meaning “there” (referring to *husa*) suggests itself. I am not certain about the word division in *hu-sa<sup>MES</sup>-ik si-na*. In my tentative interpretation, *-ik* is taken as an abbreviated form of the directional postposition *-ikka/-ikki* (cf., e.g., <sup>AS</sup>*ha-tam<sub>5</sub>-tup-ik* in PF 1565). A verb *si-* was identified by Grillot (1983a: 9 fn. 33) and may express movement (compare, perhaps, *šinu-* [šī.nu?], “to come”). If a verbal form, *sina* has the same modal *-na* suffix as *lahana*. There are also other options, however. One is to read *ik-si-na*, from an otherwise unattested verb *\*iksi-* (“to be *iksi*-ed (in) the grove”). Another possibility is to read *ik-si-na*, but take it as noun qualifying *husa* (“the grove of *\*iksi*”). Similarly, the EW s.v. *ik-si* suggests “zur Einweihung,” which seems to be based on the interpretation of *laplu* (q.v.; recte *lapma*) as “bei Anpflanzung” and *ikbe* (q.v.) as “Votivgaben?”

was grand enough to be commemorated on a royal stele especially commissioned for this occasion. The combination of royal patronage and sacrifices in a grove naturally render this text highly relevant for the *lan* sacrifices in the *partetaš* of Pasargadae. That the text also mentions *lap* (“officiants, oblaters”), from the same root *la-*, makes this parallel even more compelling.

6.7.6.4. *Physical remains of Elamite groves* – Apart from the written evidence, there is some additional evidence for landscaped settings of temples and rituals. First, it has been suggested that an area to the north and northwest of Čogā Zانبیل, along the old bank of the Āb-e Dez, was used for an annual ritual involving a procession with divine statues. For that purpose a processional road, an embankment and a *bīt akīti* would have been constructed and around these gardens or plantations were planted. The gardens supposedly were irrigated by means of the terra-cotta pipes found on the spot.<sup>1041</sup> It is beyond my competence to judge the strength of this hypothesis, which undeniably rests on very limited evidence.<sup>1042</sup> A more solid indication for landscaping at Čogā Zانبیل is the “installation hydraulique” in the western side of the outer enclosure. A deep basin, communicating *via* 9 small conduits with a reservoir on the inside of the wall, was the terminus of a canal conducting water from the R. Kerkha over 50 km. to Čogā Zانبیل (Ghirshman 1968: 96-100). Though Ghirshman stressed the use of the water for quenching the thirst of Čogā Zانبیل’s inhabitants, and though recent surveys and excavations point to a larger residential sector than was previously assumed, the deep basin (capable of holding *ca.* 350 m<sup>3</sup> of water) may also have been intended for irrigating parts of the area within the third and second enclosure (similarly Kawami 1992: 84-5).<sup>1043</sup> As such it must have made possible the *husa* of

<sup>1041</sup> See Ghirshman 1968: 109-14 and *idem* 1972: 85. Malbran-Labat speaks of a “lieu de culte ‘campagnard’ ” (2004: 41-2).

<sup>1042</sup> The evidence for the *bīt akīti* is slight: the excavator found the remains of a building (*ca.* 2.5 km. NW of the ziggurat) that was so much dilapidated by the stream of the Āb-e Dez that drawing a ground plan proved impossible. It is not clear how far the terra-cotta conduits (Ghirshman 1968: 112) stretched and how extensive a possible irrigation system was.

<sup>1043</sup> Ghirshman (1968: 100) did acknowledge the possible use of the canal for irrigation purposes, but did not accept the same for the ‘installation hydraulique.’ Parts of the Elamite canal are still visible to the east of Haft Tepe and are locally known as the ‘canal of Darius’ (*ibid.* 99 fig. 41). Compare the remarks of J. Michelin (in de Mecquenem & Michelin 1953: 15) concerning irrigation in the plain directly southwest of the ziggurat: “L’irrigation y est réalisée par des canaux partant du Chaour, la rivière de Suse; il ne sont pas actuellement très importants ... La présence de plusieurs maulées d’époque arabe permet de supposer que l’agriculture avait, alors, plus d’eau à sa

Inšušinak (TZ 34) and the Kiririša temple in a *kištum* (TZ 25).<sup>1044</sup> It is interesting to notice the royal protection of the irrigation effort, subject of two brick inscriptions: Untaš-Napiriša (ca. 1340-1300 BC) takes pride in having built the canal and the ‘installation hydraulique’ and having presented it to “Napiriša and Inšušinak of the *siyan-kuk*” (viz the Čogā Zānbīl temple complex).<sup>1045</sup>

6.7.6.5. *Elamite groves in art* – Trees are part of the celebrated bronze model (Sb 2743), known by its votive inscription (EKI 56) as *sit šamši* (from Akk. *šīt šamši*, “sunrise”), found in Susa and commissioned by Šilhak-Inšušinak I.<sup>1046</sup> The object depicts an ablution ritual performed by two nude celebrants between two stepped constructions (altars or ziggurat and gate?), a large vessel, two basins, a stele, a low offering table, two rows of conical objects and the trunks of the aforementioned trees, now sadly defoliated.<sup>1047</sup> Most commentators agree that the trees could be a

disposition; il est probable qu’à l’époque élamite, il y avait des conditions semblables.” On the recent surveys and excavations at Čogā Zānbīl see Nasrabadi 2007 (esp. 45-6, 90-2), who concludes that most of excavated residential structures date from the 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is not clear how densely the site was settled in the time of Untaš-Napiriša and his successors. Note that Nasrabadi 2003/04b: 256 fn. 51 argues that the basin was built not as part of an irrigation system, but rather as the end of a drainage system that channelled excess water from the heavy winter rains out of the temple complex. If that is correct, it still remains true a) that the basin held a great amount of water that could be used in dryer periods and b) that Untaš-Napiriša prides himself on his irrigation works at the side (cf. below).

<sup>1044</sup> See Steve 1967: 50-1 (TZ 25) and 72-4 (TZ 34). For the interpretation of TZ 34 see A. Grangé in Grillot & Vallat 1978: 83 (cf. also Grillot 1987: 52-3). Compare also the *abul kišāti* (“Gate of the Groves”) in one of the variants of TZ 31:5 (Steve 1967: 60-5) and, possibly, in one of the variants of TZ 32:6 (*ibid.* 65-71). This gate may have been connected to the *kištum* of Kiririša (so Grillot 1986a: 176).

<sup>1045</sup> See (the Akkadian texts) TZ IV and TZ V in Steve 1967: 109-112.

<sup>1046</sup> The model was found in the 1904/05 campaign and first published by Gautier 1909 (= *idem* 1911). Gautier already describes the trees as a “bosquet sacré” (1909: 41). Note that Rutten has expressed doubt as to whether *sit šamši* is really a loan from Akkadian (1953: 21; hesitantly followed by Basello [forthc. 2]). Instead, she took *šamši* as a derivative of the verbal root *šam-* (“gratifier, favoriser”) and *sit* as cognate of *sitme*. In fact, the verbal root is *šamme-*, not *šam-*, so one has to assume a development from the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural *šammehši*, to *šamši*. Though such a development may not be excluded, a 3<sup>rd</sup> plural form does not seem to fit the syntactical context. In addition, *sit* is not attested as a variant of *sitme*.

<sup>1047</sup> Some fragile parts of the model, including the leaves and smaller branches of the trees had been oxidised to such an extent that they could not be released undamaged from the gypsum block that held the entire object (Gautier 1909: 41, 48).

symbolic rendering of an *husa*, but whether or not the ritual performed in their shade is part of the funerary cult is a matter of dispute.<sup>1048</sup> Another view stresses the analogy between the objects and paraphernalia of the *sit šamši* ritual and the arrangement of certain cultic structures found southeast of the Čogā Zānbīl ziggurat, without pressing the notion of a funerary cult.<sup>1049</sup> In either case, however, the manufacture of the model in Šilhak-Inšušinak's reign is significant, as this monarch in particular boasts of having restored many "temples of the grove" (cf. §6.7.6.2 above).

Excavations at Susa, at the site of the Inšušinak temple, have brought to light a substantial number of bronze leaves, branches and palm fronts. These attest to a practice of adorning temples in Middle Elamite Susa with artificial trees.<sup>1050</sup>

Another glimpse of an Elamite grove is given by a relief from Nineveh, which regrettably only survives in nineteenth-century drawings made of it.<sup>1051</sup> It depicts a ziggurat, somewhere in Elam, perhaps at Susa. The building is set on a knoll in a lush riverside landscape, densely wooded and interspersed with little streams, all replete with fish. Besides the ziggurat, a monumental gate and a smaller building are set in this verdant landscape, but they do not dominate the space – rather, one gets the impression of a generous, open arrangement of garden-set architecture not unlike the "espace paysagé" and gardens at Pasargadae. Indeed, this calm image, unaware still of the havoc soon to be inflicted upon it by the Assyrians, is probably as close as one can get to the splendour of the Elamite paradise.

<sup>1048</sup> Grillot 1983a: 12; *idem* 2001: 143; Malbran-Labat 1995: 214; Vallat 1998b: 338-40; *idem* 2002/03: 543.

<sup>1049</sup> Porada 1962: 52-4; Tallon & Hurtel 1994. On the model see also Amiet 1966: 392-3 (n° 297); Börker-Klähn 1982: 175-6 n° 127 (with full bibliography), pls. 127a-b; Carter in Carter & Stolper 1984: 167; Potts 1999a: 239-40; Benoit 2003: 362-3. The EW s.v. *d.tamš-mu* finds a reference to a [scale model] ziggurat(?) of Umu in the Neo-Elamite Acropole text s 49:11-2 (but see §5.3 fn. 842 above).

<sup>1050</sup> The archaeological evidence and its implications is treated in detail in a recent study by Giovino (2007: 179-82).

<sup>1051</sup> The relief covers the lower part of two slabs (the upper half of the first slab shows the city of Erbil; cf. Reade 1976: 100-1). Whereas William Boucher's drawing of the left slab has been often been reproduced, the right one (depicting a large part of the wooded landscape with its pretty streams) rarely has. Reade's discussion of the scene (*l.c.*) includes two plates (pls. 24-5) with the complete scene. On the image see also Grillot 2001: 143; Vallat 1997c; 2002/03: 542-3. Note that Seidl recently has suggested that the horned bulls' heads on top of the ziggurat may be precursors to the Achaemenid theriomorph capitals (Seidl 2003: 74-5, "Darius ließ sich also vielleicht beim Konzept der Säulenbekrönungen seines Palastes von elamischen Formen anregen").

6.7.7. *Persian paradise: summary* – The *lan* sacrifice in the *partetaš* at Pasargadae (NN 2259:7-8) is unparalleled in the Fortification texts; the information is, moreover, challenging in the sense that cultic activities in paradises are scarcely documented in the Greek sources. This raises the question whether the *lan* sacrifices in the Pasargadae paradise are a coincidence. Though seemingly relating sacrifices in the Pasargadae paradise, Aristobulus' testimony (§6.7.3) does not offer the necessary certainty. Similarly, the ongoing surveys at the site of Pasargadae have not as yet revealed any clues to religious activities "in the *partetaš*" (§6.7.4). That such verdant oases may plausibly have been the scene of such activity as appears from the cases of the Šumaliya/Simirria/Anāhitā sanctuary at, or in the proximity of, the Bīsotūn paradise, the Ištār sanctuary at the water hole of Bīt Ištār/Ravānsar, the temple of the warrior goddess at Pasargadae, the temple of Anāhitā/Nanaya in Elymais, the plantation of Appištāpdan, and the plantation of Tikranuš (§6.7.5). Taken together, this evidence renders the assumption of cultic activities in Persian paradises reasonably plausible.

Mesopotamian gardens and parks have received some attention in the discussion on Persian paradises, but Elamite temple groves hardly any. Such groves are attested in the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods and seem to have been the object of special royal protection. Untaš-Napiriša boasts of having constructed a canal and a 'installation hydraulique' that may have irrigated the grove temples of Inšušinak and Kiririša within the Čogā Zānbīl enclosure (§6.7.6.4). That some Elamite temples were set in a landscaped environment is also shown in an Assyrian relief that particularly stresses this green setting (§6.7.6.5). Šilhak-Inšušinak's claim of having restored twenty temples-of-the-grove again attests to direct royal involvement in a network of such places. The groves may have been plantations and must have been irrigated. Also, they were focal points of royal power and undoubtedly functioned as "vitrines idéologiques." As such they foreshadow Persian paradise (§6.7.6.2). Finally, Tepti-Huban-Inšušinak, probably no longer than fifty years before NN 2259 was drafted, commissioned a large sacrificial feast in a grove (§6.7.6.3). From the Middle Elamite period a bronze model survives that possibly depicts a ceremony that also takes place in a temple grove (§6.7.6.4).

Though further research is needed on many of these subjects, the outlines of an indigenous Iranian tradition are emerging: Persian paradises, apart from their practical use, continued to be loci of royal ideology as the temple groves had been in Elamite times. The cultic activities attested for Elamite groves may likewise have contributed to the sacrifices in Persian paradises as attested by NN 2259:7-8.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

In his *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif*, Voltaire famously commented on the *Avesta*: “On ne peut lire deux pages de l’abominable fatras attribué à ce Zoroastre sans avoir pitié de la nature humaine” (1765, s.v. Zoroastre). I have often wondered what he would have thought about the thousands of Elamite Fortification tablets. Indeed, their contents are very mundane and repetitive; most tablets are of little particular interest as individual documents. Even after elaborate and laborious analysis, the net result is often not more than a definition of the frequency of a particular type of offering or of the geographical spread of the cult of certain god. The tablets tell us little about the ways of performing rituals and the precise role of the officiants, let alone about prayers, priestly knowledge, myth, etc. With very few exceptions they do not yield anything as to the beliefs that shaped Persian religious life. They only document the most practical level, that of the organisation of those sacrifices that were sponsored by the Achaemenid state in Fārs.

The above may account for the modest interest that the tablets have received thus far, particularly from historians of Persian religion. It is instructive to read Walter Burkert’s comments on the Fortification archive (2004: 101): “These contain short receipts for goods or for money [*sic!*] from everyday transactions, with many proper names, also the names of gods; but this is not material from which one can *construct* history [my italics, WH].” The use of “construct” may be a *lapsus calami*, but it is nevertheless very noteworthy as an apt reference to the objective value of the economic Fortification tablets. The archive may be selective in content, lopsided in focus and seriously incomplete, but it does not have the disadvantage of the distorting lens of the Greek sources or the ideological overtones of the royal inscriptions. It does not replace these sources, but it certainly does provide a new perspective. When treated as a source in its own right and analysed by methods proper to this kind of material, this very factual documentation can yield a world of new insights into Persian religion and simultaneously provide a check on some modern constructions (!) such as the thesis of separated and pure ‘Iranian’ and ‘Elamite’ religious spheres.

In the preceding chapters, a number of studies have been presented that deal with specific aspects of Persian religion in the context of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. As summaries have been given at regular intervals (§§3.1.5, 3.4.11, 3.6.8, 3.7.8, 4.5, 5.9, 6.7.7), the conclusions reached need not be repeated here.

Suffice is to say that, though the present survey is incomplete (cf. *Preface*, p. xvii), it does constitute a weighty case supporting the thesis of the emergence of Persian culture from Elamite-Iranian acculturation and the model of a Persian ethno-genesis. As we have seen, there is no indication that *lan* was a 'state offering' for the state cult of Auramazdā. Rather, *lan* appears as a type of offering that is at least partially based on an Elamite background, for which parallels from older periods exist, and that therefore is truly 'Persian' (cf. §1.6). As such, it is iconic for other subjects treated in this study. As appears from the case of the so-called Babylonian gods, the Achaemenid state chose to sponsor the cults of a select group of gods that is best defined as a Persian pantheon. If one were to insist on the term 'state cult,' it would have to refer to this heterogeneous pantheon, not to a supposedly separate section of it.

The last few years have witnessed an increased interest in the Neo-Elamite period and in the subject of Elamite-Iranian acculturation. A new image is steadily emerging as the result of ongoing archaeological, philological, iconographic and historical research. I hope this volume will be seen as a collection of building blocks for that changing view. Most of all, however, I hope that it will contribute to giving Elam the place it deserves in the *longue durée* of the history of Iran. We owe that much to the Elamites.

## APPENDIX 1

### NN 2202

1. *lan and Humban?* – In a previous version of this study, an entry in the journal NN 2202 (1.2) was discussed at some length as a possible reference to a *lan* offering for a named god, namely Humban (Henkelman 2006b: 387-91). The claims that *lan* constituted an exclusive rite for the god of Persian ‘state religion,’ Auramazdā, or related to an exclusive, ‘magian’ community, formed the background to that discussion. Both theories effectively take it as an axiom that *lan*, since it is so frequently attested, must be part of an *Iranian* religious system, be it Zoroastrian, or ‘magian.’ It appeared to me that, in addition to many other objections (see §§3.4-5), NN 2202:2 in particular undermined the idea of Iranian exclusivity. I tried to avoid, however, pressing the argument built on NN 2202, since the text is damaged at the crucial passage. This, it has turned out since, was a wise approach.

In NN 2202:2, Hallock tentatively restored  $[da-u-]fšā^{1}-um^{AN}la-na^{ANr}hu^{?}-ban^{?}na$ , “(as) offering for *lan* for Humban.” His reading was quoted by Koch (1987: 258), Razmjou (2004a: 104) and myself (2005b: 143). Initial collation of the passage in question showed that the tablet was badly damaged at this point, but that Hallock’s restoration was at least possible (Henkelman 2006b: 388 with fn. 894). The only viable alternative seemed to be  $[da-u-]fšā^{1}-um^{AN}la-na^{ANr}na^{?}-pan^{?}na$ , “(as) offering for *lan* for the gods.” This second possibility would have been significant as well, as it too would constitute a case where *lan* was qualified in some way. However, new photographs, recently taken of the tablet with a BetterLight camera, made it clear to me that the damaged passage was in fact still partly covered with dirt that had been not removed when the tablet was baked (presumably in the 1970s). This dirt had almost exactly the same colour as the baked clay, and had therefore not been noticed before. After carefully cleaning the tablet, it appeared that the traces read by Hallock (and collated by me) were, in fact, misleading. The cleaned area revealed three (not two) signs, the last of which is undoubtedly the number 12, and the first two ITI and <sup>MES</sup>. This yields the new reading  $[da-u-]fšā^{1}-um^{AN}la-na^{ANr}ITI^{MES}12-na$ , “as offering for *lan* for 12 months.”

Presented below is a collated edition of NN 2202, based on Hallock’s manuscript, with translation and notes. Permission to publish the text, together with the photographs taken with the BetterLight camera, was kindly granted by M.W. Stolper.





*fig. 7.1: NN 2202 upper edge, obverse, and right edge (photographs PFAP)*

## 2. Text

NN 2202 (box 1458); 12 × 10 cm  
 no seal (pers.comm. M.B. Garrison)  
 transliteration R.T. Hallock (collated)

## upper edge

- |    |   |                  |                       |                 |  |
|----|---|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1. | [ | 2 <sup>2</sup> ] | ME <sup>1</sup> 30(+) | 2               | HALte <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> -tuk-ka <sub>4</sub> rdu <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> -[šá <sup>2</sup> ] rx y(-)ia <sup>1</sup> -an ANna-<br>pi-[na]                                   |
| 2. |   |                  |                       | 12              | HALma-nu-šá du- <sup>r</sup> šá <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> [da-u-] <sup>r</sup> šá <sup>1</sup> -um ANla-na<br>ANrITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sub>1</sub> 12-na                               |
| 3. |   |                  |                       | r6 <sup>1</sup> | [ <sup>HAL</sup> u-] <sup>r</sup> ri-ka <sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup> -[ma du-šá da-u-šá-] <sup>r</sup> um AŠ <sup>1</sup> KUR <sup>MEŠ</sup><br>rAN <sup>1</sup> šá-ki <sup>1</sup> -na |

## obverse

- |     |  |                 |           |                              |   |
|-----|--|-----------------|-----------|------------------------------|---|
| 4.  |  | r5 <sup>1</sup> | ME 10 (+) | [7                           | hal-] <sup>r</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> HAL <sup>1</sup> [u <sup>2</sup> -ri <sup>2</sup> -ka <sub>4</sub> <sup>2</sup> -ma <sup>2</sup> -] <sup>r</sup> na HAL <sup>1</sup> kur-taš rAŠ <sup>x</sup><br>y <sup>1</sup> -ma r <sup>1</sup> z <sup>1</sup> [...-] |
| 5.  |  |                 |           |                              | ku-iš HAL[KI+MIN <sup>2</sup> da <sup>2</sup> -man <sup>2</sup> -] <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> gal-lu-ma du- <sup>r</sup> iš-<br>da <sup>1</sup> ANrITI <sup>1</sup> [ <sup>MEŠ</sup> (1-na)]  |
| 6.  |  |                 |           |                              | ANha-na-ma-kaš 1 rHALLÚ <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sub>1</sub> 4- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> 85 HALrLÚ <sup>1</sup> MEŠ<br>3-na 6 rHAL <sup>1</sup>  |
| 7.  |  |                 |           |                              | rpu-hu <sup>1</sup> 2½-na 9 HALpu <sup>1</sup> -hu 2-na 11 HALpu- <sup>r</sup> hu <sup>1</sup> 1½-<br>na 6 HALrpu <sup>1</sup> -[hu]  |
| 8.  |  |                 |           |                              | 1-na 10 HALpu-hu ½- <sup>r</sup> na 80 <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> SAL <sup>MEŠ</sup> 2-na 18<br>SALrpu-hu <sup>1</sup> 1½-na 7 [SAL <sup>1</sup> ]   |
| 9.  |  |                 |           |                              | pu-hu 1-na 7 SALpu-hu SALr <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sub>1</sub> ½-na   |
| 10. |  |                 |           | 10                           | hal- <sup>r</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> HALman-ia-iš-na-na HALkur-taš AŠtuk-ráš<br>HALu-ri-ka <sub>4</sub> -ma  |
| 11. |  |                 |           |                              | rda-man <sup>1</sup> -na ha sa-ti-ka <sub>4</sub> ANITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> 2- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> rAN <sup>1</sup> kar-<br>ma-ba-taš   |
| 12. |  |                 |           |                              | 50 rHALkur <sup>1</sup> -taš un-ra 1 QA du- <sup>r</sup> iš <sup>1</sup> -da  |
| 13. |  |                 |           | 45                           | hal-mi HALiš-tar- <sup>r</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> -na 5 ANŠE.KUR.RA <sup>MEŠ</sup> un-ra<br>3 QA ma-   |
| 14. |  |                 |           |                              | rki <sup>1</sup> -iš ANITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> 1- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> ANrkar <sup>1</sup> -ma-ba-taš  |
| 15. |  |                 |           | 1 ŠI 1 ME                    | hal-mi HALu-ri-ka <sub>4</sub> -ma-na HALkur-taš AŠtuk-ráš<br>HALu-ri-ka <sub>4</sub> -ma da-man-na   |
| 16. |  |                 |           |                              | gal-lu-ma du-iš-da <sup>1</sup> ANITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> 11-na 5 HALLÚ <sup>MEŠ</sup> 3-na  |
| 17. |  |                 |           |                              | 5 HALpu <sup>1</sup> -hu 1-na 40 SALr <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sub>1</sub> 2-na  |
| 18. |  |                 |           | 10                           | hal-mi HALu-ri-ka <sub>4</sub> -ma- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> 10 SALpu-hu 1 du-iš<br>ANITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sub>1</sub> tu <sup>2</sup> -ir-ma-ir   |
| 19. |  |                 |           | r2 <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> | ME HALba-ru-uk-ka <sub>4</sub> du-šá nu-ti-iš-da  |

(two blank lines)



*fig. 7.2: NN 2202 lower edge and reverse (photographs PFAP)*

20.	[	(x+)] <sup>r</sup> 1/2		<sup>r</sup> am <sup>1</sup> -ma <sup>1</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> -ši-na <sup>1</sup>
21.	[	x]		ha-du-iš be-ul 20-um-me-na
reverse				
22.	[PAP]	<sup>r</sup> 2 <sup>1</sup> šI <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> 4 <sup>1</sup> [ME]		am-ma
23.	[	Ø] 2 šI <sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup> 1 ME <sup>1</sup> 32		ma- <sup>r</sup> ak <sup>1</sup> -ka <sub>4</sub>
24.	[	Ø] 2 ME 71 1/2		šu-tur da-ka <sub>4</sub> PAP hi ŠE.BAR <sup>MEŠ</sup> AŠ <sup>1</sup> tuk-ráš kur-mán HAL za-a<ut>-ri-iš-na
25.	[ <sup>HAL</sup> ]	<sup>r</sup> na-pír-šá <sup>HAL</sup> ul <sup>1</sup> -li-ri mu-ši-in hi be-ul 20-na <sup>HAL</sup> iš-tur-ma šá-ra-man-na		(one blank line)
26.	1	<sup>r</sup> ME <sup>1</sup> 60(+) <sup>r</sup> 8 <sup>1</sup>		hal-mi <sup>HAL</sup> u-ri-ka <sub>4</sub> -ma- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> <sup>HAL</sup> ir-da-za-na du- šá 1 ANŠE <sup>1</sup> .KUR.RA <sup>MEŠ</sup> be-ir-na
27.				na-zir <sub>0</sub> <sup>1</sup> -na 1 KAK. <sup>r</sup> BAR <sup>1</sup> ma-ki-iš 6 ANŠE.KUR. RA <sup>MEŠ</sup> un-ra 3 QA
28.				ma- <sup>r</sup> ki <sup>1</sup> -iš <sup>AN</sup> ITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> 2-na <sup>AN</sup> ka <sub>4</sub> -ir-ma-ba-taš <sup>AN</sup> tur-na<ba>-zí-iš
29.		20		hal- <sup>r</sup> mi <sup>1</sup> <sup>HAL</sup> te- <sup>r</sup> ni <sup>1</sup> -na 10 SAL <sup>MEŠ</sup> 2 du-šá <sup>AN</sup> ITI <sup>MEŠ</sup> 1-na <sup>AN</sup> tur-na<ba>-zí-iš <sup>1</sup>
30.		20		<sup>HAL</sup> kar-ki-iš du-šá nu-ti <sup>1</sup> -iš
(three blank lines)				
31.		2 ME 10		<sup>r</sup> ha-du-iš <sup>1</sup> be-ul 20-um-me-ma
32.		2 ME 10		am-ma
33.		<sup>r</sup> 2 ME <sup>1</sup> 8		<sup>r</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> -ak-ka
34.		<sup>r</sup> 2		maz <sub>0</sub> <sup>1</sup> -zí-ka <sub>4</sub> «DIS» PAP ŠE.BAR <sup>MEŠ</sup> AŠ <sup>1</sup> tuk-ráš kur-mán <sup>HAL</sup> za-a-ut- <sup>r</sup> ri-iš <sup>1</sup> -
35.	[na]	<sup>HAL</sup> <sup>r</sup> na <sup>1</sup> -pír-šá <sup>HAL</sup> <sup>HAL</sup> ul <sup>1</sup> -li-ri <sup>HAL</sup> iš- <sup>r</sup> tur <sup>1</sup> -ma šá-ra-man-na <sup>HAL</sup> u-ri-ka <sub>4</sub> - ma <sup>r</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> -x(-)y(-) <sup>1</sup>		
36.	[(x)]	mu-ši- <sup>r</sup> in <sup>1</sup> hi be- <sup>r</sup> ul 20 <sup>1</sup> -um-me-ma <sup>r</sup> hu-ut-tuk <sup>1</sup> -ka <sub>4</sub>		

<sup>1</sup> 2,320<sup>2</sup> (qts. of barley), Tetukka received (for) a [...]yan [of/for] the god(s). <sup>2</sup> 120 (qts.), Manuša received (as) offering for the oblation(-ceremony) for 12 months. <sup>3</sup> 60 (qts.), Urikama received (as) offering for the divine mountain Šaki. <sup>4-9</sup> 5,170 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Urikama, workers ..., assigned by PN, received as rations, (for one) month: the tenth. 1 man 40 (qts.), 85 men 30 (qts.), 6 boys 25 (qts.), 9 boys 20 (qts.), 11 boys 15 (qts.), 6 boys 10 (qts.), 10 boys 5 (qts.), 80<sup>7</sup> women 20 (qts.), 18 girls 15 (qts.), 7 girls 10 (qts.), 7 female (*sic!*) girls 5 (qts.).

<sup>10-2</sup> 100 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Manyášna, workers (at) Tikraš, assigned by Urikama, it was fed (to them) for two months: the fifth (*sic!*). 50 workers each received 1 qt. (per month).

<sup>13-4</sup> 450 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Išturma: 5 horses each consumed 3 qts. (during) 1 month: the fifth.

<sup>15-7</sup> 11,000 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Urikama, workers (at) Tikraš, assigned by Urikama, received as rations, for 11 months. 5 men 30 (qts.), 5 boys 10 (qts.), 40 women 20 (qts.).

<sup>18</sup> 100 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Urikama: 10 girls (each) received 10 qts., second month.

<sup>19</sup> 2,000<sup>?</sup> (qts.) Barukka received and stored.

<sup>20</sup> (Balance): [...] (+) 5 qts. reserve on account/balance<sup>?</sup>;

<sup>21</sup> [...] (qts.) revenue of the 20<sup>th</sup> year;

<sup>22</sup> Total: 24,035 qts. reserve;

<sup>23</sup> 21,320 qts. consumed;

<sup>24</sup> 2,710 qts. correctly deposited.

<sup>24-5</sup> (Summary): This (is) the total (of) barley (at) Tikraš. Allocations from Zatriš, Napirša (being) the delivery-man. This (is) the account of the 20<sup>th</sup> year, under the responsibility of Išturma.

<sup>26-8</sup> 1,680 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Urikama, Irdazana received. 1 *ber* horse daily consumed 10 qts., 6 horses each consumed 3 qts., during two months, the fourth and the fifth.

<sup>29</sup> 200 (qts.), (in accordance with) a sealed document from Teni: 10 women (each) received 20 (qts.), during one month, the fifth.

<sup>30</sup> 200 (qts.), Karkiš received and stored.

<sup>31</sup> 2,100 (qts.) revenue of the 20<sup>th</sup> year;

<sup>32</sup> 2,100 (qts.) reserve;

<sup>33</sup> 2,080 (qts.) consumed;

<sup>34</sup> 20 (qts.) withdrawn.

<sup>34-5</sup> (Summary): (This is) the total (of) barley (at) Tikraš. Allocations from Zatriš, Napirša (being) the delivery-man, under the responsibility of Išturma. Urikama ...

<sup>36</sup> This account was made in the 20<sup>th</sup> year.

#### 4. Comments

- 1-3 The first three lines are on the upper edge and were initially counted by Hallock as ll.34-6, *viz* as the concluding lines of the text. The reason he changed his mind, as appears from his marginalia, was that the total of 21,320 qts. (here l.23) can only be reached by including the amounts listed in

the lines on the upper edge (here ll.1-3). In addition, scribal practice demanded that, in journals with multiple entries, expenditures for religious purposes were listed first. This practice is almost invariably applied.<sup>1052</sup>

- 1 On Tetukka (Te<sup>a</sup>tukka, Attukka) see §4.1.5 (sub A with fn. 739). I suspect that the occurrence of Tetukka prompted Koch's inference that the offering mentioned in l.2 took place in 'Kaftariš' (i.e. <sup>AS</sup>ka<sub>4</sub>-ap-tar-ri-iš), a locale known only from NN 2477.<sup>1053</sup> Tetukka indeed appears in NN 2477:1-2 (again performing a sacrifice), but this does not necessarily mean that the *lan* offering in l.2 takes place at the same spot. Journals often record operations in multiple smaller villages; Manuša, the officiant mentioned in l.2 (cf. below), is nowhere associated with Kaptarriš. Incidentally, a Tetukka is also responsible for a sacrifice for Humban in Tašpak (PF 0346), and this could be the same individual, notwithstanding apparent geographical difficulties, as the one in NN 2202:1 and NN 2477:1-2.<sup>1054</sup>

[x] 'y(-)ia<sup>1</sup>-an: it is tempting to read [<sup>AN</sup>]zi-ia<sup>1</sup>-an.<sup>1055</sup> The shape of the sign read as 'y' by Hallock seems different, however, from šī in ll.28, 29.

na-pi-[na<sup>2</sup>]: PI followed by break, apparently running through the first horizontal of the following sign, which may be NA.

- 2 There are probably several individuals with the name Manuš(a).<sup>1056</sup> The Manuša of NN 2202 recurs in NN 2388 (<sup>HAL</sup>man-nu-iš), as recipient of *tarmu* for *basbas* ("ducks"), allocated by Babaka (similar: NN 1292). The latter tablet is sealed with PFS 0061, which belongs to a grain storage headed by Babaka and Umeya and is frequently associated with the *šaramanna* official Tiyama (cf. §3.5.3 fn. 541 above). Tiyama himself makes offerings at various *kušukum* in PF 0377 (*tarmu* issued by Babaka) and NN 1885 (beer).

The sign previously read as PAN is clearly the number 12 and repeats the number at the beginning of the entry. The signs between AN and "12" are

<sup>1052</sup> Cf. Brosius 2003: 279; Giovinnazzo 1989a: 216 fn. 23. A third argument is that the lines on the upper edge would seem to be orphaned at the end of the journal if they would not be followed by the usual computation.

<sup>1053</sup> Koch 1987: 258, writing on her 'Bezirk 4' and assuming that NN 2202:2 refers to *lan* for Humban: "Humban tritt in diesem Bezirk nur in Nikšama auf, wo er mit dem *lan*-Opfer gleichrangig behandelt wird (beide 60 Maß Gerste) [i.e. NN 2372:1-2, WH], und vermutlich in Kaftariš, wo er anscheinend ebenfalls mit dem *lan*-Opfer zusammengefaßt wird und beide zusammen 120 Maß Gerste bekommen [i.e. NN 2202:2, WH], also dieselbe Menge."

<sup>1054</sup> Cf. §4.1.5 fn. 739 above; *pace* Koch 1990: 184-5 fn. 769 (read 'PF 346' for 'PF 481'). On the various spellings of the name Tetukka see Tavernier 2007a: 164-5 [4.2.479-80].

<sup>1055</sup> On *ziyan* see App.3 and §21.

<sup>1056</sup> Etymology: Tavernier 2007a: 239 [4.2.1040-1].

badly blurred, but can confidently be read as <sup>MEŠ</sup>ITI; HU is practically impossible (cf. the shape of the sign in ll.7, 8, etc.).

The amount of 120 qts. of barley/flour for *lan* for 12 months is paralleled by five other texts.<sup>1057</sup>

3 Restorations after NN 1751:14.

Urikama: cf. §§4.1.5 sub B, 6.4 ad l.3 and ¶¶16-7.

Šaki: cf. EW s.v. d.šá-ki and Vallat 1993a: 252. Other occurrences: NN 1751:1, 14 and NN 2259:4 (note that Urikama is involved in all four occurrences). In NN 2259:4, <sup>AS</sup>KUR<sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AN</sup>ak-še<sup>?</sup>-na (“the divine mountain Axšēna [Turquoise]”) is mentioned alongside Šaki (cf. ¶16 and fn. 1059).

4-9 A group of *kurtaš* of similar composition, possibly identical with the one mentioned here, is found NN 2286:11-17 (VIII/20; Išturma šaramanna)

9 SAL<sup>MEŠ</sup>1 is obviously redundant after <sup>SAL</sup>pu-hu.

10 Manyášna is not known otherwise.

Tikraš is the town on which the journal is centred (cf. ll.24, 34). It is located in the Persepolis region.<sup>1058</sup> Note that, despite the fact that NN 2202:2 can no longer be advanced as evidence for the cult of Humban at Tikraš, there are clear references to the worship of gods with an Elamite background in or near this town. PF 2073, again a journal centred on Tikraš, records allocations of barley to Nabbazabba (l.1) and Adad (l.2).<sup>1059</sup>

11 Only one of the expected two month names is given.

12 The monthly amount of 1 qt. suggests an additional or bonus ration. The group may be identical with the one mentioned in ll.15-7 (also at Tikraš).

13 Išturma (<sup>HAL</sup>iš-tar-<sup>r</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>) recurs in l.25 (<sup>HAL</sup>iš-tur-ma) as šaramanna official. He is also found in NN 2286, where he issues *halmi* and acts as šaramanna official, as he does in NN 2202. NN 2286 (also Dar.20) is centred on Batrakataš/Pasargadae.

MA (*in fine*) over erasure.

15 da-man-na: NA on right edge.

<sup>1057</sup> PF 0742, PF 0743, PF 0744, NN 2087, NN 2183:1-2. See also §3.7.3.2.

<sup>1058</sup> On the location of Tikraš and the normalisation of the name (not ‘Tukraš’ or ‘Tikriš’) cf. §4.1.5 fn. 736 above.

<sup>1059</sup> On these allocations cf. §3.7.3.2 fn. 669 above. On Adad cf. §4.1 above. On Nabbazabba cf. Vallat 2002/03: 536. On PF 2073:1-2 see also Koch 1977: 133. As a guess, I would suggest that Šaki in NN 2202:3 is an Elamite name as well. Cf. Zadok 1984a: 38 [211] for PN with *šak-* (“son”), as, e.g., Old Elamite Tirusaki (see also Hallock 1960: 91-2). Compare also the GN <sup>AS</sup>šá-gi (PF 1850), probably in the Fahliyān region (see Koch 1990: 163, 214) and the PN <sup>HAL</sup>šá-ki-iš (Fort. 1016:6-7 and NN 2259:15), perhaps an Elamo-Iranian hybrid name adapted to the *i*-stems (*šaki-š*; *pace* Gershevitch 1969a: 229), or simply an Elamite name on -š.

- 18 In this case, <sup>SAL</sup>*pu-hu* may alternatively be translated as “female servants,” since the ‘girls’ are not part of a larger workforce. The rations are very low, however.  
*-ir-ma-ir* on right edge.
- 19 BA over erasure.  
 Barukka: cf. PF 0912, NN 2105.
- 21 On *haduš*, “revenue, harvest,” see §6.4 fn. 929.
- 24 Hallock (1969: 15, 60, 679, 759) translates *šutur daka* less literally as “has been carried forward (as) balance.” Used as an accounting term, “balance” does seem appropriate for *šutur*.<sup>1060</sup>  
*Zatriš* may be the same as *Zatarriš* (<sup>HAL</sup>*za-a-tar-ri-iš*) the *tumara* in NN 2337:23 and, possibly, *Zatarriš* the *haturmakša* of PF 1970. UD in <sup>HAL</sup>*za-a-ut-ri-iš* is supplemented on the basis of NN 2202:34 and NN 1183, the latter being a list of personal names (<sup>HAL</sup>*za-a-ut-ri-iš*).
- 25 *Napirša* is not known otherwise; his name is probably a shortened *Napiriša* name (the theonym is spelled <sup>AN</sup>*na-pir-šá-ra* in PF 0354, PF 0596, and Fort. 8866; cf. ¶5). See also EW s.v. *hh.na-pir-šá*.
- 26 Probably the same *Irdazana* as the one mentioned here is recipient of barley for horses in four other texts.<sup>1061</sup> He may also be identical to the *Irdazana* who appears as *ukbamatuš* (OPers. *\*upāvatguš*), “cattle assistant,” in NN 2478:18°, 43.<sup>1062</sup>  
 On *ber* horses see most recently Gabrielli 2006: 48, who suggests that they may have been an especially large and strong breed (rather than “mature horses,” as Hallock 1969: 47). Note that *Irdazana* regularly feeds cereals to normal and *ber* horses, but once to ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>MEŠ</sup> *rappanna*, possibly “draft horses” (*vel sim.*; NN 2477:13-4).<sup>1063</sup>
- 27 KAK.BAR: for more regular BAR.
- 29 *Teni* is not known otherwise.  
*l-na* omitted in Hallock’s ms.  
<sup>AN</sup>*tur-na<ba>-zí-iš*: not *-ba<zí>-iš* (*pace* Hallock, ms.); cf. l.28.  
*-zí-iš*<sup>l</sup> on right edge.  
 The second blank line following l.29 has several erased signs, read by Hallock as *am-ma mi-ši-na* (cf. l.20).
- 30 *Karkiš*: cf. PF 0443, PF 0452, NN 1699.
- 34 «DİŠ»: perhaps partial erasure of a second (otiose) QA.

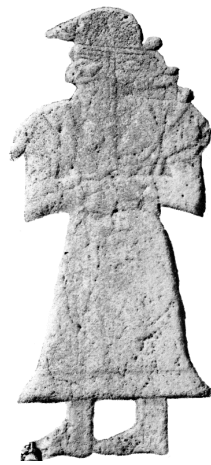
<sup>1060</sup> On the term see also Stolper 1978a: 268 fn. 29.

<sup>1061</sup> PF 1647, PF 1648, NN 2162, NN 2477:13-4.

<sup>1062</sup> For the OPers. word see Gershevitch 1969b: 183; Tavernier 2007a: 433 [4.4.7.114].

<sup>1063</sup> Cf. *rappa-*, “to take prisoner, to fetter.” See also EW s.v. *rāb-ban-na*.





## APPENDIX 2 LAN IN LINEAR ELAMITE?

1. *Introduction* – It has been claimed that the word *lan* already occurred in Linear Elamite (also ‘Strichschrift’ or ‘scrittura B’), the still largely undeciphered script mostly known from the reign of Puzur-Inšušinak (ca. 2100).<sup>1065</sup> The most recent survey counts 22 Linear Elamite inscriptions, identified by the sigla A to V (Salvini 1998).

Working from earlier attempts at decipherment by Carl Frank and Ferdinand Bork, Walther Hinz proposed readings for a total of 58 signs.<sup>1066</sup> His adventurous solutions have been labelled ‘over-optimistic’ (Salvini 1998: 331) and have, as a whole, not found acceptance among the few scholars working on Linear Elamite, this in contrast to the much more cautious approach by Piero Meriggi (1971: 184-220).<sup>1067</sup>

The details of the Hinzian decipherment need not concern us here; of interest for the present subject is that the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* includes four terms related to *lan* and supposedly found in Linear Elamite. These are:

<i>la</i>	“= lan Kult (?)”
<i>la-am.li-ri</i>	“Kult-Zelebrierer(in)”
<i>la-ki</i>	“(wohl lanki zu lesen) [...] ich bin ein Weihender (?)”
<i>la-kik</i>	“vielleicht lankik zu lesen im Sinne von Himmelsgegenwart (?)”
<i>la-kik-li-ri</i>	“wohl lan-kik.liri zu lesen, als Himmelsnähe-Stifterin zu deuten.”

<sup>1065</sup> On Puzur-Inšušinak, last king of the Awanite dynasty according to the Susa kinglist and now generally considered as a contemporary of Ur-Nammu (2112-2095 BC), see André & Salvini 1989; Vallat 1998a: 303-5; Potts 1999a: 122-7 with bibliography. Linear Elamite (apart from Hinz and earlier publications): Meriggi 1971: 184-220; Vallat 1986: 339-45; Salvini 1998; Steve 2000; Mahboubian 2004: 50-5 (if genuine).

<sup>1066</sup> Hinz 1962a; 1969 (with photographs and drawings); 1971a. See also *idem* 1964: 27-32; 1975b.

<sup>1067</sup> For general discussion and critique of Hinz’s method see Meriggi *l.c.*; Vallat 1986: 339-45; Salvini 1998: 331. Linear Elamite signs are cited here according to Meriggi’s list (e.g., ‘Mer. 25’). References to signs in the inscriptions follow Meriggi’s numbering of columns and sign positions (e.g., ‘A II.2’ or ‘Q II’).

If Hinz were right in assuming that the term *lan* already played an important role in Elamite society by the end of the third millennium, it would obviously be of interest for the discussion of the term. Unfortunately, this is not the case, as appears from a review of Hinz's argumentation.

2.1. *The values la, li and an* – Inscription A is inscribed on a stele that also has an Akkadian votive inscription. It is believed that the two texts constitute at least a partial bilingual. Hinz furthermore assumed that the inscription would have an ending similar to the *te-la-ak-ni* of some Middle Elamite votive inscriptions and proposed *ti-la-ni-li* for the last four signs (A v.9-12). This gave him the values *la* for Mer. 25 and *li* for Mer. 20. In addition, he guessed that the preceding word (A v.7-8) would be *hi-an*, which gave him *an* for Mer. 26 (Hinz 1962a: 9). Obviously, these identifications rest on an uncomfortable number of non-verifiable assumptions and the result is a neologism (*tilanili*).<sup>1068</sup>

2.2. *Confusion of Mer. 25 and Mer. 26* – An even more serious flaw in Hinz's line of argument is his confusion of the signs Mer. 25 (𐎶) and Mer. 26 (𐎶). The latter indeed looks like a 90° rotated version of the former, but as both signs appear side by side and as rotation of signs does not seem to be a normal feature of Linear Elamite, Mer. 25 and Mer. 26 very likely represent different values. This is also the position taken by Meriggi (1971: 184-220), who consistently distinguishes between the two signs.

The table below shows the variations in Hinz's interpretations of Mer. 25 and Mer. 26. His initial position, on inscription A, is *la* for Mer. 25 and *an* for Mer. 26. A complete, but unarticulated reversal of this position is reflected by the 1962 syllabary and the 1962 interpretation of C and E. In Hinz's 1969 publication the interpretation of Mer. 25 (B, C, E) has been changed back to *la*, though the new syllabary retains *an* (with a question mark). In various inscriptions where Mer. 25 as well as Mer. 26 appear, no distinction is made at all and *la* is given for both of them (1962a: H; 1969: C-E, D, K, M, Q).

<sup>1068</sup> Nevertheless Hinz subsequently claimed that the readings *la* and *li* were “gesichert” (1969: 19 on inscription Q), “Die nächsten vier Zeichen gehören zum gesicherten Bestand meines Syllabars und lauten *te-la-li-ri*.”

<i>Reference (Hinz)</i>	<i>Mer. 25 (𐎠𐎵)</i>	<i>read as</i>	<i>Mer. 26 (𐎠𐎶)</i>	<i>read as</i>
1962a: 9 (on A)	A V.10	<i>la</i>	A V.8	<i>an</i>
1962a: 21 (syllabary)		<i>an</i>		<i>la</i>
1969: 44 (syllabary)		<i>an (?)</i>		<i>la</i>
1962a: 10-1 (on B)	B II.11	<i>an</i>	/	
1969: 30 <sup>1069</sup>	B II.11	<i>la</i>	/	
1962a: 11-2 (on C and E)	C II.6, E III.2	<i>an</i>	C II.8, E III.4	<i>la</i>
1969: 33 (on C and E)	C II.6, E III.2	<i>la</i>	C II.8, E III.4	<i>la</i>
1969: 35 (on D) <sup>1070</sup>	D I.5	<i>la</i>	D II <i>in fine</i>	<i>la</i>
1969: 23, 40-1; EW s.v. <i>la</i> (on K and M) <sup>1071</sup>	M II.4	<i>la</i>	(D II <i>in fine</i> ), K IV.2, K V.6	<i>la</i>
1962a: 12-4 (on F, G and H) <sup>1072</sup>	G II.16, H II <i>in fine</i>	<i>la</i>	F II.1, H II.1'	<i>la</i>
1969: 19, 24-5 (on Q) <sup>1073</sup>	Q II	<i>la</i>	Q VIII	<i>la</i>

*interpretations of Mer. 25 and Mer. 26 according to Hinz*

<sup>1069</sup> The relevant word is given as *si-an* (Hinz 1962a: 11-2), later as *si-la* (1969: 30).

<sup>1070</sup> This is an adapted version of the 1962 transliteration of D. Hinz's drawing has Mer. 24 on D I.5, but the photograph clearly shows Mer. 25 (so Meriggi 1971: 187). The word identified in line I by Hinz is *la-kik*, "Himmelsgegenwart" and the one in line II *la(n)*, "Numinose Gegenwart." Note that according to Meriggi (1971: 187), Hinz (1962a: 14-5) read the second line of inscription D in the wrong direction.

<sup>1071</sup> Hinz reads *la(n)*, "Numinose Gegenwart" or "Kultdienst" in all four cases given here. For a photograph of M see André-Salvini 1992: 264.

<sup>1072</sup> F II.1-4 = H II.1'-4' have the sequence Mer. 26-55-21-35. The reading *am* for Mer. 55 occurs here for the first time: "mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit *am*, nämlich in dem Worte *la-am-li-ri*, 'Kultpriester'" (Hinz 1969: 12). Mer. 25, here also read as *la*, occurs in a sequence interpreted by Hinz as *te-la-ni-li* (supposedly a variation of *tilanili* in A). Note that inscriptions F, G, H and U are partial duplicates. Originally, they were part of a monumental staircase or stepped construction which also contained Akkadian inscriptions (André & Salvini 1989). The reconstruction by André and Salvini includes separate drawings of F, G, H and U (not in Hinz 1962a; 1969). On the monuments of Puzur-Inšušinak see also André-Salvini 1992: 87-91.

<sup>1073</sup> Mer. 25 in Q II is read as *la* in *te-la-li-ri*, "Trankopfer-Spenderin," Mer. 26 in Q VIII as *la* in *la-kik-li-ri*, "Himmels-Gegenwart-Spenderin." Hinz's explanation (1969: 25) of the 'ligature' *kik* (Mer. 17) is feebly based. Even if his reading were right, a "Himmels-Gegenwart-Spenderin" would be a mysterious occupation, though it seems crystal clear to Hinz: "Ihr Amt erscheint damit sehr anschaulich umschrieben, insofern die Priesterin den Tempelbesuchern die 'göttliche Nähe' (*lan*) des 'Himmels' (*kik*) 'spendet' (*liri*)."  
On the silver beaker with inscription Q cf. Bellelli 2002: 116-8 and Potts [forthc. 3].

2.3. *No lan in Linear Elamite* – The inevitable conclusion of the above review is that the purported attestation of *lan* and its derivational terms in Linear Elamite is ill-founded. Feeble assumptions lie at the basis of the argument, but even the readings derived from those are not followed consistently in the repeated confusion of two separate signs that, at other points, are differentiated explicitly. It should be stressed that Meriggi always distinguishes Mer. 25 and Mer. 26 as separate signs. Moreover, Meriggi's proposal (1971: 207 [§§ 518-9]) to read Mer. 25 as *du* (not *la*) and Mer. 21 as *uš* (not *li*),<sup>1074</sup> which would completely invalidate the purported attestations of *lan*, is more convincing as it results in the common form *du-ni-uš*, "he gave," a verb indeed expected in votive inscriptions.<sup>1075</sup>

<sup>1074</sup> Note that Vallat 1986: 343 proposed the reading *li* for another sign, Mer. 22.

<sup>1075</sup> The broken spelling in *du-ni-uš* is remarkable, but this should, by itself, not discredit Meriggi's proposal. Such broken spellings are already attested in Old Elamite (*Narām Sîn Treaty*) and are therefore theoretically possible for Linear Elamite as well. Cf. Tavernier [forthc. 1] on broken spellings.

### APPENDIX 3 ZIYAN

According to Pierre Lecoq (1995: 185) the word *āyadana-* in DB<sub>p</sub> 1.63-4 should be translated as “cults,” not “places of worship” (giving “j’ai rétabli les cultes que Gaumata avait supprimés”). He seeks support for this position 1) in a re-analysis of the word *āyadana-* (which is not at stake here) and 2) by revisiting the traditional interpretation for Elamite <sup>AN</sup>*zī-ia-an* (“temple”) in the parallel Elamite passage and taking it as a vague and general term for “rite, doctrine, coutume, usage.”<sup>1076</sup> The Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian versions are given below:<sup>1077</sup>

DB <sub>e</sub> 1.48	DIŠ <sup>u</sup> <sup>AN</sup> <i>zī-ia-an</i> <sup>AN</sup> <i>na-ap-pan-na hu-ud-da</i>
DB <sub>p</sub> 1.63-4	<i>āyadanā ... adam niyačārayam</i>
DB <sub>a</sub> 25	<i>ana-ku ʿe-te<sup>1</sup>-pu-uš É.ʿMEŠ<sup>1</sup> šá DINGIR.MEŠ</i>

The Babylonian version, which is very explicit on “temples” (lit. “houses of the gods”) contradicts Lecoq’s thesis and is therefore presented as *e contrario* evidence: “Il n’est pas étonnant que la version babylonienne exprime les choses autrement. Dans la tradition mésopotamienne, l’usage est de détruire les temples et les statues des dieux, ou d’emporter celles-ci comme butin.”

First, it may be noted that the interpretation of the Babylonian version could just as well apply to the Elamite one. The Elamites destroyed Mesopotamian

<sup>1076</sup> Repeated in Lecoq 1997: 163, 192 (Elamite version translated as “les cultes de dieux”). Previous interpreters, from Edwin Norris onwards (1855: 103-4) have consistently (and correctly) translated *ziyan* as “temples.” See, e.g., King & Thompson 1907: 104; Borger & Hinz 1984: 427; Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 44. This translation has been generally accepted by historians (e.g., Dandamaev 1976: 235-6). Lecoq’s hypothesis is copied, without reference, and adduced as evidence by Kellens 2002: 455 (“rite sacrificiel”).

<sup>1077</sup> Editions: Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 23 (DB<sub>e</sub>); Schmitt 1991: 29, 53 (DB<sub>p</sub>); Von Voigtländer 1978: 17 (DB<sub>a</sub>). The Aramaic version for the passage is available only as a fragment (actually a combination of fragments 1 and 19) and the relevant phrase has been restored by Greenfield & Porten 1982: 55-6 as [*bty ʿlhy*], “houses of the gods.” For *āyadana-* see Duchesne-Guillemin 1987 (with lit.) and compare Bernard 1997: 144-8, 200-1.

sanctuaries on several occasions and took royal stelae and statues of divinities back with them. If anything, Lecoq's approach would seem to enhance the link between the Akkadian (DB<sub>a</sub> 25) and Elamite version (DB<sub>e</sub> 1.48) of king Darius' claim on restoration, suggesting "temple" rather than "rite, doctrine, etc." for <sup>AN</sup>*zi-ia-an*.

In the aforementioned study, Lecoq attempts to disconnect Middle Elamite *si-ia-an*, "temple" (in general)<sup>1078</sup> from Achaemenid Elamite <sup>AN</sup>*zi-ia-an*.<sup>1079</sup> He does so on the basis of spelling and the use of the determinative <sup>AN</sup>. Yet, there is in fact no reason to doubt the relation of the two words. The change in orthography is paralleled by the development of the verbal base for "to see" from Middle Elamite *siya-* (*si-ia-*) to Achaemenid Elamite *ziya-* (*zi-ia-*), a development already recognised by Bork in 1933 (1933b: 164). The word for "temple" may in fact be etymologically related to the verbal base for "to see" (cf. Malbran-Labat 1995: 184). In the Achaemenid period, the etymology could probably still be understood as the *s* > *z* change occurred both in the noun and in the verbal base. Given this background, Lecoq's reproach that Hinz (EW s.v. *d.zi-ya-an*) "s'enforce de concilier, *désespérément* [my italics, WH], 'vue' et 'temple' " is clearly undeserved.

As for the determinatives: Lecoq suggests that <sup>AN</sup> was reserved "à un domaine inaccessible à l'homme," implying that <sup>AN</sup>*zi-ia-an* cannot be something tangible, like "temple." The fact that ME *siyan* lacks this determinative is not as important as is suggested, however. Compare the following forms:<sup>1080</sup>

ME <i>šu-up</i>	AE <sup>AN</sup> <i>ši-ip</i>	"sacrificial feast"
ME <i>la-am li-ir-ri</i>	AE <sup>AN</sup> <i>la-an li-ri-ra</i>	"oblator"
NE <sup>(BE)</sup> <i>ša-tin</i>	AE <sup>AN</sup> <i>ša-tin</i> and <sup>(HAL)</sup> <i>ša-tin</i>	cultic expert

Note that each of the examples mentioned here concerns something or someone tangible and accessible to humans. Elamite scribes extended the use of <sup>AN</sup> beyond divine entities *per se* to objects, concepts and personnel directly associated with the gods or sacred in the widest sense. This does not mean that an iron law developed as to this broadened use of <sup>AN</sup>, as the example of <sup>AN</sup>*ša-tin* vs. <sup>(HAL)</sup>*ša-tin* (both AElam.) shows. It is clear from the Fortification archive that individual scribal habits determined the use of determinatives (in particular <sup>GIŠ</sup>, <sup>AN</sup> and <sup>AS</sup>).

<sup>1078</sup> The meaning "temple" for *siyan* is generally accepted and clear from its many contexts (cf. König 1965: 212-3; EW s.v. *si-ya-an*; Malbran-Labat 1995: 38, 126, 181, 184-7). The word also occurs in the Akkadian from Susa and Elam (see, e.g., Steve 1987: 7-9).

<sup>1079</sup> "Le mot *āyadana* y est traduit par <sup>d</sup>*zi-ia-an*. Ce mot signifierait 'temple'. On peut en douter. Le nom élamite du temple est en réalité *si-ia-an*."

<sup>1080</sup> Compare also ME *na-a-me*, *na-me* (in *name lukra*) and AE <sup>AN</sup>*na-an* ('day'); cf. M. Lambert 1965: 33 s.v. *na-a-me*.

It may be noted that a similar variation (with determinatives <sup>AN/AS/o</sup>) is attested for *ziyan* itself (cf. ¶21):

NN 1670	<i>zī-ia-an</i> <sup>1081</sup>
NN 0486	<sup>AN</sup> 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵-ia(-)[x-]𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵[-x(-x)] <sup>1082</sup>
NN 2240	<sup>AS!</sup> <i>zī-ia-an</i>

The use of the determinative <sup>AS</sup> (used for locales, including various buildings) in NN 2240 is by itself enough to cast doubt on Lecoq's hypothesis on <sup>AN</sup>*zī-ia-an* in Bīsotūn.<sup>1083</sup>

There is no reason, then, to assume an abstract meaning for Achaemenid Elamite *ziyan*, different from Middle Elamite *siyan*. The traditional interpretation, “temple,” should be maintained.<sup>1084</sup>

A final point: Lecoq stresses that his hypothesis is in line with the Greek documentation, which holds that the Persians did not have temples, and with the archaeological record, which has failed to recover any substantial religious architecture (1995: 186; 1997: 163). The first argument is basically correct when it comes to Herodotus, but not in line with later authors who were, at least in some cases, better informed. The temples referred to by those later authors cannot be explained by the purported reforms of Artaxerxes II (introducing or promoting the cults of Anāhitā and Mithra). In the case of the Anāhitā temple in Susa/Elymais the supposed novelty of the cult is contradicted by the obvious relation and syncretism with the local cult of Nanaya, suggesting that the temple may have been rather old. Temples in Khūzestān and the western fringes of Fārs are mentioned in the Assyrian royal annals. Temples in Fārs are mentioned (*ziyan*) in the Persepolis documentation (cf. above). Also, the temples of the Elymaioi destroyed by Antiochus III hardly were all recent foundations.

<sup>1081</sup> Though the text is not completely clear, the interpretation of *ziyan* as noun (“temple”), and not as conjugation III participle ([ziya.n]) is reasonably certain.

<sup>1082</sup> But possibly this text does not belong here; cf. ¶21 below. See also App.1 ad l.1.

<sup>1083</sup> It may be noted that this text (as well as NN 1670) is mentioned in the same EW entry on *ziyan* (s.v. d.*zī-ya-an*) that was criticised by Lecoq.

<sup>1084</sup> Additional support for this may be found in two Achaemenid-period geographical compound names with *-ziyan*: <sup>AS</sup>*har-ba-zī-ia-an* (e.g., PF 0608; cf. Vallat 1993: 82) and <sup>AS?</sup>*mi-iz-?1-zī-ia-an*<sup>1</sup> (PF 1999). *Harbaziya(n)* is explained as OPers. by Hinz (1975a: 34), but as Elamite by Zadok (1984: 48 [298]). Hallock connects both Harbaziyan and Mizziyan with *ziyan*, “temple” and, in addition, points to the PN <sup>HAL</sup>*kur-zī-ia-an* (1969: 776). That last name is explained as Elamite by Zadok (*l.c.*) and the EW (s.v. hh.*kur-zī-ya-an*). Especially in the case of the GNS, “temple” and not the abstract “cult” is expected for *-ziyan*.



As to the second argument: it is true that no temple of definite Achaemenid date has been excavated in Iran (cf. Boucharlat 1984 on the problematic nature of the evidence), though the site of Dahan-e Golāmān (Sīstān) seems a good candidate.<sup>1085</sup> At the same time, it must be stressed that only the atypical palatial complexes of Pasargadae, Persepolis and Susa have been subject to larger archaeological operations and even those sites have only been *partially* excavated. The same is true for Naqš-e Rostam, a place that seems very promising for the question of Achaemenid religious architecture. What is needed is an excavation in a proper town that continued to be settled in the Achaemenid period such as Tepe Bormī, Tall-e Ġazīr, Tall-e Zohak or Tol-e Spīd (or one of larger settlements mentioned by Sumner 1986). In the absence of such excavations, any point based on the archaeological record is, necessarily, an argument from silence.

It is true that temples as such do not appear very often in the Fortification texts (cf. §2.3.3 above), but the significance of this finding is again open to different interpretations. One of the texts that does mention a temple (NN 2240) deals with a large quantity of wine and thus suggests that at least some temples were of considerable economic importance. That they are not mentioned more often may well be a matter of perspective. It is, for instance, not excluded that in a number of cases the recipient of larger quantities of food commodities is actually the agent of a temple. But more likely, especially given the parallel of Mesopotamian temples, *ziyan* were plausibly recognised as independent institutions and therefore had their own territory, infrastructure, personnel and, most important, administration. If so, temples would indeed be hardly visible in the Fortification archive.

One case in which the general economy overlapped with that of a local temple might be found in NN 0087, a letter order from Ziššawīš ordering 300 qts. of flour to be issued to the female servants of the Pasargadae-people (<sup>SAL</sup>*pu-hu* <sup>rHAL</sup>*bat<sup>1</sup>-ra-ka<sub>4</sub>-taš-be-na*) at the command of the king. It is at least possible that the female servants are temple personnel attached to the Pasargadae sanctuary mentioned by Plutarch (*Art.* 3.2, 27.4; see §§6.3.5, 6.4.1 and PF 0672 ad ll.16-7).

On a more general level, the problem of *ziyan* and *āyadana-* is, I think, instructive of how different perspectives *vis-à-vis* the nature of the royal inscriptions lead to very different approaches. The theory discussed above assumes that the concept of the *āyadana-* is the *primus*, even though the *editio princeps* of the Bīsotūn inscription was in Elamite. The Elamite and Akkadian terms are therefore regarded to be of secondary importance: the deviant Akkadian version is explained from a ‘Mesopotamian tradition’ (apparently adopted by the scribe) and

<sup>1085</sup> Cf. Gnoli 1993 and Boucharlat 2005: 268-9. See also Francfort 2005: 334-5 on Central Asia.

the Elamite term is subjected to an interpretation specifically designed to harmonise it with the concept of *āyadana-*. As I have argued above (§5.3), *all* the versions of the royal inscriptions, but especially those from the Iranian interior, should be taken as the King's words. Instead of hiding behind the concept of translators' idiosyncrasies, one has to take the wording of the Elamite, Aramaic, Akkadian *and* Old Persian versions serious. If this means that the King's message is polyvalent when it comes to concepts like *ziyan* and *āyadana-*, we will just have to live with that conclusion. As with the Persian culture, the King's words apparently were shaped by more than one tradition.



## APPENDIX 4

### CUMULATIVE VALUES OF SACRIFICIAL COMMODITIES

The table below lists all types of offerings (with number of texts and journal entries between parentheses) followed by the total allocated amounts in quarts of grain (i.e. mostly flour), wine, beer and fruit, and head of sheep (or goats) and other animals. The eighth column ('value') gives the cumulative value of all these commodities in grain (barley); the numbers listed here are calculated on the basis of the fixed exchange rates used in the Fortification economy (cf. ¶147, 155). According to these rates 10 qts. of wine equals 30 qts. of grain (barley) and 1 sheep or goat of average age/weight equals 100 qts. of grain. Fruit seems to have been equivalent to grain in this system of exchange rates. The total numbers of ducks (*basbas*) and cattle for *šip* are uncertain and at any rate the relative value of these animals is hard to establish. NN 0477 mentions a cow of *prime* quality worth 300 qts. of wine. Assuming that sacrificial cattle had an average worth of about 200 qts. of wine (= 600 qts. of grain) per head and estimating the value of a duck to have been about one-fifth of a sheep, i.e. 20 qts. of grain, one arrives at a total value of 1,600 qts. of grain for the two head of cattle and the 20 (or more) ducks for *šip*. It may well be, however, that these values are too low.<sup>1086</sup>

The case of beer is problematic: one is inclined to assume a lower relative value for beer than for wine, based on what is known about (date) beer in Achaemenid Babylonia.<sup>1087</sup> In NN 2399, 1,000 qts. of *luluki* beer are exchanged for 1,000

<sup>1086</sup> From the evidence gathered and discussed by Janković 2004 (34-5, 195-7), it appears that Neo-Babylonian ducks were sold for prices varying between 0.56 and 2.25 shekel, or, with average barley prices between 90 and 180 *qa* for 1 shekel, between 50.4/100.8 and 202.5/405.0 *qa* of barley. Such values are much higher than the 20 qts. in my estimation, but it would still be hazardous to apply the Babylonian data to the system of fixed exchange rates at Persepolis.

<sup>1087</sup> The price of beer in Achaemenid Babylonian is hard to define, as the quantities acquired for a certain amount of silver are not indicated in the available texts (on which Kleber [forthc.]). An indication of its value, much lower than that of wine, can be calculated by estimating the contents of the vats in which it was sold (cf. Stol 1994: 169-70, 181). Compare also Amherst 258, an account of provisions for high-ranking Persians, in which the amount of silver spent on wine, 85 sh., greatly exceeds that spent

qts. of barley. The same amount in wine would have yielded 3,000 qts. of grain. This case may be atypical however, because *luluki* (date beer?) is involved. Records of large amounts of grain, mostly *tarmu* (emmer), “for making beer” show that beer was normally made of grain (as opposed to the preponderance of date beer in contemporary Babylonia).<sup>1088</sup> Identical amounts of beer and wine for the same type of offerings and in the rations for workers and officials are amply attested, which seem to suggest a 1:1 exchange rate of cereal beer and wine. A definite answer cannot be given, however, given the dearth of clear evidence. For this reason a choice is avoided in the table below. Under ‘value’ (col. 8) beer is counted as having one-third of the value of wine; values based on the equivalence of wine and beer are given under ‘alt[ernative] value’ (col. 9).

A second problem is that of allocations for more than one god or offering without a specification of the amounts for individual beneficiaries. In these cases, I have split the total amount equally by the number of divine beneficiaries. Thus, in PF 0351 the total of 50 qts. of wine for Adad and Humban is taken to imply 25 qts. for each god. Other texts that give only total amounts are:

NN 0114	160 qts. of wine	Auramazdā and (the) Mišebaka
NN 0978	1,000 qts. of barley	Auramazdā and (the) Mišebaka
PF 0338	160 qts. of wine	Auramazdā, (the) Mišebaka and Šimut
NN 0613	530 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš and Sakurraziš
NN 0679	530 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš and Sakurraziš
NN 1679	530 qts. of barley	Mišdušiš and Sakurraziš
NN 2259:11-2	2 sheep/goats	Sakurraziš and <i>hapidanuš</i> .

Offerings involving the term *kušukum* have been collected under a single heading, even though two texts mention *kušukum* offerings for Anturza and Natiz<sup>2</sup> respectively (PF 0770 and NN 0269; cf. ¶19 below).

It should be stressed that the cumulative values of allocated commodities indicate rough trends only. Totals are often based on only a few texts. The chance survival of NN 2259, listing sacrificial animals, has a great and, probably, disproportionate impact. With the addition of new texts, shifts are likely to occur, especially in the lower ranges (total values of less than 500 qts. of grain).

on beer, 0.25 sh.; unfortunately the amount of beer is not indicated (text: Ungnad 1959/60: 79-81; on the document cf. Briant 1996: 526, 981 with references).

<sup>1088</sup> On *tarmu*, “emmer,” cf. Henkelman [forthc. 1] App. s.v. *tarmu*.

<i>type of offering</i>	<i>grain</i>	<i>wine</i>	<i>beer</i>	<i>fruit</i>	<i>sheep</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>value</i>	<i>alt. value</i>
<i>lan</i> (81)	7,462 <sup>+</sup>	2,299 <sup>+</sup>	1,200	660	148	0	31,019 <sup>+</sup>	33,419 <sup>+</sup>
<i>bašur</i> (3)	0	120	0	0	168	0	17,160	/
<i>šip</i> (9)	940	150	0	0	47	20 <sup>?</sup> ducks 2 <sup>?</sup> cattle	6,090 + 1,600	/
<i>šumar</i> (4)	3,730	0	0	0	26	0	6,330	/
Humban (26)	2,390	1,225 <sup>+</sup>	60	0	0	0	6,125 <sup>+</sup>	6,245 <sup>+</sup>
<i>kušukum</i> (21)	1,000	150 <sup>+</sup>	260	0	33 <sup>+</sup>	0	5,010 <sup>+</sup>	5,530 <sup>+</sup>
Mišdušiš (6)	2,095	0	0	0	0	0	2,095	/
Auramazdā (10)	1,330	147	80	0	0	0	1,851	2,011
(the) Mišebaka (12)	660	183	0	0	0	0	1,209	/
Karbašiya (4)	0	30	0	0	11	0	1,190	/
Sakurrāziš (5)	795 <sup>+</sup>	0	0	0	2	0	995 <sup>+</sup>	/
<i>akriš</i> (4)	500	120	0	0	0	0	860	/
Napiriša (10)	390	50	20	0	2	0	760	800
Adad (7)	10	25	20	0	6	0	705	745
Išpandaramattiš (6)	700 <sup>+</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	700 <sup>+</sup>	/
<i>tikrakkāš</i> (3)	0	0	0	0	5	0	500	/
Halma (1)	0	120 <sup>?</sup>	0	0	0	0	480 <sup>?</sup>	/
<i>hapidanuš</i> (3)	0	0	0	0	4	0	400	/
Mt. Šaki (4)	160	0	0	0	2	0	360	/
Mariraš (4)	30	80	0	0	0	0	270	/
Pirdakamiya (3)	0	90	0	0	0	0	270	/
R. Hubutiš (3)	0	20	0	0	2	0	260	/
Nah (Nahhunte?) (1)	250	0	0	0	0	0	250	/
Turme/a (3)	210	0	0	0	0	0	210	/
Minam (1)	0	0	0	0	2	0	200	/
Mt. Akšena (1)	0	0	0	0	2	0	200	/
Mt. Battinaša (3)	90	30	0	0	0	0	180	/
Zizkurra (1)	160	0	0	0	0	0	160	/
Šimut (1)	0	53	0	0	0	0	159	/
Earth (2)	150	0	0	0	0	0	150	/
Mt. Ariaramnes (2)	120	0	0	0	0	0	120	/
Narišanka (2)	60	10	0	0	0	0	90	/
R. Ayanharišda (1)	90	0	0	0	0	0	90	/
<i>anši</i> (1)	0	0	0	78	0	0	78	/
Matin <sup>?</sup> (1)	60	0	0	0	0	0	60	/

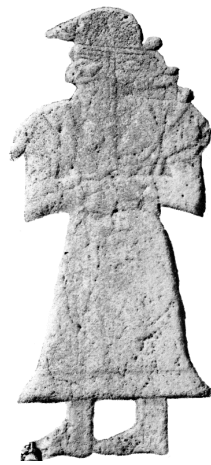
<i>type of offering</i>	<i>grain</i>	<i>wine</i>	<i>beer</i>	<i>fruit</i>	<i>sheep</i>	<i>other</i>	<i>value</i>	<i>alt. value</i>
R. Rannakarra (2)	0	20	0	0	0	0	60	/
R. Šaušanuš (2)	0	20	0	0	0	0	60	/
R. Marriš (2)	60	0	0	0	0	0	60	/
Mt. Širumanda (1)	60	0	0	0	0	0	60	/
Mt. Irkamma (1)	0	20	0	0	0	0	60	/
Mt. Kamarziya (1)	0	20	0	0	0	0	60	/
Mt. Ašbapirrasana (1)	60	0	0	0	0	0	60	/
Irdanapirrurtiš (2)	10	10	0	0	0	0	40	/
Mt. Izziran (1)	40	0	0	0	0	0	40	/
Mt. Harrimarišturra (1)	30	0	0	0	0	0	30	/
Šetrabattiš (1)	30	0	0	0	0	0	30	/
Nabbazabba (1)	10	0	0	0	0	0	10	/

## APPENDIX 5 OFFERINGS LISTED IN INVENTORIES

The table below charts the offerings that occur together in cultic inventories (cf. §3.4.2). Offerings for/at mountains, for/at rivers and offerings characterised by the words *kušukum* (including offerings for Anturza and Natiz) and *šip* (including an offering for Zizkurra) are counted as a single category. Offerings “for the gods” are only listed as such if no specific term (*kušukum*, *šip*) occurs.

gods, shrines or offerings + total of attestations	no other DN	“the gods”	Adad	<i>akriš</i>	<i>anši</i>	<i>bašur</i>	Earth	Halma	<i>hapidamuš</i>	Humban	Irdanapirtuš	Išpandaramatiš	Karbašiya	<i>kušukum</i>	<i>lan</i>	Marraš	Matin	Minam	Mišdušiš	Mišebaka	mountains	Nabbazabba	Nah(hunte?)	Napiriša	Narišanka	Pirdakamiya	rivers	Sakurraziš	Šetrabatiš	Šimut	<i>šip</i>	<i>šumar</i>	<i>tikrakkaš</i>	Turme/a	Uramasda			
no other DN	/	50	2	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	21	81	1	1	1	6	12	15	1	10	2	3	6	5	1	1	9	4	4	3	10			
“the gods”	50	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	3	70	4	1	1	1	1	-	5	1	4	2	3	1	2	1	-	9	4	4	3	-			
Adad	7	2	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
<i>akriš</i>	4	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
<i>anši</i>	1	1	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
<i>bašur</i>	3	3	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
Earth	2	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-				
Halma	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-				
<i>hapidamuš</i>	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-				
Humban	26	22	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-			
Irdanapirt.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-			
Išpandarr.	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	/	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-			
Karbašiya	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-				
<i>kušukum</i>	21	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
<i>lan</i>	81	70	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	/	4	-	-	-	6	3	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-			
Mariraš	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	/	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-			
Matin?	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Minam	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Mišdušiš	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	6	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-		
Mišebaka	12	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	/	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-		
mountains	15	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	4	/	-	-	2	2	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-		
Nabbazabba	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Nah(hunte?)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Napiriša	10	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-		
Narišanka	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Pirdakamiya	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
rivers	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-		
Sakurraziš	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Šetrabattiš	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Šimut	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	1	-	-		
<i>šip</i>	9	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-		
<i>šumar</i>	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-		
<i>tikrakkaš</i>	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	
Turme/a	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	
Uramasda	10	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-





## APPENDIX 6

### RELATIVE TOPOGRAPHY OF LAN OFFERINGS

1. *Introduction* – In her 1987 study on the geographical distribution of offerings in Achaemenid Fārs, Koch concluded that *lan* offerings are especially well attested for the Persepolis region, whereas they occurred in only two towns in the western-most region under the control of the Persepolis administration (Koch 1987: 273). ‘Official’ religion, according to Koch represented by *lan*, was concentrated around Persepolis and almost entirely absent from the Fahliyān region. This, in turn, gave additional proof for her theory that *lan* was *the* offering for Auramazdā (*ibid.* 277).

Arguments against the identification of *lan* as the exclusive ‘state’ offering for Auramazdā have been advanced in §3.4. One of these was that the geographical spread of the offering is not as clear-cut as Koch supposed. Another argument is that Koch’s approach ignores the plausibility that not all regions within the area under control of Persepolis were of the same size or population density (cf. §3.4.8). Combining the relative topography of *lan*, the amounts of sacrificial commodities allocated in each region, and the assumption that the Persepolis region probably was larger and more densely populated than the others, reveals that the spread of the offering was not as uneven as previously assumed. It is certainly debatable whether the clustering of *lan* around Persepolis is very significant; in any case the offering is not virtually absent in the Fahliyān region.

2. *Fahliyān region* – The officiant Dayupirna received beer for *lan* at Hidali (PF 0749; cf. Koch 1987: 266). The seal impressed on the left edge of the tablet, PFS 0201, is elsewhere connected with the same town (PF 1276, PF 1404, NN 1809<sup>3</sup>). Though still not located definitively on the map, Hidali surely has to be sought in the western Fahliyān region (cf. App.7.2 below).

Hunar was a town situated in the vicinity of Hidali and can now confidently be located at Tepe Bormī near Rām Hormoz.<sup>1089</sup> It was here that Karkiš issued flour for *lan* to Udaraš according to NN 2589.<sup>1090</sup>

<sup>1089</sup> See Nasrabadi 2005 for the publication of a building inscription found at Bormī and mentioning Huhnuri (= Hunar); cf. Henkelman 2007b; Potts 2008 §6 s.v. Hunar; §§1.5.1, 2.3.1 fn. 245 above.

A text on the allocation of flour for *lan* by Kullili (PF 0765) can easily be connected to Hunar or Hidali *via* the impression of seal PFS 0044s, and *via* Kullili himself.<sup>1091</sup>

The case of the wine supplier Karayauda, allocating wine to two officiants for 11 (*recte* 12?) *lankul* (PF 0772; cf. §3.6.2 above), is uncertain.<sup>1092</sup> The only possible clue is that Karayauda allocates beer at Hidali (PF 1184, NN 0471), but there is nothing to prove that this is the same individual (as Koch 1987: 266 seems to assume).<sup>1093</sup> There are examples of suppliers who handle both wine and beer,<sup>1094</sup> but wine allocations are thus far not attested at Hidali (cf. §3.7.3.1 fn. 663 above and below, with fn. 1099).

Six tablets relating to provisions for *lan* have an impression of seal PFS 0020 on the left edge: PF 0745, PF 0746, PF 0747, PF 0748, NN 0748<sup>?</sup><sup>1095</sup>, and NN 0822 (cf. Koch 1987: 266). This seal is primarily associated with Gisat (PF 0352, PF 0550, PF 1850, PF 1851, NN 2578), but occurs also in connection with the nearby towns of Hidali (PF 1851, NN 2578) and Liduma (NN 0670). The three places are all securely situated in the Fahliyān region.<sup>1096</sup> The connection with Gisat can be confirmed *via* some of the suppliers in the *lan* texts.<sup>1097</sup>

<sup>1090</sup> For Karkiš at Hunar compare PF 0749, PF 0734, PF 2026, NN 2109. Presumably the same grain supplier is collocated with Zila-Humban (PF 0476, PF 0967), Liduma (NN 0139, NN 2438), Gisat (NN 1446) and Umpuranuš (PF 0933). On NN 2589 cf. §3.7.2.2 fn. 648 above; on Karkiš cf. ¶26 below. Koch 1987 does not mention NN 2589.

<sup>1091</sup> PFS 0044s: PF 0479, NN 1467 and NN 2127 (all Hunar). Kullili: NN 1256 (Hidali), NN 1240 (barley transported to Susa, presumably from the western Fahliyān region). On PFS 0044s cf. §2.4.2.1 above; on Kullili cf. App.7.3 fn. 1171 below.

<sup>1092</sup> PFS 0588\* is impressed on PF 0772; the same seal is found on PF 0338 and NN 0114, also concerning wine for offerings, but now with Šarukba as supplier (cf. §3.4.3 above). This trail does not lead any further, however. The wine supplier Karayauda recurs in PF 0295, but this also yields no clue as to his location.

<sup>1093</sup> As suggested by Koch 1990: 210 fn. 866 and (implicitly) by *idem* 1987: 266. The beer supplier is attested in Dar. 21-23, the wine supplier in Dar. 21-22. On Karayauda the beer supplier at Hidali cf. App.7.2 below.

<sup>1094</sup> Bakabada supplies wine in PF 1773 and beer in NN 0648 and NN 1750; these texts are all sealed with PFS 0020 (belonging to an official based in Gisat; cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 229). Less certain but possible wine + beer suppliers are: Dadda (beer in NN 1621; wine in PF 0775) and Irtuppiya (beer in PF 0874, NN 1675 and NN 1709 [all Hidali]; wine in PF 0876 [Umpuranuš]).

<sup>1095</sup> The beer supplier Mi(š)šabad(d)a mentioned in this text is probably not the same as the Miššabadda supplying wine for *lan* in PF 0753 and NN 0556.

<sup>1096</sup> On Gisat and *lan* see §§3.4.9 and 4.1.4 with fn. 723; on Liduma cf. App.7.2 fn. 1161.

<sup>1097</sup> Parnadadda (PF 0748, NN 0822) is associated with Gisat in NN 1267 and Fort. 1706 (also with Pirnakuš in NN 1697 and with Hartema<sup>?</sup> in NN 0230). Mamannuš (PF 0745, PF

The case of the officiant Ankumarma is unique because he receives both beer (PF 0750) and wine (PF 0751) for *lan* offerings. Normally officiants receive either wine or beer, but not both, for their offerings, depending on the region where they are based. Perhaps Ankumarma served at two locations, one with a beer supplier, and the other with a wine supplier. One of these places is probably Hidali in the western part of the Fahliyān region, since PFS 0136 (impressed on PF 0750) is associated with beer allocations at that town (PF 0842).<sup>1098</sup> The other place, to which PF 0751 pertains, may have been nearby Liduma since wine is regularly issued at that location (cf., e.g., PF 0735, PF 1616, PF 1617).<sup>1099</sup> The name of the wine supplier in PF 0751 does not yield a conclusive clue: Marriyakarša can be indirectly linked to a number of towns in the Fahliyān region, including Liduma and Parmadan, the latter being situated in the eastern part of the region.<sup>1100</sup>

In the Fahliyān region, *lan* was performed at Gisat, Hidali, Hunar and, perhaps, Liduma. The total annual expense for *lan* in this region was at least 720 qts. of flour and 1440 qts. of beer/wine.<sup>1101</sup> The Fahliyān region is therefore only second to the Persepolis region in the volume of commodities reserved for *lan*.

3. *Between Fahliyān and Persepolis* – A number of towns and villages in the grand territory under the purview of the Fortification administration cannot be located with certainty in one of the three larger regions (Fahliyān, Kāmfrūz, Persepolis) since they are not associated with any of the regional seals (cf. §2.3.2 above). One particular cluster of places may have been situated in the relatively unknown area west of Šīrāz and south(east) of the Fahliyān region.<sup>1102</sup> One gains the impression that the sites in this cluster are connected more closely to the Fahliyān region than to the Persepolis region proper.

A *šatin* (cultic expert) named Umbaba occurs in three texts. It is not entirely certain that the same individual is meant, or whether he is stationed at the

0746, PF 0747) is associated with Gisat in PF 0352 and PF 0550 (also with Liduma in NN 0670 and with Tandari in NN 1579).

<sup>1098</sup> The impression of seal PFS 0136 on the left edge of PF 0750 was identified by M. Garrison (pers.comm.). Seals on PF 0842: Garrison & Root 2001: 465 (in fine).

<sup>1099</sup> Note that there are no records of wine allocations at Hidali. On PF 0750 and PF 0751 see also §3.7.3.1 fn. 663 above. On Liduma cf. App.7.2 fn. 1161 below.

<sup>1100</sup> Cf. NN 0861: receipt of 570 wine (presumably for further distribution) by Marriyakarša<sup>?</sup> from Ušaya at the “treasury.” Ušaya, using PFS 0017, can be located at Parmadan (cf. App.7.6 below).

<sup>1101</sup> This amount is based on the assumption that 72 qts. in PF 0772 is an error for 720 qts. (cf. §3.6.2 above).

<sup>1102</sup> Koch (1990: 109-34) locates most of these places in her “südwestliche Bezirk.” See also App. 7.4 below.

same place in each of the three cases, but it would seem likely.<sup>1103</sup> The first text mentioning Umbaba (**Fort. 8960:1-2**) is an entry in a journal on transactions at Dakana, a town connected with Tikrakkaš, Kuntarruš, and Rašinuzza (PF 2004).<sup>1104</sup> Wine from these four places is sent to Marriš (*ibid.*) which, in turn is connected with Tirazziš in the Persepolis region, with Baktiš in the Kāmfīrūz region, and, though indirectly, with some places in the Fahliyān region (cf. App.6.5 below). In addition, there is a second link to the (central part of the) Fahliyān region, since the wine supplier mentioned in Fort. 8960, Bagizza, seems to have been based at Ibariš, a town connected to Šurkutar, Zila-Humban, Tašpak, Hišema and Atuk in the Fahliyān region.<sup>1105</sup> Ibariš is also connected to Hatarrikaš in the Kāmfīrūz region, which, in turn, is sometimes collocated with Persepolis.<sup>1106</sup> Altogether, Fort. 8960 seems to pertain to an area centred on Dakana that was in the proximity of, yet probably just outside, the Fahliyān region. This brings us to the second text

<sup>1103</sup> Cf. §§3.7.3.1 fn. 661, 4.2 with fn. 756 above and App.7.4 with fn. 1176 below.

<sup>1104</sup> Fort. 8960 also mentions Akkimesu and Zirramizza, but these places occur in this text only. The second entry (Fort. 8960:3-5) deals with mothers' rations received by Irdumartiya. This Irdumartiya recurs elsewhere as recipient of wine for mothers and this links him to the places Turrukurtiš (NN 0651) and (*via* PFS 0261\*) Tikrakkaš (PF 1226, NN 0358). On Dakana see Koch 1990: 112 fn. 472. Like Koch (*ibid.* 168 fn. 703), I doubt whether Appinapa the wine supplier at Dakana (PF 0607) is the same as Appinapa the grain supplier at Šumaru (PF 0440, NN 2301).

<sup>1105</sup> The wine supplier Bagizza (not to be confused with several other officials of the same name) is collocated with Ibariš in PF 0609. There is little doubt that this is the same individual as the one in Fort. 8960, even though the former text dates to Dar. 18 and the latter to Dar. 23. Also in year 18, Bagizza supplies wine to a certain Bamiya (PF 1615); the same duo appears again in Dar. 21 (PF 0407). Bamiya also cooperates with Nappupu (PF 0392, PF 1630, PF 1631), a fruit supplier associated with Ibariš (NN 0478, NN 1328). In other words, Bamiya is based at Ibariš and still receives wine from Bagizza in Dar. 21. This makes it likely that the wine supplier Bagizza of Fort. 8960 (Dar. 23) is also based at Ibariš. As for the location of the town: Ibariš is twice collocated with seal PFS 0043\* (PF 0653, NN 1607), which links it to Šurkutar, Zila-Humban, Tašpak and Hišema, and once with PFS 0165, which links it to Atuk (PF 2044), the village Kurrimišda (PF 0323) and with Hatarrikaš (PF 0306; cf. below). Potts 2008 §6 fn. 22 mentions a village called 'Asek' near Arġān, which might be a cognate of Atuk. Cf. App.7.4 below on Bagizza, Ibariš and PFS 0043\*; see also Koch 1990: 64-5 with fn. 329 (Bagizza), 156-61 (Ibariš). Koch (*ibid.* 161 fn. 682) assumes *two* towns named Ibariš on the basis of the occasional spelling <sup>AS</sup>*ib-ba-rāš*. Even if that were a conclusive argument, it would not, however, have any bearing on present discussion.

<sup>1106</sup> Seal PFS 0165\* occurs with Ibariš (NN 1043), Hatarrikaš (PF 0306: spelled <sup>AS</sup>*ú-ma-da-rak<sub>0</sub>-kaš* [cf. Vallat 1993a: 72]); Kurrimišda (PF 0323) and Atuk (PF 2044). On Hatarrikaš cf. App.7.7 with fn. 1192 below.

on Umbaba: a journal entry documenting the allocation of barley by Irdamišša and Irdaparna for various offerings (NN 2372:1-2). Interestingly, Irdaparna is plausibly located at Šursunkiri, in the Fahliyān region, whereas Irdamišša seems based at Nukšama, home to the central grain storage that is the object of journal NN 2372. The town is grouped with a number of places in the region south(east) of the Fahliyān region and west of Šīrāz.<sup>1107</sup> This agrees with Umbaba's activity in a border district just outside the Fahliyān region. Finally, the third text on Umbaba is an entry in a journal on barley issued from a storage at Rašnumattiš (PF 1956:1-2), again a town that may be located (far) northwest of Persepolis, probably bordering on the southern Fahliyān region (cf. below).<sup>1108</sup>

Also at Rašnumattiš, we find Badda, who supplies wine for *lan* (NN 2268:1-2). This supplier is collocated with seal PFS 0166, used for wine distribution in Rašnumattiš, Dakana (cf. above), Tipir and Pirdan.<sup>1109</sup> Rašnumattiš is linked to the cluster of towns tentatively situated west of Šīrāz and south(east) of the Fahliyān region: Maknan, Nukšama, Rašinuzza, Tikrakkaš, Turrukurtiš, Ukbakampiya, etc.<sup>1110</sup> In addition, there are also a possible links with Baktiš and (indirectly) with Hatarrikaš, both in the Kāmīrūz region.<sup>1111</sup>

<sup>1107</sup> Irdamišša and Nukšama: PF 1906. Nukšama is linked with Harin, Kurunda, Maknan, Maššina, Kuntarruš/Kunturruš, Kurarakka, Pirritimatiš, Rašinuzza, Rašnumattiš/Razinamattiš, Tikrakkaš, Turrukurtiš and Ukbakampiya (PF 2084) and with Rašinuzza (NN 2372:27, PF 2084). For the location of some of these places cf. §§4.1.4 fn. 718, 4.2. fn. 758 and App.7.4 fn. 1175 (see also Koch 1987: 255 on Nukšama). Note that Razinamattiš (PF 0618) and Dakana (PF 0607) both occur with seal PFS 0166. Irdaparna is collocated with PFS 0117 in NN 0508, where he allocates flour to a certain Lanuka(š). Seal PFS 0117 is linked to Šursunkiri (PF 1626, PF 2019) and Hunar (PF 2019). Lanuka(š) provides another link to Šursunkiri (PF 0126, PF 0127, PF 0132, NN 1698).

<sup>1108</sup> Koch (1987: 247; cf. 258 with fn. 101) locates Rašnumattiš in her 'Bezirk IV,' i.e. west and southwest of Persepolis.

<sup>1109</sup> Badda the wine supplier also appears in that capacity, at Rašnumattiš, in PF 0618 (cf. NN 1456); seal PF 0166 is impressed on the left edge of this tablet. Cf. fn. 1107 above.

<sup>1110</sup> See PF 1956, PF 2084, NN 0573. Cf. fn. 1107 above and App. 7.4 fn. 1175 below.

<sup>1111</sup> In PF 1956:3 barley is transported from Rašnumattiš to Mankada, where a certain Mannanda receives it (the amount suggests that he was supposed to store it). He may be the same as the Mannanda receiving *tarmu* at Baktiš (Fort. 3677) and the Mannanda occurring in texts with PFS 0155 and PFS 0156 (PF 0138, PF 0139, NN 2581), seals that are also associated with Baktiš (PF 0199, NN 2585). On Baktiš cf. fn. 1119 below. Possibly the same Mannanda receives barley for workers from Mirayauda (NN 0219), who may be the supplier based at Umpuranuš in the central or eastern Fahliyān region (cf. App.7.5). On Mannanda cf. Koch 1990: 113-4 fn. 480. Razinuttiš (Rašnumattiš) is also collocated with the village or town of Akkurna in NN 0573:1-8, and this Akkurna in

Another place in the cluster of towns and villages under discussion is Kuntarruš.<sup>1112</sup> Two texts (PF 0773, NN 2040:2-3), on wine and barley for *lan*, can be related to this town or its immediate surroundings.<sup>1113</sup>

It seems likely that *lan* was performed in at least two towns of the sub-Fahliyān cluster. The annual amounts spent on *lan* amounted to at least 240 qts. of grain (flour) and 40 qts. of wine.

4. *Kāmfīrūz region* – At Kaupirriš, the main town in the Kāmfīrūz region, 120 qts. of flour are received for *lan* (PF 0743).<sup>1114</sup> An equal amount is received at Uzikurraš, for the same purpose (PF 0744). From the use of the regional seal PFS 0003, it appears that Uzikurraš was situated in the Kāmfīrūz region (cf., e.g., PF 0744, PF 0963).<sup>1115</sup>

Harbuš, the place where Harima acts as *lan* performer (PF 0753, NN 0556), is also to be situated in the Kāmfīrūz region as appears from the use of the regional seal PFS 0003 in connection with this place (PF 0968, PF 1717, Pfa 08, NN 0391, NN 2545). In addition, the wine supplier Miššabadda, mentioned in PF 0753 and NN 0556, is also connected to Uzikurraš (NN 2014), again a town in the Kāmfīrūz region (cf. above).<sup>1116</sup>

turn is associated with a number of places, including Hatarrikaš (NN 2265:26, 30), in the Kāmfīrūz region (cf. App.7.7 with fn. 1192 below).

<sup>1112</sup> The place occurs, among others, with Turrukurtiš (PF 1970, NN 2300), Tikrakkaš (PF 2004, PF 2084, NN 2300), Dakana, Rašinuzza and Marriš (PF 2004, PF 2084), Maššina, Nukšama, Rašnumattiš, Ukbakampiya, Kurarakka and Maknan (PF 2084). Cf. Koch 1987: 254; *idem* 1990: 116-7.

<sup>1113</sup> <sup>AŠ</sup>*ku-un-ru-iš* in PF 0773 is probably a mistake for <sup>AŠ</sup>*ku-un<-tur>-ru-iš* or <sup>AŠ</sup>*ku-un<-tar>-ru-iš* (cf. Steve 1992: 144 on the pronunciation /tur/ for TAR), as Hallock (1969: 715) and (Koch 1987: 257 fn. 99; *ibid.* 1990: 407) already assumed. ‘Kunruš’ does not occur elsewhere. NN 2040 is a journal centred on Zanana; its first entry (I.1) mentions a receipt of barley at Kuntarruš, which suggests that Zanana and Kuntarruš were not far apart. The third entry of the journal (II.4-6) mentions travellers coming from Sagartia and going to ‘the Elamites’ (the satrapy of Elam; cf. §4.4.3 above), indicating that Zanana was located on one of the branches of the royal road network. Koch (1987: 257) connects PF 0773 to her ‘Bezirk IV’ (west and southwest of Persepolis).

<sup>1114</sup> On Kaupirriš (often compared with modern ‘Kāmfīrūz’) see Hallock 1977: 129, 131; Sumner 1986: 20; Koch 1987: 262; *idem* 1990: 147-8; Arfa’i 1999: 35-6 with fn. 3, 40.

<sup>1115</sup> Cf. Hallock 1978: 109; Sumner 1986: 25-6; Arfa’i 1999: 40 (who situates Uzikurraš in the eastern part of the Kāmfīrūz region). See also Koch 1987: 262; *idem* 1990: 152-3.

<sup>1116</sup> Metzler 1977: 1057 identifies Harbuš with Ptolemy’s Ἀρβούα (*Geogr.* VI.4.5). Cf. Koch 1987: 262; *idem* 1990: 152 on the location of Harbuš (“nordwestliche Bezirk”).

Another town in the Kāmfrūz region is Hatarrikaš, where Mauzišša allocates wine to Tarmiya for *lan* offerings (PF 0754).<sup>1117</sup>

Šiyakaš, where Manetukka issues flour for a *lan* offering (PF 0742), must be situated in the Kāmfrūz region since it appears regularly with seal PFS 0003. It was probably located in the southeastern part of the region, given its frequent collocation with Persepolis.<sup>1118</sup>

There were at least five towns in the Kāmfrūz region where *lan* was performed: Kaupirriš, Uzikurraš, Harbuš, Hatarrikaš and Šiyakaš (cf. Koch 1987: 262). Total annual amounts issued for the offering amounted to at least 360 qts. of flour, and 240 qts. of wine.

5. *Persepolis region* – Marriš is a town that is collocated with Baktiš in the Kāmfrūz region as well as with the sub-Fahliyān cluster, which seems relatively close to the Fahliyān region (cf. App.6.3). It is also connected, though indirectly, with places in the Fahliyān region<sup>1119</sup> and with Tirazziš (presumably at or near modern Šīrāz). It may therefore have been located in the (north)western part of the Persepolis region.<sup>1120</sup> Marriš is the place where Gimannuš the *makuš* receives barley for *lan* (NN 2183:1-2).<sup>1121</sup> It would seem that the village or town of Kariran,

<sup>1117</sup> Cf. Koch 1987: 262. For the location of Hatarrikaš see App.7.7. The seal on the left edge of PF 0754 is now identified as PFS 0625s and is also impressed on PF 0372, a text on offerings “for the gods” (cf. ¶26 with fn. 1202). It occurs on the uninscribed tablets as well (Garrison 2008 §6.2). For Mauzišša at Hatarrikaš cf. NN 1535 and NN 1797.

<sup>1118</sup> Šiyakaš with PFS 0003: PF 0742, NN 0090, NN 1486, NN 2249. With Persepolis: PF 1584, PF 1611, NN 2057, NN 2410. In addition, seal PFS 0098\*, belonging to an official whose seat was Persepolis, is found collocated with Šiyakaš: NN 0128, NN 0616, NN 1892, NN 2058. Cf. Koch 1987: 262.

<sup>1119</sup> Kāmfrūz region: NN 1058 mentions wine given to camels at pasture at Marriš, allocated from the place Baktiš; the text is sealed with PFS 0003, the regional seal for the Kāmfrūz region (Baktiš is often collocated with PFS 0003; cf. PF 0850, PF 0852, etc.). Fahliyān region: a certain Battiš appears in an inventory of camels at Marriš (NN 0258 [seals unidentified]); he is probably the same as the Battiš who is responsible for camels in PF 0331. This text has an impression of PFS 0057\*, a seal that, among others, is found with Tašpak (PF 0234), Ibat (PF 0239), Šurkutar and Atuk (Fort. 2564), all places in the Fahliyān region. Sub-Fahliyān cluster: cf. PF 2004 and App.6.3 above.

<sup>1120</sup> Marriyadadda acts as wine supplier for the places Tirazziš (e.g., PF 0689, PF 0690, NN 1127) and Marriš (NN 1983). Tirazziš and Marriš also occur together in PF 2018 (but note that the text also mentions far-away Narezzaš!). On Marriš see also Koch 1990: 117 and Metzler 1977 (identifying it with Ptolemy’s Μαργάσιον [*Geogr.* VI.4.6]).

<sup>1121</sup> On NN 2183 cf. §4.1.5 fn. 740 above. Koch associates the journal with the area southwest of Persepolis (1987: 247 with fn. 39).



where another *makuš*, Mitukka, receives barley for *lan* (NN 1951:1-2), lies roughly in the same area.<sup>1122</sup> A third text, on flour for *lan* at Kursamuš (NN 1829), belongs here as well, since this place is linked with Kariran and Tirazziš.<sup>1123</sup>

Umayā and Kammada appear in four texts as recipients of wine for *lan*. Umayā is once said to be based at Tirazziš (NN 1230); a second text mentioning him (NN 1512) most probably refers to the same location. In two other texts, Kammada receives wine, once alone (NN 0595) and once together with Umayā (PF 0756), establishing an indirect link between Kammada and Tirazziš. Moreover, the wine supplier in these two texts, Marriyada(dda), seems to have worked from Tirazziš, though he is occasionally also linked to Persepolis, Pasargadae and a few other places.<sup>1124</sup> It seems that Kuntukka's allocation of barley for *lan* must also be situated at or in the proximity of Tirazziš, the centre of his activities as grain supplier (NN 0560).<sup>1125</sup> Less certain is the case of Umeyā's allocation of barley for *lan* (PF 0755): this supplier is plausibly the same as the Umeyā issuing grain to workers at Tirazziš.<sup>1126</sup>

<sup>1122</sup> Kariran is the central storage from which Tarkašuma allocates barley for various purposes, as recorded in the journal PF 1951. One of the places also mentioned in this journal is <sup>AS</sup>*kur-ti-mi-iš*, i.e. Kursamuš (cf. fn. 1123 below). The person of Dadumanya, who is responsible for fruit deposits at various places, links Kursamuš (NN 0186) with Širam near Tirazziš (PF 2018:45-6) and with Tirazziš itself (NN 0141, NN 0143). Another argument comes from Tarkašuma, a supplier at Kariran (PF 1951, NN 1925 [NN 2357 mentions Kariran and Tarširma = Tarkašuma, but not in a direct connection]) and Marriš (NN 2183; cf. above). Thirdly, barley transactions at both Marriš (NN 2183:21) and Kariran (PF 1951:20-1) take place under responsibility of Hamarša (PN *šaramanna*; see also NN 2357:4). Koch 1987: 250 and 1990: 81-3 locates Kariran and Kursamuš southeast of Persepolis.

<sup>1123</sup> Cf. fn. 1122 above. NN 1829 has <sup>AS</sup>*kur-ti-pi-iš*, which is a variant spelling for Kursamuš (cf. Hallock 1969: 718; EW s.v. *h.kur-ti-pi-iš*; Koch 1990: 81-3 with fn. 361; Vallat 1993a: 151; Tavernier 2007a: 498 [5.3.3.58]).

<sup>1124</sup> Tirazziš: PF 0689, PF 0690, etc.; Persepolis: PF 1614; Pasargadae: PF 0044. On Umayā see also §3.7.4 fn. 673 above. Cf. Koch 1987: 249 with fn. 60.

<sup>1125</sup> Kuntukka, to whom seal PFS 0067 (impressed on NN 0560) belongs, is collocated with Tirazziš in ten texts (PF 0230, PF 0669, PF 1003, PF 1028, NN 0438, NN 1068, NN 1146, NN 1627, NN 2054, Fort. 3569). With other places: Nukusantiš (PF 1002), Maunuda<sup>?</sup> (NN 1895). Cf. Koch 1987: 243 with fn. 11, 249; *idem* 1990: 63-4, 265.

<sup>1126</sup> PF 0755 connects Umeyā with seal PFS 0061. This seal seems to belong to a grain storage headed by the suppliers Umeyā and Babaka (that beer was brewed at the same facility appears from PF 0424, PF 1624, NN 0909, NN 1885). Unfortunately, there are no direct clues as to the place or area of its use. The seal is, however, associated with PFS 0035\* (PF 1008, NN 0054, NN 0842, NN 2128), which, in turn, is found with Tirazziš (NN 0438, NN 1627) as well as with the supplier Kuntukka and his seal, PFS 0067 (PF 0484,

Dayurisa receives flour for *lan* at Matezziš in **PF 0741**; he is almost certainly the same individual as the Dayurisa receiving flour for *lan* from Upirradda in **PF 0763** and **PF 0764** (no place given). The supplier Upirradda can be linked to Persepolis and Matezziš (PF 0668, PF 0761, PF 0762, PF 1945:12-4). In addition, the seals used on PF 0763 (PFS 0145, PFS 0885) also occur on PF 0762 (flour for *lan* at Matezziš).<sup>1127</sup> A fourth occurrence of Dayurisa receiving flour for *lan* (**NN 0936**) can be linked to Matezziš by the impression of seal PFS 0145 (cf., e.g., PF 0761, PF 0762, NN 0250).

The officiant Yašda is also based at Matezziš, where he receives flour (**PF 0761**, **PF 0762**, **NN 0250**, **NN 1601**, **NN 1602**, **Fort. 3126**) and wine (**PF 0760**, **NN 1138**, **NN 1140**, **NN 1141**) for *lan*. Most texts, except PF 0760 and NN 1141, have impressions of PFS 0145, a recipient/officiant seal shared by Dayurisa and Yašda. It may well be that Yašda succeeded Dayurisa as *lan* officiant at Matezziš in III/23 (cf. NN 0936 and NN 1140; see ¶1 below).

Rakkan is the site of allocations of fruit for *lan* as appears from two entries in the same journal (**NN 2486:25**, **45-6**). The town was located in the Persepolis region, probably in proximity of the residence.<sup>1128</sup> By association, Hanamasan, mentioned in the same journal (**NN 2486:26**) as another place where fruit for *lan* was allocated, must be near Rakkan.<sup>1129</sup> An allocation of flour for *lan* (**PF 1947:3-4**) must also have taken place at or in proximity of Rakkan.<sup>1130</sup>

Tikraš is the central site for barley allocations mentioned in the journals PF 2073 and NN 2202; consequently the *lan* offerings mentioned in these texts (**PF 2073:3-4**, **NN 2202:2**) must have taken place at or near this town. Tikraš has connections with a number of places including Parmizzan, Rakkan and Matezziš

PF 1733, NN 0438, NN 1627, NN 2531). On Kuntukka and his association with Tirazziš see fn. 1125 above. The evidence from PFS 0035\* seems to allow for the identification of our Umeya with the one who is associated with Tirazziš (PF 0860, NN 0504). On PF 0755 see also Koch 1987: 248-9; on seals PFS 0035\* and PFS 0061 cf. §3.5.3 fn. 541 above.

<sup>1127</sup> PFS 0885 is a cross-over seal, which also occurs on the uninscribed tablets (see Garrison 2008, app. 2).

<sup>1128</sup> Rakkan is frequently collocated with seal PFS 0001\* (Persepolis region): PF 0906, PF 0907, etc. On the location of the town and the places associated with it cf. Sumner 1986: 23-5 and Koch 1990: 34-40. Rakkan seems to have existed already in the Neo-Elamite period and subsequently was the stage of Vahyazdāta's/Bardiya II's defeat (cf. Henkelman 2007a with references).

<sup>1129</sup> Hanamasan is collocated with Persepolis in NN 0229. Hanamasan, Rakkan and Matezziš (within the Persepolis agglomeration) appear together in the journal NN 0544. The place is also the site of an offering for Halma (cf. §4.3 above).

<sup>1130</sup> The central storage for the allocations listed in journal PF 1947 is Rakkan (1.93).

and must be situated east of Persepolis, probably not far from the capital.<sup>1131</sup> There is also documentation on wine for *lan* at Tikraš or its immediate vicinity (NN 0561).<sup>1132</sup> A satellite of Tikraš was Kurpun, another place from where wine for *lan* was issued (PF 1953:1-3).<sup>1133</sup>

The supplier Battinaša, who supplies barley for *lan* (NN 2087), occurs elsewhere in connection with Martannakan (PF 0452). This village is to be situated in the eastern Persepolis region. It is linked with a number of towns in that area, but the strongest connections are with (inland) Tamukkan and Kutkuš.<sup>1134</sup>

Also situated east of Persepolis is Uškannaš, the site where Maupirša the *makuš* receives *tarmu* (emmer) for *lan* (NN 2342:1-2).<sup>1135</sup>

Aššikka occurs in three texts on *lan*: as recipient of *tarmu* (NN 1115) and dates (PF 0768) from Ansukka, and as recipient of barley from Zamannuma (NN

<sup>1131</sup> Parmizzan: PF 0492, PF 0566, NN 0510, NN 2166. Rakkan: PF 1947:66-8, PF 1971. Matezziš: PT 083 (transport of gold) and the wine supplier Datapparna (PF 0881, NN 0275, NN 0278, NN 1082, NN 1091 and NN 1846 [Matezziš]; NN 0607 and NN 1312 [Tikraš]). Cf. §4.1.5 and App.1.4 on Tikraš and NN 2202.

<sup>1132</sup> The wine supplier Nariyamana, mentioned in NN 0561, is probably the same as the individual of the same name who issues wine at Tikraš (NN 1911) and Mayutgiš (NN 0685). The GN in NN 0561 is illegible, but could have been Mayutgiš, which must have been a smaller village in the vicinity of Tikraš; it is also mentioned in PF 0614.

<sup>1133</sup> Kurpun and Tikraš: NN 1301 and NN 1986 (work forces active at Kurpun, but accounted for at Tikraš). Compare also the wine supplier Manezza, who seems to be based at Kurpun (PF 1158, PF 1953, NN 0675), but is also found in connection with Tikraš (PF 1201). On Kurpun cf. §4.1.5 above. Cf. Koch 1987: 247 with fn. 37, 250.

<sup>1134</sup> Martannakan is mentioned in texts sealed with PFS 0032\* (PF 0991, NN 2091), used for a wide area east of Persepolis (cf. §2.3.2 with fn. 261 above). PFS 0032\* occurs with Narezzaš, (inland) Tamukkan, Ankarakkan, Uškannaš, Dutaš, Kutkuš, Pasargadae and a few other places. Martannakan is also found in a text sealed with PFS 0042 (on which see Arfa'i 1999: 35), which links it to Tamukkan (PF 0444, PF 0481, PF 0984, NN 0582) and Kutkuš (PF 0638, NN 1244, NN 1287, NN 1454, Fort. 6351). Tamukkan and Kutkuš are also interlinked by the suppliers Bakabada (e.g., PF 0985, NN 1810) and Šutezza (PF 0521, NN 0534). On Martannakan and Battinaša cf. Koch 1990: 81-2.

<sup>1135</sup> Uškannaš is found collocated with PFS 0032\*, which pertains to an area east of Persepolis (NN 0437; cf. fn. 1134 above); it is also found with PFS 0001\*, the seal for the Persepolis region at large (PF 0983, NN 1490, NN 1671, NN 2526). In addition, Uškannaš is mentioned together with the places Šala (NN 1085, NN 1490, NN 1590 [also mentioning Persepolis], NN 2526), Kunturrizzan (NN 1085; cf. §6.7.2. fn. 990 above), Uššakampan (NN 2342) and Dutaš (NN 2342; Harberan, in the same text, is probably an ethnonym; see Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.1). Of these sites Dutaš is the clearest indicator: the place is linked with Persepolis and Urunduš (PF 1948, *passim*). Cf. Koch 1987: 250 and below, with fn. 1136, on Urunduš.

**0598**). This Zamannuma was a grain supplier based at Uranduš/Randuš (PF 0859, PF 0955, PF 1948, NN 0191, NN 1514). Uranduš lay in the central region; connections with Narezzaš (Nīrīz?) and Parmizzan suggest that it was located east of Persepolis.<sup>1136</sup>

Two allocations of wine for *lan* take place at Marsaškaš (PF **0757**, PF **2036**). The place, probably a small village, is mentioned together with Parmizzan once (PT 005). The connection between Marsaškaš and Parmizzan is confirmed by Parnizza, the wine supplier of PF 0757 and PF 2036, who appears collocated with both places, and with Tamukkan (inland Ταόκη).<sup>1137</sup> The same Parnizza also issues wine for *lan* offerings to be performed at Karinuš (NN **1836**, NN **2243**), probably another small village in his district.<sup>1138</sup>

The village of Ankarakkan, where wine is allocated for *lan* (PF **0759**), was situated in the Persepolis region and probably was a satellite of Hiran, a town east of Persepolis. It was also connected with Parmizzan, Uranduš and Narezzaš, in the same area.<sup>1139</sup>

<sup>1136</sup> The location of Uranduš in the Persepolis region appears, among other clues, from the frequent use of PFS 0001\* on tablets mentioning the town (cf. §2.3.2 above). Connections with Narezzaš and Parmizzan appear from the activity of the wine suppliers Yamakšedda at these towns and at Uranduš (Yamakšedda: PF 0890, PF 0891, PF 0893; Šiyana: PF 0878, PF 0896, PF 0897). Note that Sumner locates Uranduš “in the Shiraz plain” (1986: 23). Narezzaš may be identical with modern Nīrīz and seems in any case to have been located in the eastern Persepolis region (cf. §2.3.1 above). Parmizzan is often associated with Tikraš, which also seems to have been situated east of Persepolis (cf. above and §4.1.5). On Uranduš and its location see also Hallock 1985: 595-6; Sumner 1986: 22-3; Koch 1987: 246 with fn. 34, 250; *idem* 1990: 88-97.

<sup>1137</sup> Parmizzan: PF 1107, NN 1357, NN 2131, NN 2136, NN 2247, NN 2411. Tamukkan: PF 0679, PF 1138. On inland Tamukkan/Ταόκη cf. §2.3.1 with fn. 258 above and §6.4 ad l.13 above. Maršaskaš is also connected to the place Marappiyaš *via* the grain supplier Maršukka (PF 0909, PF 0910, PF 0911, PF 1127, NN 0777, NN 1211, NN 2204, Fort. 5466); on Marappiyaš see Henkelman 2003a: 213 fnn. 212, 215 (with references). On the location of Maršaskaš see also Cameron 1948: 92; Koch 1987: 246, 250 (relating PF 0757 to the area southeast of Persepolis); *idem* 1990: 76-7 (Parnizza).

<sup>1138</sup> Koch 1987: 250 also locates the town in the area east of Persepolis. Karinuš is mentioned one more time, in NN 2135. There, wine from Karinuš is issued to Irdumasda, the ‘satrap’ of Makā (*makkaš šakšabama*). On the title see Briant 1996: 481-2 and Koch 1993a: 20-2. On Makā in Fortification contexts cf. De Blois 1989; Koch 1993a: 20-2; Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.1.

<sup>1139</sup> Ankarakkan is found with PFS 0001\* (PF 0863, PF 0941, PF 0942, NN 0915, NN 2075), used for the Persepolis region, and with PFS 0032\* (NN 0411, NN 2153), used for an subregion east of Persepolis (cf. §2.3.2 with fn. 261 above). Ankarakkan and Hiran are collocated in PF 1966 (the text also mentions Persepolis, but that may have been further

To the far east of the Persepolis region, at Narezzaš (cf. §2.3.1 above), we find the officiant Piršamarda receiving figs and wine for *lan* (PF 0769, NN 1262).<sup>1140</sup> Two more texts (NN 1184, NN 1955), on wine issued by Madaparna for *lan*, seem to pertain to Narezzaš or its surroundings as well, since the only other occurrence of Madaparna places him at that town (PF 1203).

Northeast of Persepolis, at Pasargadae, 118 head of sheep/goats are allocated for *lan* according to an entry in the ‘religious journal’ (NN 2259:7-8; cf. Chapter 6 above). In the same journal, another 30 head are allocated for the same purpose, but this time at the otherwise unattested village of Andabaš (NN 2259:5-6). In this case, the association with Pasargadae is of little help, since the journal covers a vast area east, north and northwest of Persepolis, probably all the way up to Parmadan in the eastern Fahliyān region (cf. §6.6.6 above). There are no other clues that could establish the location of Andabaš.

Places in the Persepolis region where *lan* was performed are: Andabaš (if situated in this region), Ankarakkan, Hanamasan, Karinuš, Kariran, Kurpun, Kursamuš, Marriš, Marsaškaš, Martannakan, Matezziš, Narezzaš, Pasargadae, Rakkan, Tikraš, Tirazziš, Uranduš and Uškannaš. The amounts reserved for *lan* in these 18 places are: 3,720 qts. of grain,<sup>1141</sup> 1,140 qts. of wine,<sup>1142</sup> 540 qts. of fruit and 148 head of sheep/goats. It may be noted that though much more grain (and fruit, livestock) is reserved for *lan* in the central region, the amount of wine in the Fahliyān region is actually higher (1,440 qts.).

away). Apart from that, the wine supplier Ašbaštiya (also Aššaštiya) is active at both places (PF 0262, PF 0263, PF 0780, NN 0300 and NN 2498 [Hiran]; PF 0759 and NN 0240 [Ankarakkan]). On Ankarakkan cf. Koch 1987: 250; *idem* 1990: 90-1, 108, 116, 164-5 fn. 691. Hiran is collocated with Narezzaš, in the far east of the Persepolis region (NN 0727, NN 1101). Sumner 1986: 23 places nearby Hiran “between Shiraz and Neyriz, possibly in Sarvestan, Runiz, or Estahbanat” (*contra*: Vallat 1993a: 98). The wine supplier Šiyana connects Ankarakkan (NN 0365) and Hiran (PF 0898, PF 0899, PF 0900, PF 0901, PF 0902, NN 1237, NN 2016, NN 2518, NN 2550) Uranduš (PF 0897, NN 1260), Parmizzan (PF 0896) and Narezzaš (PF 0878, PF 1201, NN 0050). On the location of these places cf. fn. 1136 above.

<sup>1140</sup> On PF 0769 and NN 1262 cf. §147 and §6.7.3 fn. 998 above. The wine supplier Zaukizza (NN 1262) recurs in PF 0302, issuing wine for the *bašur* of Cambyses (cf. §146; §3.7.2.3 and ¶20 below). Narezza (PF 0769) is not attested elsewhere as fruit supplier, but he may be the same as the grain deliverer Narezza at Battirakkan (PF 1965; compare also Fort. 9407).

<sup>1141</sup> Assuming that the amount of barley in PF 2073:3-4 should be corrected to 120 qts. (cf. §3.7.3.2 fn. 669 above).

<sup>1142</sup> Assuming that the 15 qts. of wine in NN 0561 is for a one month period (i.e. 180 qts. per annum; cf. §3.7.3.2 fn. 670 above).

6. *North of the Royal Road (?)* – A group of seven texts on allocations for *lan* pertains to a cluster of towns and villages that are particularly hard to locate. There is limited evidence on connections with places in the Fahliyān region (Parnuttiš), the Kāmfrūz region (Hatarrikaš), the sub-Fahliyān cluster (Rašnumattiš) and the northern and northwestern part of the Persepolis region (Pasargadae, Marriš). In addition, some of the places in this cluster are travel stops on the road(s) to Media, Sagartia and Kermān (cf. §2.3.2 fn. 266 above). Thus, it may tentatively be suggested that we are north of the royal road, but within reach of the Fahliyān and Kāmfrūz regions, in an area for which the regional seal still has to be identified or never existed. Just how much uncertainty has to be reckoned with may be clear from the fact that Koch placed the towns in our northern cluster in her fourth area, i.e. *southwest* of Persepolis (1990: 120-34).

Perhaps the clearest case is an entry on various offerings, including *lan*, performed by Kammargina (NN 2265:1-4). The journal in which the entry appears is centred on Akkurna, a town that has links with a large number of places, such as Rašnumattiš/Razinuttiš (sub-Fahliyān cluster), Harišna (elsewhere collocated with Pasargadae), Parnuttiš (connected with Parmadan in the eastern Fahliyān region), Hatarrikaš (in the Kāmfrūz region), and Kabaš (a travel stop on the road to Media and Kermān).<sup>1143</sup> The entry itself mentions an offering for (at) Mount Battinaša; elsewhere such an offering is listed with an offering for the River Marriš, in proximity of the homonymous town, in the northwestern Persepolis region.<sup>1144</sup>

<sup>1143</sup> Rašnumattiš/Razinuttiš and Akkurna: NN 0573:1-8, 34; cf. App.6.3 above. Harišna and Akkurna: NN 2184:18, 31; Harišna and Pasargadae: NN 0709. The GN in NN 0709 should be read as <sup>AŠ<sup>ha</sup></sup>*har-iš-na-an* (with phonetic complement); cf. EW s.v. *h.ha-ir-iš-na*. Parnuttiš and Akkurna: NN 2265:5-6 (wine rations for Parnakka at the two places which, logically, much have been closely connected). Parnuttiš is once collocated with PFS 0002\*, which suggests that it was located in the Fahliyān region (cf. §2.3.2 with fn. 264). More important, it is firmly linked with Parmadan *via* the use of seal PFS 0017 and the occurrence of the wine suppliers Ušaya and Muška (PF 0046, PF 0047, PF 0048, PF 0049, NN 0272, NN 0383, NN 0489, NN 0688, Fort. 3544); cf. §§4.4.3 fn. 807 above and App.7.6 below on PFS 0017 and the location of Parmadan in the eastern Fahliyān region. Hatarrikaš and Akkurna: NN 2265: 26; cf. App.7.7 with fn. 1192 below on the location of the town. Kabaš and Akkurna: NN 2265:10-2. Kabaš as a distribution centre for livestock issued to travellers on the road from Persepolis to Media and Sagartia: NN 2261:4-8, 10-1, 19-21 (with 41-2); *idem* from Sagartia to Kermān: NN 2261:16-8, 26-9 (with 41-2). It is probably to be identified with Γάβαι/Gabae, ancient Esfahān (cf. Henkelman 2008 and §2.3.1 above).

<sup>1144</sup> Offerings for (at) Mount Battinaša (cf. ¶16 below) occur in four texts; assuming that there is only one mountain of that name, these provide links with River Marriš (NN 2200:1-5), Unudadda (NN 2362:1-5, 24) and Zarnamiya (in a text transliterated by C.E.

Next is an allocation of barley for *lan* in a journal centred on the town the name of which can plausibly be restored as <sup>AS</sup>*na-[ma-ka<sub>4</sub>-nu-iš]* (NN 0728:1-2). A second place mentioned in the journal is Kurka.<sup>1145</sup> The two places connect the text to Hatarrikaš in the Kāmfrūz region, and with (among others) Akkurna, Harrutiš, Kumiššan, Kurakkan, Parnuttiš and Zarnamiya in the northern cluster.<sup>1146</sup>

Harrutiš, one of the towns or villages collocated with Kurka and Namakanuš, also occurs with Hatarrikaš, Šimparran, Masdakuš and Eyana. Šimparran is the town on which PF 1960 is centred, a journal with an entry on barley issued to U(k)piš the *makuš* for *lan* and other offerings (PF 1960:3-4). The town is once collocated with Parnuttiš, in the Fahliyān region (NN 1009:8, 16; cf. fn. 1143). PF 1960 also mentions Masdakuš and Eyana (ll.1, 2) and these places, in turn, are indirectly linked to Akkurna.<sup>1147</sup> Note also that Masdakuš was situated on or in proximity of the route to Kermān (NN 2206:13-6, 28). A fourth place

Jones, Fort. 10120:1-3, rev. 14' [= 'NN 2653']). River Marriš is connected with the town of the same name (NN 2183:3-4, 20) and must therefore be situated in the northwestern Persepolis region (cf. App.6.5 above). Unudadda and Akkurna (see above) are listed together in PF 2074:10-1. Zarnamiya is connected with Hatarrikaš in the Kāmfrūz region (NN 2274:24-5) and with several towns in the 'northern area,' notably Kurka (NN 2275:22, 24; cf. below), Namakanuš (Fort. 10120:3, 6; also connected to Akkurna [NN 2265:24, 30]), and Harrutiš (NN 2274, close to Hatarrikaš [cf. NN 2274, NN 2373]).

<sup>1145</sup> Namakanuš and Kurka also occur together in PF 1975, which supports the restoration of the GN in NN 0728. Cf. Koch 1987: 255; *idem* 1990: 122.

<sup>1146</sup> Places connected to Namakanuš: Akkurna (NN 2265:24, 30), Harrinziš (NN 2265:25, 30), Harrutiš (NN 2373:1, 3), Hatarrikaš (NN 2265:26, 30, NN 2373:1, 2), Kurka (PF 1975), Parnuttiš (NN 2265:5-6, 24). Places connected to Kurka include: Harrutiš (NN 2274:19, 22), Hatarrikaš (PF 1957:30, 34, NN 2274:22, 25), Kumiššan (NN 2371:1, 39), Kurakkan (NN 2371:1, 28), Namakanuš (PF 1975), Parmašba (PF 1957:22, 23, 34), Parnuttiš (NN 2371:1, 27) and Zarnamiya (NN 2274:22, 24). Cf. fnn. 1144-5 above. Koch locates Namakanuš in the area southwest of Persepolis (1987: 254). The toponym is interpreted by Tavernier 2006a: 378 as "new mine, pit" (*\*navakānīš* < *\*navakāniya*).

<sup>1147</sup> Masdakuš is collocated with Eyana (PF 1958:3, 13, PF 1961:25, 31, NN 0762:23, 32, NN 2490:11, 24), Harišna (PF 2005:8, 9, NN 0762:27, 32, NN 2206:8, 28, NN 2490:11, 25), Harrutiš (PF 1961:15, 31), Kutima (PF 1958:4, 13, PF 1961:31, 33), Manda (PF 1961:28, 31, PF 2005:4, 8), Šimparran (PF 1960:1, 24, PF 1961:29, 31, PF 1986:11, 42, NN 2490:11, 39). Eyana is collocated with Harišna (NN 0762:23, 27, NN 2358:4, 13), Harrutiš (PF 1961:8, 15), Kutima (PF 1958:4, 13, PF 1961:8, 33), Manda (PF 1961:8, 28), Šimparran (PF 1960:2, 24). In addition, Šimparran itself is collocated with Harišna and Kutima (NN 2273:15, 17, 18) and with Unudadda (NN 1009:13, 16). Of these GNS, Unudadda (PF 2074:9, 10), Harišna (NN 2184:18, 31) and Kutima (PF 2074:5, 9, NN 2184:17, 31) are connected to Akkurna (cf. above).

mentioned, Atukiš (PF 1960:18), was located in the vicinity of Harrušnuzzan, a travel stop on the route to Sagartia and Media.<sup>1148</sup>

The *makuš* named U(k)piš, receiving barley in PF 1960:3-4, recurs in **PF 1955:1-3**. There, he receives barley for *lan*, (the) Mišebaka, Mount Ariaramnes and the River Ayanharišda. Fortunately, Mount Ariaramnes occurs a second time (NN 2358:1-3), which yields a location at or near Eyana (cf. above). Other GNs mentioned in PF 1955 are Mezama (the central grain storage; 1.25), Pirmiš (1.11), Marakkutiš (1.18) and Šašukana (1.20). These places are bridges to the remaining three texts pertaining to the northern cluster.

Pirmiš (1.20), Mezama (1.14) and Ukbakampiya (1.2), and Ziršama (1.1) are towns mentioned in NN 0548, a journal that includes an entry on the allocation of wine for *lan* (NN **0548:18**). Among the places found collocated with Pirmiš is Mišaraš, a travel stop on the road to Media.<sup>1149</sup> Ukbakampiya seems to have been situated in the sub-Fahliyān cluster (PF 2084) and is associated with Rašnumattiš (PF 1956:14, 25; cf. Apps.6.3, 7.4 with fn. 1175) and Pasargadae (Fort. 6575). NN 0548 as a whole is centred on Dakamanuš (1.27), a town that has connections with (among other places) Bamašdumana (PF 2003:1, 4, NN 2211:1, 2), Turrukurtiš (NN 0609:49, 52, NN 2539:8, 9) and Šašunaka (NN 0609:52, 53, NN 2211:2, 23-5).

The journals NN 2211 and NN 2337, finally, are centred on Memanakaš and Bamašdumana respectively, but they mention the same grain supplier, Parrudasa. In addition, Memanakaš and Bamašdumana are collocated in both journals (NN 2211:1, 32, 37, NN 2337:33, 38). Further, NN 2211 mentions Dakamanuš (NN 2211:2; cf. above) and Šašukana (NN 2211:25; cf. above); NN 2337 has Šašukana (1.31), Razakanuš (1.32; cf. fn. 1149 above) and Memanakaš (1.33). This means that NN 2211 and NN 2337 are closely connected and that the two journals, in turn, are clearly linked to other texts pertaining to the northern cluster. The two barley allocations for *lan* in **NN 2211:4-5** and **NN 2337:1-2** therefore pertain to this area.

<sup>1148</sup> Harrušnuzzan and Atukiš: Pfa 31:33-4, 38. Harrušnuzzan on the road to Sagartia and Media: Pfa 31:2-4, 13-6; cf. Hallock 1978: 115. Koch (1987: 243 with fn. 12, 247 with fn. 40) relates PF 1955 and PF 1960 to her 'Bezirk 4,' southwest of Persepolis.

<sup>1149</sup> Pirmiš and Mišaraš: NN 2290:18, 33. Mišaraš on the route to Media: NN 2290: 19-20, 21-2. Other places with which Pirmiš is collocated: Bamašdumana (NN 2299:9, 10), Mezama (PF 1955:11, 25, NN 0548:14, 20, NN 2270:12, 13, NN 2341:16, 20, NN 2539:4, 13), Pirritukkaš (NN 2539:4, 19), Razakanuš (NN 2299:9, 24), Šašukana (PF 1955:11, 20, NN 2299:9, 11, NN 2341:16, 22), Turrukurtiš (NN 2196:13, 15, NN 2290:18, 28, NN 2539:4, 8), and Ukbakampiya (NN 0548:2, 20, NN 2341:16, 30). Koch (1987: 247 fn. 38; cf. 255) situates NN 0548 in her southwestern area ('Bezirk 4')



There are perhaps five towns in the northern cluster where *lan* was performed. In these, annual totals of at least 185 qts. of grain<sup>1150</sup> and 40 qts. of wine were allocated for *lan*.

7. *Undecided* – Three texts provide insufficient or no data at all to locate the *lan* offerings mentioned. **PF 0767** deals with a receipt of 360 qts. of barley allocated by a certain Bakada (<sup>HAL</sup>*ba-ṛka<sub>4</sub><sup>71</sup>-ud-da*). There is a Bakada who allocates fruit at Kurakkan in the northern cluster, but there is no indication that the two are one and the same individual.<sup>1151</sup> There are no arguments for locating the receipt of 120 qts. of wine by the *makuš* Irdakurradduš (**PF 0758**) in the area southeast of Persepolis (as Koch 1987: 246 with fn. 34 implies) or in any other area. A third problematic text is **PF 0752**, which records a receipt of 180 qts. of wine for *lan* by Haturmaša.

8. *Conclusion* – In his dissertation on the place names mentioned in the Fortification tablets, A.M. Arfaee situates 55 places in the central Persepolis region, 11 in the small Kāmfrūz region, and 28 in the Fahliyān region (Arfa'i 2008).<sup>1152</sup> Though various caveats apply to these numbers, they at least roughly indicate that the size and population density of the three main regions defined by the use of regional seals can hardly have been equal. This means that comparing absolute numbers of offerings or commodities allocated for offerings in these three regions will only yield a very distorted perspective. Rather, one has to reckon with a ratio of about 11 (Persepolis region) : 6 (Fahliyān region) : 2 (Kāmfrūz region). This ratio roughly corresponds with the findings in Koch's own work on *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft* in Achaemenid Fārs (1990).<sup>1153</sup>

In the Persepolis region, *lan* offerings are performed in at least 18 places. Often, the annual amounts are modest in comparison to annual amounts for places

<sup>1150</sup> Assuming that PF 1955:1-3 and PF 1960:3-4 pertain to the same place and officiant.

<sup>1151</sup> Cf. Koch 1990: 72 fn. 324, 128 fn. 564. On Kurakkan cf. §4.1.4 fn. 718 and App.6.6.

<sup>1152</sup> Arfaee bases his (relative) topography mainly on the regional seals used for the Persepolis, Kāmfrūz and Fahliyān regions (cf. §§2.3.2 and 2.4.2.2 above). A number of towns are not collocated with regional seals, but can be assigned to one of the regions on the basis of others seals, prosopography or direct (and repeated) association with places with a known location.

<sup>1153</sup> The comparison between the findings of Arfaee (which proceed from Hallock's work on the relative topography of the Fortification GNS) and those of Koch is hampered by the divergent division into six rather than four districts adopted by Koch (cf. §2.3.2). The central Persepolis region, which is clearly defined by the use of PFS 0001\*, coincides with Koch's Bezirk 1-3 (Persepolis, Šīrāz, southeast of Persepolis). Altogether, her locations of places to the various regions translates into a ratio of 10/11 (Persepolis region ~ Bezirk 1-3) : 6 (Fahliyān region ~ Bezirk 6) : 3 (Kāmfrūz region ~ Bezirk 5).

in the Fahliyān region (cf. §3.4.9). The cumulative value (cf. App.4) of commodities (grain, wine, fruit) for *lan* in the central region amounts to 7,680 qts. of grain plus 148 head of livestock. The 148 sheep/goats are a weighty factor, but it should be remembered that this huge allocation is known only by the chance survival of a single journal on livestock allocations in religious and elite contexts (NN 2259; cf. Chapter 6 above). In the Fahliyān region, only four places are thus far attested as locations of *lan* offerings, but the cumulative value amounts to 5,040 qts. The cumulative value of the sacrificial commodities for *lan* in the five places in the Kāmfīrūz region amounts to a mere 1,080 qts. In short, if we exclude livestock allocations, the ratio of cumulative values of sacrificial commodities in the three regions is about 15 (Persepolis region) : 10 (Fahliyān region) : 2 (Kāmfīrūz region). This is more or less what one would expect on the basis of the ratio of the number of settlements in each region, which is, as we saw, roughly 11 : 6 : 2.

Needless to say, the above is a very preliminary indication of the relative weight of the three main regions and its correspondence with the number of *lan* offerings and the amounts of commodities allocated for this purpose. I do not pretend that any of these figures are rock solid, and I expect that future research will refine the image sketched here. At the same time, it is clear enough that the three regions cannot be compared as if they were of equal size and population/settlement density. The relative weight of the central region in the total of the Persepolis economy is disproportionate in comparison with the much smaller Kāmfīrūz region but also in comparison with the Fahliyān region, which, though fertile and prosperous in the Achaemenid period, still basically consists of a number of elongated and relatively narrow valleys. Given the parameters at hand, however preliminary they may be, *lan* was not conspicuously better represented in the Persepolis region than it was in the Fahliyān region. At any rate, there are too many uncertainties to allow for firm conclusions on the supposed popularity of *lan* in the vicinity of Persepolis, which, in turn, would translate into an argument for Koch's thesis that *lan* is exclusively related to Auramazdā.



## APPENDIX 7

### RELATIVE TOPOGRAPHY OF OFFERINGS FOR HUMBAN

1. *Introduction* – In the sections below an attempt is made to locate each of the offerings for Humban in the 26 texts with his name. We will progress from west to east in seven stages, more or less following the royal road, with the exception of the sub-Fahliyān cluster: Hidali (§2), Tašpak-Hišema (central Fahliyān region; §3), between Fahliyān and Persepolis (sub-Fahliyān; §4), Umpuranuš (central Fahliyān region; §5), Parmandan-Pirdatkaš (eastern Fahliyān region; §6), Hatarrikaš (Kāmfīrūz; §7), Barniš (Persepolis region; §8). The case of Tikraš (east of Persepolis), probably *not* the home of Humban worship, is discussed in §9.

2. *Hidali* – We start with the most problematic case: Karsuka receiving beer for Humban in NN 0109. The text does not mention a supplier and the seals impressed on it have not been identified as yet. Possibly the same Karsuka receives an equal amount (60 qts.) of beer “for the gods” from Karayauda (NN 1315).<sup>1154</sup> Karayauda the beer supplier was active at Hidali (PF 1184, NN 0471). This places Karsuka firmly in the western sector of the Fahliyān region.

From Neo-Assyrian sources, we know that Hidali must have been situated in the “distant mountains” east of Huhnur. Since Huhnur (i.e. Achaemenid Hunar) has recently been identified as Tepe Bormī in the Rām Hormoz plain (Nasrabadi 2005; cf. §2.3.1 fn. 245 above), Hidali must have been a town in the westernmost sector under the purview of the Persepolis authorities. Traditionally, Hidali has been situated at, or in the proximity of, Behbahān or Arġān,<sup>1155</sup> but this location

<sup>1154</sup> Karsuka also occurs as officiant in PF 0360 (“for the gods”) and PF 0799 (*kušukum*). Compare also NN 1072 where (another?) Karsuka receives barley for mothers and NN 0642 where a Karšuka (note the different spelling) receives barley for express horses. On Karsuka as officiant see also §3.7.2.1 fn. 643 above.

<sup>1155</sup> Cf. Hinz 1961b: 250-1; *idem* 1972/75a; Hansman 1972: 103 fig. 1, 108 fn. 54; de Miroschedji 1985: 274-5; Zadok 1985: 146; Duchêne 1986: 69; Koch 1986: 133, 142-3; Vallat 1993a: 96; Carter 1994: 74-6; Potts 1999a: 272; Waters 1999b: 103-4; *idem* 2000: 33; Henkelman 2003a: 185 fn. 10; Stronach 2003: 250, 255; Álvarez-Mon 2004: 205-7; Stolper 2004b (with bibliography).

hardly qualifies as “in the distant mountains.” Moreover, as Daniel Potts has recently pointed out (2005a: 173-5; cf. *idem* 2008 §6 s.v. Hidali), one of the main arguments for situating Hidali at Behbahān/Arġān, is the assumed position of Dašer near Susa, at seven or eight days’ distance from Hidali.<sup>1156</sup> This location of Dašer is highly uncertain, however. First, nothing suggests that Dašer was near Susa. The Susiana was probably administered from Susa; all places under the control of the Persepolis authorities are situated in an area roughly coinciding with modern southern Fārs.<sup>1157</sup> Secondly, it can indeed be calculated from PF 2057 that Hidali lay up to eight days from Dašer, but other calculations, with very different results, are possible too.<sup>1158</sup>

Another proposal, by Arfa’i, situates Hidali some 140 km southeast of Behbahān, at Qal’eh-ye Sefīd, i.e. much deeper in the mountainous area. In the absence of any archaeological investigations at the site, the identification remains hypothetical, however (so Potts 2008 §6 s.v. Hidali). Moreover, the Fortification texts adduced by Arfa’i do not yield conclusive evidence in favour of his eastern location.<sup>1159</sup> By contrast (as Arfa’i notes), the tablets do provide clear evidence that

<sup>1156</sup> So, e.g., Koch 1986: 142-3, 145-6; 1990: 202.

<sup>1157</sup> As Hallock recognised in his later publications (1977: 129, 131; 1978: 109) the authority of the Fortification administrators probably stretched as far as the Khūzestān/Fārs border region, but not much beyond (cf. Arfa’i 1999: 34). See discussion in §2.3.1.

<sup>1158</sup> A group of three Indians received a total of two sheep or goats: “daily they are [together] receiving 3 portions, (at) each village, from Dašer to Hidali” (PF 2057). Hallock calculated that the livestock would be enough for seven days if average portions of  $\frac{1}{10}$  or  $\frac{2}{21}$  were meant (1959b: 178; 1969: 45), a conclusion that has been widely accepted. Meat for seven days would, however, imply that the journey took *eight* rather than seven days (if the points of departure and arrival are not included). More serious is the problem that the average portions of meat probably do not apply here, since the Indians received *daily* rations, whereas texts on  $\frac{1}{10}$  or  $\frac{2}{21}$  meat portions seem to pertain to whole months. At any rate, an adult man could hardly consume  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the meat yield of a sheep or goat during a single day, since this would amount to 3-4 kg (see Janković 2008 §5.7 fn. 89). If the meat rations of the Indians were consumed by three individuals they certainly were smaller than  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the meat yield. If, on the other hand, the Indians were elite travellers with their own retinue, the portions may have been bigger than  $\frac{1}{10}$ . In fact, PF 2057 could just as well be taken to indicate that the meat from two animals was divided by three, for two days of travel associated with the two places mentioned in the text.... That last possibility would shorten the distance between Dašer and Hidali considerably and this, in turn, would be more in line with Assurbanipal’s inscriptions, which seem to suggest that Tasarra (Dašer?) and Huhnur-Hidali were in adjacent regions (prisms A V.113-6 ~ F IV.55-8; cf. Aynard 1957: 50-1; Borger 1996: 51, 240).

<sup>1159</sup> Cf. Arfa’i 1999: 36, 38-9, 42, 45 and compare Aperghis 1997a: 25, 30, 1999: 154 (also locating Hidali near Šīrāz). Arfa’i accepts the distance of seven days between Dašer

Hidali and Liduma were in each other's proximity (NN 1907; cf. PF 1790). They also indicate that Hunar and Hidali were in the same administrative district (PF 1790), which is in agreement with the Assyrian sources (cf. above).<sup>1160</sup> This puts Hidali somewhere between Huhnur, now identified as Tepe Bormī near Rām Hormoz, and Liduma. Fortification contexts locate that last town somewhere in the central section of the Fahliyān region.<sup>1161</sup> This in turn implies that Hidali would be situated further to the east than has previously been assumed by most commentators, but not as far as Arfa'i proposes. This assessment is necessarily vague; a systematic analysis of the Hidali dossier may lead to a more precise location.

3. *Tašpak-Hišema* – Firmer ground is reached in the case of the wine (and, occasionally, fruit) supplier Ibaterra who occurs in a number of texts on Humban offerings. In three such texts, Ibaterra is associated with the place Tašpak, were an officiant named Supra receives his wine allocations (PF 0344, PF 2029, NN 0251). Tašpak may be the same as Ταῖσπα, situated in the Persis, northwest of Persepolis, by Ptolemy.<sup>1162</sup> The use of seal PFS 0004\* indicates that Tašpak was situated in the Fahliyān region (cf., e.g., PF 0916). It is connected to the towns Hišema, Ibat, Šurkutur and Atuk *via* the activities of Ibaterra (cf. PFS 0041) and *via* the use of seals PFS 0015 and PFS 0043\*.<sup>1163</sup> The connection with Hišema is important because

and Hidali (on which cf. fn. 1158 above). Another argument advanced by him is the link between Hidali and Tirazziš (Šīrāz) established by PF 1944:58-9 and PF 1994. Both texts pertain to Dar. 20 and mention Maumamašša (Maumašša) the *tumara* and Midariya (Muzriya) his delivery man. Though the connection cannot be denied and though his location of Hidali makes it more feasible, Arfa'i too has to allow for a considerable distance between the two cities (*o.c.* 45). This leaves the link between PF 1944 and PF 1994 enigmatic after all.

<sup>1160</sup> The towns are also linked by seals: PFS 0020, PFS 0064\*, PFS 0099 and PFS 0299\*.

<sup>1161</sup> Arfa'i (1999: 43) tentatively locates Liduma at Tepe Sūrūvān/Ġīngīn/Qal'eh-ye Kalī (5 km northwest of Nūrābād), where an Achaemenid 'pavilion' and other remains were excavated in the 1950s (Atarashi & Horiuchi 1963 [*non vidi*]; Boucharlat 2005: 235-6) and again, in more extensive excavations, in 2007 (Potts *et al.* 2007). Though Ġīngīn is indeed an important site, its identification with Liduma is "based entirely on locational guesswork" (Potts 2008 §6 s.v. Liduma).

<sup>1162</sup> Ptolemy, *Geogr.* VI.4.6 (*varia lectio*) on which see Metzler 1977: 1059. On Tašpak see also Koch 1990: 185-8 (p. 185 on Supra) and Vallat 1993a: 276.

<sup>1163</sup> For Ibaterra see, e.g., PF 1110 (Hišema), PF 2029 (Tašpak), NN 1377 (Atuk). In addition, the following connections are made explicit in various texts: Tašpak – Ibat (PF 0996); Tašpak – Hišema (PF 1019); Tašpak – Šurkutur (Fort. 6032). Šurkutur, in turn, is linked with Bessitme (PF 0009). On seal PFS 0015 and PFS 0043\* (the latter possibly a Neo-Elamite heirloom) cf. Hallock 1985: 597; Aperghis 1999: 168-171, 179-80; Garrison &

it is a station on the royal road from Persepolis to Susa (PF 1442). Tašpak and Hišema are also connected to Ibariš, in the eastern Fahliyān region (cf. App.6.3 fn. 1105). Altogether, Tašpak was probably east of Hunar-Hidali, and probably west of Ibariš, i.e. in the central sector of the Fahliyān region.<sup>1164</sup>

As stated above, Supra receives wine for Humban from Ibaturre at Tašpak and once “from the place Hasur,” probably in the same district (PF 0343).<sup>1165</sup> Supra also receives flour for Humban, from Parru, again at Tašpak (PF 0345).<sup>1166</sup> Another officiant is Te(a)tukka, who received barley (“wine was replaced with it”) for an Humban offering at Tašpak (PF 0346).<sup>1167</sup>

Root 2001: 302-3. Note that Ibaturre’s own seal, PFS 0041, also appears on the Greek Fortification tablet Fort. 1771 (Garrison & Root 2001: 6).

<sup>1164</sup> Arfa’i (1999: 37-8, 40, 42, 45) postulates a location between Bessitme (which he identifies with modern Bāšt) and Umpuranuš (equated with mediaeval Anburān, near modern Nūrābād). His findings, then still unpublished, were accepted by Hallock (1978: 109); see now, however, the critical remarks by Potts 2008 §6 s.vv. Bessitme, Umpuranuš. Koch also recognises the link between Bessitme and Hišema, but places them at the far end of the route, near Susa itself (1986: 133). None of the arguments adduced for the location of Bessitme close to Susa (*ibid.* 146-7; cf. Koch 1990: 190) is convincing, however (cf. §2.3.1 and fn. 1163 above). A possible equation with Ptolemy’s Βάτθινα (*Geogr.* VI.4.6; cf. Metzler 1977: 1057) would put Bessitme quite far into Fārs. Perhaps more weight should be given, however, to the similarity of the GN with the name of Bašime, mentioned by Assurbanipal and located on the northeastern Persian Gulf coast (cf. Vallat 1993a: 36, with references; Potts 2008 §6 s.v. Bessitme [also pointing to ‘Bisetin’ near Rām Hormoz]; §2.3.1 fn. 245 above). Earlier locations of Tašpak place the town “in Elam” (Hallock 1959b: 178) or identify it with the modern town of Fahliyān (Hinz 1970: 427).

<sup>1165</sup> Koch’s analysis (1977: 32) of <sup>AS</sup>ha-su-ir-ma-mar-ri la-ka<sub>4</sub> as “er [sc. the wine, WH] wurde von einem Mann aus ha-su-ir-ma geopfert” is misguided. The ending -ri does not represent a personal suffix; (ma-)mar-ri is just a variant of the separative suffix -mar, “from” (cf. Hallock 1969: 152; EW s.v. -mar-ri). The phrase therefore means “sent/offered from Hasur” (cf. §3.1.3.5 above and compare PF 0342). Similarly, tašpakmarri means “from Tašpak,” not “ein Mann auß taš-pa-ik” (Koch *o.c.* 32, 103).

<sup>1166</sup> Supra seems to use seal PFS 0240 (PF 0344, PF 0345, PF 2029). Probably the same Supra receives barley at nearby Bessitme (PF 0104). Another or the same Supra receives beer at an unknown location (PF 1624) and receives *tarmu* for making beer at Gisat (PF 1996). There is no evidence that places Supra at Zila-Humban; a text that would prove so does not exist (*pace* Hinz 1970: 427 fn. 1). The Parru issuing flour in PF 0345, also issues flour to Unsak (on the name cf. Vallat 1992/02) “for the gods” in PF 0355 (on which Koch 1977: 36-7 [speculative]).

<sup>1167</sup> On Te(a)tukka and his cultic activities cf. §4.1.5 sub A (with fn. 739) above.

Other clients of Ibaturre, and hence active in the same area in the central Fahliyan region, are Akbaka, Marmaka, Kitikka and Kullili.<sup>1168</sup> Akbaka receives his wine for Humban at Palak, a place not attested elsewhere and apparently situated in Ibaturre's district (PF 0341).<sup>1169</sup> The same is true for Sulušuna, where the wine that Marmaka prepared for Humban was "sent/offered" (PF 0342; cf. §3.1.3.7 above).<sup>1170</sup> Kitikka, who offers wine for Humban "at the River Betir" (NN 0339; cf. §5.4.3 above), and the *šatin* Kullili who does the same at a number of *pilu* ("wine storages," cf. §6.4 ad l.10) in NN 0153 receive their wine from Ibaturre and can therefore be located in the Tašpak-Hišema district too.<sup>1171</sup>

Tašpak and Hišema are connected to the town of Ibat by seal PFS 0015; Tašpak and Ibat are also mentioned together in PF 0996. At Ibat, there is a grain supplier named Harzakka who also allocates barley to Natera for an Humban offering at an unknown location (PF 0347). This location may be Ibat or a place in its immediate vicinity.<sup>1172</sup>

<sup>1168</sup> In addition to these Humban officiants, Ibaturre issues wine to Naptaš for a *kušukum* offering (PF 1181) and to Zazzap "for the gods" (NN 1400).

<sup>1169</sup> Handley-Schachler (1998: 203) speaks of Palak, Sulušuna (cf. below) and Tašpak as "Humban's strongholds." Apart from the problems involved in the term 'stronghold,' I fail to see how Palak and Sulušuna could be qualified as such on the basis of a single occurrence for each village in the edited sample.

<sup>1170</sup> In another text, a Marmaka receives flour for *puhu* ("servants") travelling to Susa (NN 1421). The text can, *via* the supplier, Haturdada, and his seal (PFS 0010) be related to Kurdušum, a way-station probably in the western sector of the Fahliyan region, near Dašer (Hallock 1985: 598-9; Arfa'i 1999: 37; Garrison & Root 2001: 361-2). As the Marmaka in NN 1421 is probably himself accompanying the travel party, he may not be identical to our Marmaka and the location of Kurdušum may not be relevant here.

<sup>1171</sup> Kitikka does not occur elsewhere. Kullili the *šatin* is only mentioned here; he may or may not be the same as the supply-official Kullili who allocates grain, flour and sesame for various purposes. This Kullili appears to be based at Hidali (NN 1256), and allocates barley and flour for "the gods" (PF 0367) and *lan* (PF 0765) at Hunar (as appears from the use of PFS 0044s; cf. ¶160-1 fn. 50). Arfa'i (1999: 37-8) claims that Hišema and Hidali are not far apart, but this is based on his alternative location for Hidali and does in any case not reckon with the recent location of Hunar at Tepe Bormi near Rām Hormoz (cf. §§1.5.1, 2.3.1 fn. 245 and App.7.2 above). Other, profane contexts with Kullili as grain supplier are: PF 0297, PF 1745, NN 0377, NN 1240 (barley sent to Susa), NN 1984, NN 1985, NN 2187, Fort. 6578.

<sup>1172</sup> On Ibat, Harzakka and Natera see also Koch 1990: 188-9.



4. *Between Fahliyān and Persepolis* – Tašpak and Hišema are connected to the towns of Zila-Humban, Šurkudur and Ibariš by seal PFS 0043\*. A certain Bagizza is active as wine supplier at Ibariš, and at (nearby?) Dakana (cf. PF 0609, Fort. 8960). Both places seem to be located in the ‘sub-Fahliyān cluster,’ an area south of the central Fahliyān region and northwest of Persepolis that cannot, at present, be defined very precisely (cf. App.6.3 above).<sup>1173</sup> Bagizza allocates wine for an Humban offering to the otherwise unknown officiant Kampaka, probably at Ibariš or Dakana (NN 0418, Fort. 4766). Also at Dakana, Bagizza supplies wine to Umbaba the *šatin* for *lan*, Mariraš and (the) Mišebaka (Fort. 8960:1-2).<sup>1174</sup> This Umbaba, in turn, recurs as officiant receiving barley for a variety of offerings at or in proximity of Rašnumattiš (PF 1956:1-2) and for [x], Humban and *lan* at or near Nukšama (NN 2372:1-2), again places that are part of the sub-Fahliyān cluster.<sup>1175</sup> It seems, therefore, that Umbaba was active in several towns of the same region.<sup>1176</sup>

5. *Umpuranuš* – Moving eastwards again along the royal road from the Tašpak-Hišema district, one reached, according to Arfa’i, the town of Umpuranuš. The location of the way-station Umpuranuš on this stretch of the route is prompted by the similarity of the name of the mediaeval village of Anburān that was situated in

<sup>1173</sup> Koch (1987: 250; 1990: 74-5 with fn. 329, 161) locates Ibariš southeast of Persepolis, but her arguments are inconclusive (there is no proof that the Bakabada at Tamukkan is the same as the Bakabada at Ibariš).

<sup>1174</sup> There are several individuals named Bagizza. The one supplying wine for cultic purposes also occurs, in profane context, in PF 0407, PF 0609, PF 1615 and Fort. 8960:3-5, 6 (cf. App.6.3 with fn. 1105 above).

<sup>1175</sup> Rašnumattiš (Razinamattiš) is connected to Nukšama (PF 2084) and to Dakana (PF 2004 and *via* PFS 0166 [PF 0607, PF 0618]). Koch (1987: 258; 1990: 113-4, 118, 279) places Rašnumattiš, Nukšama and Dakana in the region southwest of Persepolis, but connections with the Fahliyān region rather suppose an area northwest of the residence. On Rašnumattiš see also Vallat 1993a: 231-3; App.6.3 above. Rašinuzza(n) probably was in the proximity of Rašnumattiš (cf. PF 1956:4-10 [Umitra at Rašnumattiš] and NN 0573:1-8, 9-15 [*idem*, at Rašinuzza]).

<sup>1176</sup> On Umbaba cf. §§3.7.3.1 fn. 661, 4.2. with fn. 755 and App.6.3 above. There is a certain Umbabba (<sup>HAL</sup>*um-ba-ib-ba*) feeding horses in NN 0466 and NN 1066. The former text states that the fodder was withdrawn from Kurra (= *Kόρρα* in Ptol. *Geogr.* VI.4.6?), a larger town on the border between the Fahliyān and Kāmfrūz regions (Koch 1986: 137; *idem* 1990: 140-4; Arfa’i 1999: 42; Henkelman in Henkelman & Stolper [forthc.] §2.3). It is uncertain, however, whether this Umbabba is the same as the Umbaba the *šatin*.

this area, near modern Nūrābād (Arfa'i 1999: 40, 42, 45).<sup>1177</sup> It may be noted that Elamite form of the name is actually spelled <sup>AS</sup>*am-pu-ra-nu-iš* twice (PF 0933, NN 1130). As Potts has recently pointed, the connection with Anburān is not wholly unproblematic (2008 §6 s.vv. Bessitme, Umpuranuš), however. Though its precise location, and even its relative location between Hišema and Parmadan (as proposed by Arfa'i) remain uncertain, the collocation of Umpuranuš with seal PFS 0004\* (e.g., PF 0876) does show that the town was indeed included in, or closely connected with the Fahliyān region.

At Umpuranuš, Mirayauda is the grain supplier; he uses seal PFS 0018.<sup>1178</sup> Mirayauda is also the grain supplier for two Humban offerings performed by Pidaka (PF 0350, NN 0893). Though no location is given in these texts, Umpuranuš or its vicinity may be assumed as the scene of the cultic activity. A third text (PF 0349) just mentions Pidaka as recipient of barley for Humban, but Mirayauda's involvement (and thus a location at or in proximity of Umpuranuš) is detectable by seal PFS 0018.<sup>1179</sup> The amount of barley issued, 600 qts., is the same in each of the three texts. Mirayauda and a few of his colleagues are also associated with seal PFS 0024.<sup>1180</sup> This seal is impressed on one of the texts with Pidaka as officiant (PF 0350) and also on a text in which a Parsauka allocates wine to Mardunuya for an

<sup>1177</sup> Koch, like Arfa'i, places Umpuranuš about half-way along the royal road (1986: 133, 141-2), in the vicinity of Hidali. As she postulates that the purview of the Fortification archive included the Susiana stretch of the royal road, her location of Umpuranuš inevitably is much further westward.

<sup>1178</sup> Though he is mentioned in about 75 texts, Mirayauda's seat, Umpuranuš, is named in only three (PF 0709, PF 1101, Fort. 2563). On Mirayauda, Umpuranuš and seal PFS 0018 cf. Hallock 1985: 598; Koch 1990: 135-40; Garrison & Root 2001: 82-3.

<sup>1179</sup> A beer brewer named Pidaka occurs in PF 1431, NN 1696, and NN 2507. He seems to be the head of a group of eight *šalup* (free men, gentlemen) and ten *puhu/libap/šaulum* (servants) travelling to Susa in November-December 500 BC and is therefore not likely to be the same as Pidaka the officiant.

<sup>1180</sup> On seal PFS 0024 cf. Koch 1990: 138 and Garrison & Root 2001: 421-2 where the question is raised whether the use of the seal was simultaneous or sequential to the use of PFS 0018 by Mirayauda. The only dated attestation of PFS 0024 with Mirayauda is from Dar. 19 (NN 0667). Other texts with PFS 0024 are dated to years 22 and 23, but have different suppliers (PF 0348, NN 0373, NN 2140). Since no text with PFS 0018 pre-dates Dar. 21, it is at least possible that Mirayauda changed seals after year 19: he would have handed over PFS 0024 to his associates and started using PFS 0018 as his personal seal. PFS 0024 also occurs on the uninscribed tablets (cf. Garrison 2008 §6.2).

Humban offering at Uratukkaš (PF 0348). Uratukkaš is not otherwise known, but because of seal PF 0024 it may safely be considered as a satellite of Umpuranuš.<sup>1181</sup>

6. *Parmandan-Pirdatkaš* – Pirdatkaš and Parmadan were probably situated in the easternmost part of the Fahliyān region. Bakumira (also: Bakamira), a frequently-attested grain supplier, may have resided at Pirdatkaš as Hallock surmised on the basis of PFa 10 (1978: 110).<sup>1182</sup> He used seal PFS 0048 up to Dar. 22; the same seal then was taken over by Katukka (also: Kazaka) who used it from Dar. 23 until at least Dar. 28.<sup>1183</sup> There is a possibility that this Katukka is the same as the *šatin* who, in year 20, received flour from Bakumira for an Humban offering at the otherwise unattested places Kamutkame<sup>2</sup> and Murunbarraš<sup>2</sup> (NN 0108 with PFS 0048).<sup>1184</sup> In any case, these two places, probably villages, may be situated in the Pirdatkaš district. The same is true for the locations of the offerings performed by Ambaduš the *šatin*, who twice receives barley for Humban from Bakumira (PF 0340 and NN 0650, both with PFS 0048).<sup>1185</sup> Hallock assumed that Pirdatkaš was a way-station between Umpuranuš and Parmadan (1978: 110); Arfa'i located it in the vicinity of Bāḡ-e Anār, west of Ardakān, where he locates Parmadan (1999: 43, 45).<sup>1186</sup>

It is probably at Parmadan that the users of seal PFS 0017, Ušaya and Muška, were active as wine suppliers.<sup>1187</sup> Ušaya (PF 0339) and Muška (NN 0379)

<sup>1181</sup> Similarly Koch (1987: 265; 1990: 135), who points out that PF 0348 also bears an impression of PFS 0137. This seal is found twice on texts dealing with Umpuranuš (PF 0621, PF 1152).

<sup>1182</sup> Accepted by Koch 1986: 139 and Arfa'i 1999: 39 (for "L2-947" read "L2-0942" [the text is published as PFa 10]).

<sup>1183</sup> On PFS 0048 see also Garrison 2002: 78, 91 and Gates 2002: 127-8. The seal also occurs on the uninscribed tablets (Garrison 2008 §6.2).

<sup>1184</sup> More than one individual bears the name 'Katukka.' The one that appears with seal PFS 0048 (as supply official or as officiant) occurs in PF 1360, PF 1362, NN 0108, NN 0385, NN 0664, NN 0666, NN 0686, NN 0944, NN 1308, NN 2320. I cannot determine whether he is the Katukka who receives wine "from Liduma" in PF 1616 and PF 1617.

<sup>1185</sup> There are probably several individuals named Ambaduš (Anbaduš, Umbaduš). One is involved in grain storage and works at Hatarrikaš (NN 1474), not far from Pirdatkaš. Bakumira occurs eight times as supplier for offerings. Apart from Humban, he allocates grain for Auramazdā, Mišdušiš, and "the other gods" (cf. §3.7.2.3 fn. 649 above). On the amounts received by Ambaduš for Humban cf. §3.7.2.2 fn. 645 above.

<sup>1186</sup> On Pirdatkaš see also Koch 1986: 139; *idem* 1990: 132, 293; Vallat 1993a: 217-8.

<sup>1187</sup> Seal PFS 0017 occurs with various places, of which Parmadan is the most important (PF 1114, NN 1844), hence its association with that place by Arfa'i (1999: 39-40). On the seal see also Garrison & Root 2003: 340-1. Koch (1986: 140-1; 1987: 258-9) associates

supplied the wine needed for Auramazdā, Humban and river offerings at three locations; both texts bear an impression of PFS 0017.<sup>1188</sup> The officiants, Turkama and Yama, are not attested elsewhere.<sup>1189</sup> As for Parmadan, Hallock (1977: 129 fig. 1; 1978: 110) and Arfa'i (1999: 41-2, 45) consider it the easternmost town of the Fahliyān region, on the border with the Kāmfirūz region, located at or in the vicinity of Ardakān (50 km northwest of Persepolis).<sup>1190</sup>

7. *Hatarrikaš* – In the next region, that of Kāmfirūz, the small town of Hatarrikaš may be situated since the ‘regional’ seals PFS 0003 and PFS 0030 are impressed on texts pertaining to the town (PF 1114, NN 0587).<sup>1191</sup> Hatarrikaš has a number of connections with Persepolis, but also with Kurra in the Kāmfirūz region and with Zila-Humban in the Fahliyān region (cf. below).<sup>1192</sup> A certain Hašina is wine

PFS 0017 and Ušaya with Manda, but also with Parmadan. On Ušaya see also Hallock 1985: 598.

<sup>1188</sup> Ušaya and Muška also supply wine for the god Pirdakamiya to Maškama the *šatin* (PF 0303 and NN 0310, both with PFS 0017). On the theonym cf. Tavernier 2007a: 97 [4.1.1]; §5.4.4 fn. 897 above. On the name Maškama see most recently Schmitt 2007a: 398-400 (cf. Tavernier 2007a: 242 [4.2.1065]).

<sup>1189</sup> Unless Turkama is the same as Darkama (possibility raised by Hallock 1969: 764). The two texts in which Darkama occurs (NN 2010, Fort. 6411) offer no clues, however, for a possible identification with Turkama.

<sup>1190</sup> On Parmadan cf. Sumner 1986: 28; Vallat 1993a: 204. Koch (1986: 133, 140-1) places Parmadan further to the west (see also *idem* 1990: 133, 135, 137, 293, 309). Bernard (1995: 80 fn. 52) favours a more southern location of Parmadan (without a concrete suggestion), in line with the alternative route he proposes for the royal road on the basis of a Hellenistic mile stone found near Persepolis (Callieri 1995). The inscriptions on it mention only distances, however, and the scenario developed by Bernard is not the only one that they allow. Needless to say, this does not make the location of Parmadan in the Ardakān plain a certainty, though it remains, for the moment, the preferred option.

<sup>1191</sup> On these seals cf. Hallock 1977: 131; *idem* 1985: 597; Koch 1990: 290, 296; Arfa'i 1999: 35-6; Garrison & Root 2001: 409-10 (PFS 0030).

<sup>1192</sup> Flour is taken from Kunturrukkan to Hatarrikaš (NN 1474); Persepolis and Kunturrukkan are twice mentioned together (NN 0524, NN 0579). Secondly, Hatarrikaš and Miukkan appear together (PF 1144) as do Miukkan and Persepolis (PF 1582). Finally, seal PFS 0245 (Hadda?) appears with Hatarrikaš (NN 2532) and with Persepolis (PF 0007, NN 0248, NN 0657). Arfa'i (1999: 40) assumes that Hatarrikaš was in the proximity of Kurra on the basis of NN 0587 in which both places are mentioned (1999: 40 [for “S3-1977” read “S3-1797” and for “S3-1835” read “S3-1535”]). Koch, on the other hand, locates Hatarrikaš in proximity of Persepolis (1986: 133, 136; 1990: 47, 292-3, 309), perhaps too close to Persepolis, as Hatarrikaš clearly belonged to the

supplier at or in proximity of Hatarrikaš (NN 2532); he also supplies wine for an Humban and an Adad offering to Rakkuš (PF 0351).<sup>1193</sup> Possibly the same officiant occurs a second time, receiving barley from Utira for an offering “for the gods” (PF 0359). Utira was a grain supplier at Zila-Humban.<sup>1194</sup>

8. *Barniš* – Somewhere in the Persepolis region, we encounter Unduš, who makes a wine offering for Humban at or in the vicinity of the place Barniš (NN 2013). Unduš receives his wine from Bauka, who is probably the same as the wine deliverer mentioned in NN 1378.<sup>1195</sup> That text is sealed with PFS 1076, which also appears on two texts dealing with Barniš (PF 1120, PF 1212).<sup>1196</sup> As Koch has shown, Barniš has connections with both Persepolis and Tirazziš (Šīrāz); she locates Barniš in her Persepolis district.<sup>1197</sup> There is also some evidence linking

Kāmfrūz region. On Hatarrikaš (possibly = Hadarakkaš, Udarakkaš, etc.) see also Vallat 1993a: 72, 93. The name Hatarrikaš may perhaps be compared to that of Ἀρδερικ(κ)α, situated in “Kissian territory,” some 210 stades from Susa (Hdt. VI.119). It seems likely, however, we are dealing with two homonymous towns.

<sup>1193</sup> Hašina also appears in conjunction with the estate called Parrudazaran (PF 2027), with the place Irkabbaman (= Irkabba; NN 2527) and with the place Zappi (Fort. 3545).

<sup>1194</sup> The PN Rakkuš is spelled <sup>HAL</sup>ra-uk-ku-iš in PF 0351, but <sup>HAL</sup>ra-a-ku-iš in PF 0359. Still, it may be the same name and person (cf. Tavernier 2007a: 278 [4.2.1330] on the name). On Rak(k)uš see also §4.1.4 fn. 717 above. Utira’s location at Zila-Humban appears from PF 0022 and PF 0023. Note that he and Hašina appear in texts that have seal PFS 0331 (PF 0022, PF 0351), which clearly connects the two. Note also that the amounts of wine and barley handed out by these suppliers to Rak(k)uš are the same. Koch (1987: 268) locates both occurrences of Rakkuš in a place close to Zila-Humban.

<sup>1195</sup> Bauka also appears, a second time, as wine supplier in PF 0778, but this text does not give a clue as to the location of his activities.

<sup>1196</sup> Seal PFS 1076 on PF 1120 was first identified by Hallock (i.m.); cf. Garrison & Root 2001: 285-6. The seal also appears on NN 1480 and NN 2527 (cf. fn. 1198 below).

<sup>1197</sup> Cf. Koch 1990: 10, 32 fn. 149, 65-7, 256. The connection with Tirazziš/Šīrāz is established by PF 1811 (cf. PF 1830) in which Uštana the Tirazziyan is ordered to issue wine at Barniš. Uštana is well-attested as wine supplier at Tirazziš (e.g., PF 0877, PF 0882), but is also involved in wine transactions at Persepolis (PF 1812, PF 1831, NN 0425, NN 0458, NN 0543, NN 1100, NN 1202), Zappi (PF 1113), Antarrantiš (NN 0299) and Ramakanam near Antarrantiš (NN 2566). From this range of places it occurs that he served quite a wide area; Barniš is therefore not necessarily in proximity of Tirazziš. The connection between Persepolis and Barniš emerges in the person of Upirrada, grain supplier at Persepolis (e.g., PF 0054, PF 0668) and nearby Matezziš (PF 0761, PF 0762), but also active at Barniš (PF 1821, PF 1822, PF 1823, PF 1824, NN 1036, NN 1839). The Βάρα of Arr. *Ind.* 27.2 probably is a different town.

Barniš to the Kāmfīrūz region; the town may therefore have been situated northwest of Persepolis.<sup>1198</sup>

9. *Tikraš* – The last stage on our tour along the places of Humban worship concerns NN 2202:2, which was previously believed to refer to a *lan* offering for Humban. A second collation of the tablet has invalidated the reading <sup>AN</sup>hu<sup>?</sup>-ban<sup>?</sup>1-na (“for Humban”), however, and has shown that a normal *lan* offering is at stake. The text, an entry in a journal pertaining to Tikraš (an important town southeast of Persepolis; cf. §4.1.5),<sup>1199</sup> can therefore no longer be seen as evidence of Humban worship in the region southeast of Persepolis (as I assumed in Henkelman 2006b: 309). Note that Tikraš did actually host offerings for gods with an Elamite background, namely Adad and Nabbazabba. The occurrence of Humban in this town would therefore in itself not have been surprising.

10. *Conclusion* – Achaemenid Humban is found mostly in the Fahliyān region, with an emphasis on its central section. However, his cult is also attested in the eastern section of the same region, in the sub-Fahliyān cluster, in the Kāmfīrūz region, and in the area just northwest of Persepolis. Also, Humban’s cult is not found in provincial backwaters, but is often attested in (larger) towns along the royal road.

<sup>1198</sup> Seal PFS 1076 appears on PF 1120 and PF 1212, both dealing with Barniš. PF 1212 mentions Uštana, the Tirazziyan wine supplier sometimes involved in transactions in Barniš (cf. fn. 1197 above). Seal PFS 1076 also appears on NN 1480, which mentions the place Raduma, and on NN 2527, which mentions the place Irkabbaman. NN 2527 has Hašina as wine supplier and is therefore connected to Hatarrikaš and the other places where Hašina was active (cf. App.7.7 above). Raduma, in NN 1480, occurs again in PF 2079, probably a wine account (*pace* Hallock; the word *innan* [= *annan*] occurs only as qualification of wine). The text mentions Bauka in the company of several other individuals, including Bakankama, at an estate in Raduma. Another individual listed in the text is Bakašakka, at an estate in Kapurda. He may be identical with the Bakašakka who receives wine from Hašina (NN 0009, with PFS 1300), who also occurs, as we just saw, in NN 2527. In short, seal PFS 1076 indicates the location of Barniš northwest of Persepolis. Incidentally, Bakašak(k)a also receives flour rations in NN 0877 and NN 1556 (both PFS 1300). In NN 1556 he is introduced as a relative of the king (cf. EW s.v. *iš-ti-ri*); he may therefore indeed be identical with the Βαγασάκης (or Βαγασάκης) of Hdt. VII.75 as Mayrhofer proposes (1971: 4). In PF 0784, Baka(n)šakka is the husband of Pandušašša, perhaps a daughter of Darius, as Brosius surmises (1996: 72, 145).

<sup>1199</sup> Koch 1987: 258 locates the ‘Humban’ offering at Kaptarriš, but there is no convincing argument to do so (cf. App.1.4 ad l.1 above).